

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (ALL-IN-1 MAIL)

CREATOR: Carol H. Rasco ( RASCO\_C ) (OPD)

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-SEP-1995 15:32:50.75

SUBJECT: Hello!

TO: Betsy Myers ( MYERS\_B ) (WHO)  
READ: 6-SEP-1995 15:48:44.13

TO: Ruby G. Moy for A. Herman ( MOY\_R ) (WHO)  
READ: 6-SEP-1995 19:44:05.94

TEXT:

Alexis and Betsy:

I felt quite energized by the group this morning and am sorry I had to hurry out. Pat Romani of my office is setting up for us to meet Monday afternoon for 30 minutes and I will contact Melanne upon her return to join us.

Several thoughts:

1. Betsy, could your office draft a joint follow up note to be sent to each participant this a.m. and co-signed by the three of us?
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3. I learned a lot reading the excellent PARTNERSHIP newsletter and listening this a.m.....the Interagency Comm. on Women's Business Enterprise is a far wider reaching effort than I had been told and I would really like to be on the distribution list to keep up with what is occurring with that group...what do I do?
4. As the Task Force on Post-Beijing is established I very much want the Domestic Policy Council involved...again, where do I turn?

I look forward to seeing you on Monday!

Thanks!

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (ALL-IN-1 MAIL)

CREATOR: Kyle M. Baker ( BAKER\_K ) (WHO)

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-SEP-1995 12:15:20.33

SUBJECT: U.S. COMMITS TO ADVANCING WOMEN'S RIGHTS AT U.N. CONFERENCE

TO: Remote Addressee ( 1=US@2=TELEMAIL@3=INTERNET@\*RFC-  
822DMARTIN628(A)AOL.COM@MRX@EOPMRX )  
READ:NOT READ

TEXT:

Date: 09/06/95 Time: 10:04

U.S. Commits to Advancing Women's Rights at U.N. Conference

BEIJING (AP) Responding to calls that the U.N. women's conference produce concrete actions, the United States announced seven commitments today to advance women's rights at home.

``Barriers to the equal participation of women persist in my country," Madeleine Albright, leader of the U.S. delegation and ambassador to the United Nations, told conference delegates. ``The Clinton administration is determined to bring these barriers down."

The commitments are:

Setting up a White House Council on Women to put into practice the platform adopted by the conference.

A \$1.6 billion effort to set up special police and prosecution units to fight domestic violence and other crimes against women.

Health programs to increase awareness of AIDS, discourage cigarette smoking, fight breast cancer and support reproductive rights.

Working with employers to improve working conditions for women and ensure their pay and promotion accords with those of men.

Giving presidential awards to small-scale lending institutions that provide credit to the poor, especially women.

Supporting small-scale lending and enterprises through U.S. Agency for International Development programs.

Continuing to speak out on behalf of human rights.

APNP-09-06-95 1013EDT

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: jamest@usia.gov@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-SEP-1995 12:16:00.00

SUBJECT: 9\_6\_Beijing\_Bosnia\_French\_Test

TO: williams\_ma ( williams\_ma@A1@CD ) (WHO)

READ:20-SEP-1995 18:58:59.60

TEXT:

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FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION

EARLY REPORT                      USIA

OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND MEDIA

REACTION

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U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY, WASHINGTON, DC 20547

Patricia McArdle, Branch Chief Media Reaction, (R/MR), Tele. No. (202)619-6511

sday, September 6, 1995

MRS. CLINTON AT BEIJING WOMENS' CONFERENCE:  
BLUNT WORDS FROM CHINA'S 'STAR GUEST'

The First Lady's speech yesterday received prominent coverage in the international press, with commentators praising her strong condemnation of human rights violations around the world and her "clear slap" at Chinese practices of forced abortion and sterilization, and Beijing's denial of women's "right to plan their own families." The liberal Sydney Morning Herald concluded that by not directly naming China and broadening her attack with examples of other countries' abuses of human rights, Mrs. Clinton was able to give the host country a "face-saving reprieve and avoid further damage to Sino-U.S. relations." Many papers noted, however, that no word of the speech was reported by the Chinese official news agency. London's conservative Times, which had called in a pre-conference editorial for Mrs. Clinton to be a 'bad guest,' was delighted that she had followed its advice in presenting such a "trenchant speech" to the assembled delegates. German national TV Channel Two (ZDF), stressing that her address required a diplomatic "tightrope act," highlighted her "foreign policy role" on this visit, which it characterized as "a signal of reconciliation against the background of strained relations between Washington and Beijing."

NATO RESUMES BOMBING OVER BOSNIA

The resumption of NATO air raids against Serbian targets in Bosnia received prominent media treatment overseas, and strong approval in early editorial reaction. Analysts insisted that the West must continue to show its determination in the face of Serb intransigence, and that the real

test of the Allied course will be any progress that is made at the negotiating table beginning Friday.

## A FRENCH TEST IN PARADISE

The news that France proceeded with the first of its planned series of nuclear tests came too late for comment from most outlets, but criticism of Paris's nuclear initiative--even before the test was carried out--was widespread and very harsh.

## BRIEF

-- Northern Ireland: A Setback?

EDITORS: Mildred Sola Neely and Pat McArdle

MRS. CLINTON AT BEIJING WOMENS' CONFERENCE:  
BLUNT WORDS FROM CHINA'S 'STAR GUEST'

Britain "Home Truths Abroad"

The conservative Times, which called in an editorial before the conference started for Mrs. Clinton to be a 'bad guest' if she attended it, was delighted this morning that she had followed its advice. It said in an editorial: "The Chinese government, which had wrestled so hard to secure the presence in Beijing of Hillary Clinton, felt the sour taste of her words yesterday at the UN World Conference for Women. In a trenchant speech to the assembled delegates, the American First Lady showed precisely why it was correct for her to attend this conference.... Mrs. Clinton, the woman whom Beijing got in exchange (for Harry Wu), is now the blunt-speaking center of attraction--and a 'bad guest' to boot.... What the conference has most clearly taught us...is the true nature of the Chinese government, its paranoias and its unblushing recourse to repression in moments of difficulty....

"She delivered a clear slap at Chinese methods by describing as violations of human rights the practices of forced abortion and sterilization, and the denial to women of 'the right to plan their own families.' Not surprisingly, the Chinese state-controlled news agency, Xinhua, did not so much as mention Mrs. Clinton in its daily report of the conference. China's 'star guest' would appear now to have laid to rest the criticism leveled against her by the Republican right in America, and by some human rights groups there, who had argued that her visit to the conference would be interpreted by Beijing as yet another sign of American weakness. By speaking out for human rights at a venue not far from Tiananmen Square, Mrs Clinton has performed an essential service. There is some criticism which even the Chinese government cannot silence."

"Honest Hillary"

The left-leaning tabloid Today editorialized: "Hillary Clinton takes an awful lot of stick, some of which is deserved. But her outspoken attack on the Chinese hosts at the World Conference on Women needed saying--and few could have articulated it better. Western delegates, Mrs. Clinton included, had been understandably criticized for attending an event held by a nation which savagely puts down any dissent and condones the starving to death of baby girls because they are regarded as less valuable economically. Most national leaders in a similar situation would have favored discretion rather than valor, for fear of offending the country staging the conference."

France "Hillary Clinton, A Noisy Guest For Beijing"

Influential Liberation commented, "Hillary Clinton skillfully addressed the human rights question, a very touchy issue for the Chinese Communist Regime.... Dumbfounded, the dozens of Chinese in the press room remained silent."

Germany "So Many Expectations"

Yesterday's early evening newscast on national TV channel Two (ZDF) aired this: "Hillary Clinton's address to the colloquium on health issues was already a tightrope act. On the topic of family planning, the president's wife had to placate those who believed that family values were being undermined, as well as supporters of the right to abortion. In her second speech, Mrs. Clinton also had to try and sit on the fence, since human rights activists expected her to criticize China, whereas Beijing was expecting conciliatory tones following its months of strife with the United States. America's First Lady is playing a foreign policy role here, because her visit is being interpreted as a signal of reconciliation against the background of strained relations between Washington and Beijing."

Italy "Are There Any Doubts Regarding Identity Of The Accused?"

Centrist, top-circulation Corriere della Sera observed, "The American First Lady did not accept giving up her ideas for reasons of state or the suggested caution of White House diplomatic advisers. She said what she thinks, and she thinks strong words.... China was not mentioned, true. But does anybody have any doubts regarding the identity of the accused?"

Spain "Hillary Clinton Rebukes China On Human Rights"

Liberal-left daily El Pais noted Mrs. Clinton's remarks on "the human rights violation which deny women their right to plan their families" and her plea that "women must be clearly and loudly listened to."

Japan "Mrs. Clinton Indirectly Slams China on Human Rights"

Business-oriented Nihon Keizai opined, "Mrs. Clinton criticized China indirectly for its abuse of human rights. She also slammed Beijing's 'one-child' policy.... Although Mrs. Clinton stopped short of criticizing Beijing by name, she used words and phrases suggesting

China violates human rights. Her speech was apparently designed to give proper care and consideration to both the U.S. Congress and the Beijing leadership."

#### Australia "Hillary Lets fly At China Over Rights"

The liberal Sydney Morning Herald commented, "Hillary Rodham Clinton stole the show on the first full day of the World Conference on Women today, delivering a powerful speech critical of China's population policy and scathing of its contempt for freedom of expression. But by not directly naming China and broadening her attack with examples of other countries' abuses of human rights, Mrs. Clinton was able to give the host country a face-saving reprieve and avoid further damage to Sino-U.S. relations.... Mrs. Clinton's visit is seen by Beijing as a major step toward repairing the diplomatic damage. "Given the state of relations (between the U.S. and China) Mrs. Clinton today probably went as far as she could in criticizing China."

#### Hong Kong "Hillary Rebukes China, But Not By Name"

Independent Sing Pao Daily News held, "As expected, she condemned China's one-child policy as a violation of human rights, although not mentioning [China] by name. She also censured the hosts for barring many female delegates from arriving in Beijing to attend the conference.... It is true that the Chinese government was not happy about that, but it simply could not ask Hillary to shut up. Nevertheless, the Chinese leaders have not invited Hillary to meet with them. The ostensible reason for this is that first ladies from all nations attending the conference are receiving equal treatment [from the hosts]. Actually, they did that to deal her a head-on blow at the first encounter. They do not want Hillary to feel too glorious."

#### Thailand "Hillary Slams China At Women's Forum"

The front-page headline story of the independent English-language Nation said: "Hillary Clinton's veiled attack on human rights in China sparked jubilation among rights activists yesterday but risks offending Beijing when relations with Washington are said to be at a 16-year low."

#### India "Mrs. Clinton Stole The Limelight"

The top-circulation, independent, opposition Indian Express report said Mrs. Clinton "stole the limelight" when she "equated the rights of women to human rights."

#### "South Concerns At Beijing"

According to an analysis in the independent Pioneer, "There has...been criticism mostly by Western journalists about China's poor human rights record, which in their estimation negates a major concern at the meet, the human rights of women. Human rights abuse

exists all over the world, including the West, as does discrimination against women, despite laws stating the contrary.... In the area of power-sharing and decision-making, developing countries have a better record of women's parliamentary representation...than the developed nations."

Saudi Arabia "Beijing Conference...Bad Assessment!"

Influential, religious Al-Madina held, "If those activists gave themselves some time to re-think their high admiration of the Western model and the gap between the West's technological prowess and its lack of human ethical values...then it would be easy for them to find cures for their moral and physical diseases."

#### NATO RESUMES BOMBING OVER BOSNIA

Slovenia "Cold"

Left-of-center, independent Vecer's Mirko Lorenci observed today, "The United States'--i.e the developed world's--approach toward the Serbs has become rather cold. As if the West suddenly realized that making business with 'swine dealers' was senseless.... The United States has also realized in a practical way that it can afford a military intervention which will confirm its overall position of leadership in the world."

Britain "NATO's Response Exactly What Is Required"

In the view of the conservative tabloid Daily Express, "NATO's response is exactly what is required. Now the Allies have unsheathed the sword, they must be implacable in using it whenever necessary. The Bosnian Serb forces need to understand that not only aggression but also failure to comply with NATO/UN demands will cost them dear from now on.... The knowledge that swift, certain punishment will follow any misbehavior will concentrate the aggressor's mind wonderfully."

France "West, UN Must Show They Can't Be Fooled"

Jean-Francois Bouthors authored this editorial in Catholic La Croix yesterday afternoon, "The question is whether NATO and the UN are determined to maintain pressure to reach that goal (withdrawal of Bosnian Serb heavy weaponry around Sarajevo) by Friday. After all, the Serbs can still hope that, after an outburst of anger, Operation Deliberate Force might turn into simple gesturing. The West and the UN must still show that they won't be fooled."

Germany "Simple Logic"

Guenter Nonnenmacher opined in right-of-center Frankfurter Allgemeine today, "Today, only one question counts: Will the new bombardments against facilities of the Bosnian Serbs bring peace closer to tormented Bosnia-Herzegovina? A partial answer was given after the first bombardment: The peace process that was blocked by the Pale

Serbs was set in motion again only after the West demonstrated with military power that, in future, massacres will not be criticized with words but will be punished with military actions.... It is to be hoped that the West will keep in mind the lesson of the past days: Determination and toughness do not prevent negotiations, since they are the only means to push forward these talks."

#### "Consistent West"

Adrian Zielcke remarked in centrist Stuttgarter Zeitung, "This time, the West remained consistent.... If the Western Alliance wanted to take itself seriously again and did not want to destroy the chances for peace, then it had to take action after the ultimatum ran out, since the West had found vigorous words without any consequences often enough before."

#### "Too Late"

Centrist Neue Osnabruecker Zeitung commented, "NATO waited too long.... As far as military aspects are concerned, it hardly plays a role whether the air strikes take place 14 hours earlier or later. But their political and psychological effect was clearly diminished because of this delay. This is fatal, because the real purpose of the bombing is to bring the Serbs back to the negotiating table."

#### Italy "Some Kind Of Peace Is One Step Away"

In financial II Sole-24 Ore, Ugo Tramballi commented, "Peace is one step away in the former Yugoslavia.... The compromise which is emerging and which will be discussed in Geneva sooner or later, is not an American peace, but a former Yugoslavian peace. The conditions for an agreement were created by Bosnian Serbs with the conquests of the Zepa and Srebrenica enclaves and, even more, by the Croats' reconquest of Krajina and western Slavonia. There are other important territorial questions to be resolved, but the Balkan geography as a whole has been outlined. It is a monstrous paradox, but the ethnic cleansing of the last two months has been more useful than Boutros Ghali's initiatives.

"The American negotiating strategy was then based on these facts on the ground and produced the sudden determination of NATO. The Clinton administration was able, pragmatic, but not decisive.... It remains to be understood why Bosnian Serbs continue to defy NATO, if peace has already been outlined.... By provoking more bombings, Bosnian Serbs hope to divide Western nations and to reawaken the Russians: Yesterday, in fact, the British did not want to bomb and Yeltsin protested. The Balkan quagmire is still active. Like firemen who have arrived late at the site of the fire, Clinton's negotiators and NATO bombers can do nothing else than quickly save what is left."

#### Poland "Mladic Risks Total Catastrophe"

David Warszawski wrote for top-circulation, center-left Gazeta Wyborcza, "General Mladic, for fear of a small defeat, risks total

catastrophe. If he had accepted the ultimatum and withdrawn heavy weapons, he would have saved the strength of his army, and had a chance for political maneuvers.... Convinced of the shakiness of the West's political will, he staked everything on one option, and lost.... It isn't clear what the Serbs will be able to save after the defeat. Karadzic will probably try to stop the air raids and accept the ultimatum, but he won't be able to dictate conditions for peace. The American peace plan may be accepted by him and become the best chance for the Serbs. If the Bosnians will let them benefit from such an opportunity."

Sweden "Too Provocative To Be Ignored"

Conservative Svenska Dagbladet's editorial maintained, "The fact that yesterday NATO resumed its air raids against Bosnian Serb military positions indicates that the big powers have the ability to act with some consistency at least. The unwillingness of the Bosnian Serb military command to abide by the ultimatum and withdraw all heavy artillery was too provocative to be ignored."

Turkey "Positive Development"

Fkiret Ertan concluded in pro-Islamic Zaman, "The resumption of the bombardment is a positive development.... Serbs only understand (the language of) force.... NATO must keep its promise and continue the bombardment until the Serbs meet its conditions."

Jordan "NATO Has Regained Credibility"

According to pro-government, influential Al-Ray's Tawfiq Abul Rub, "All attention was turned to the West to put an end to these massacres in the name of humanity. These hopes were slowly frustrated and the West, represented by NATO, lost its credibility.... A Croatian attack against the Serbs surprised the world. This attack seems to have taken its green light from the West. This concept was confirmed when NATO launched its biggest military air strike in its history.... NATO has regained its credibility in the eyes of the world."

#### A FRENCH TEST IN PARADISE

France "Restrained, Moderate U.S. Reaction"

France Inter Radio today aired Bernard Guetta's view that the U.S. reaction was "restrained." He added, "This moderate U.S. reaction is due...to a human factor. In a word, the Americans like Jacques Chirac.... The second reason for this extremely moderate U.S. reaction is the fact that the United States is now involved in the peace process in former Yugoslavia, and needs France's support.... In short, it is a bad time to get angry with the French..... The Americans are getting used to the idea of a European defense...and think that it is not bad that the French force de frappe (may) one day, become...the core of a European deterrent."

Germany "French Nukes Vs. D-Marks?"

Bodo Morawe told his regional radio Norddeutscher Rundfunk of Hamburg audience, "The military power symbol of the force de frappe has been thrown onto the scales by Gaullist Chirac as a counterweight to the monetary power symbol of the D-mark. But if France and Chirac think that they must compensate for their political and economic weakness by emphasizing their status as a nuclear power, then this will have three unpleasant consequences. The new French power elite not only disregards ecological interests, at the same time, it also revives the militarization of foreign policy and promotes the renationalization of European policy."

Britain "France Now Stands Alone"

Electronic media led with the news of the French test, with BBC TV's environment correspondent Richard Wilson saying this morning, "France now stands alone. The test has been condemned by all French Polynesia's Pacific neighbors." Reporter Joe Paley observed, "There have been demonstrations around the world this morning. The frustration of the people of the South Pacific boiled over when they learnt France had gone ahead."

South Korea "Chirac Must Listen"

An editorial Sunday in conservative Chosun Ilbo said, "President Chirac must listen to those protesting the...nuclear tests. He should not pursue those plans, because his country faces no security threat requiring an upgraded nuclear capability."

Ecuador "French Pride"

Leading, center-right El Comercio yesterday commented, "Should a country as great in art and other fields necessarily resort to armed power? There are many contradictions, but amidst them, French pride remains, which translates to a challenge to the rest of the world and in particular, to those countries that might be affected, those with Pacific coasts."

Peru "No Justification For These Tests"

An editorial in official gazette El Peruano of Saturday held, "Nothing justifies, in the interdependent world which now exists, the resumption of atomic tests, particularly those which constitute attacks on human life and world peace and contribute nothing to the peaceful use of nuclear energy. On the contrary, these tests affect the tranquility and the ecosystem of the earth, causing irreparable damage to the environment and contaminating the water, which, in turn, affects the marine species as well as the countries touched by the ocean currents of the Pacific."

BRIEF

NORTHERN IRELAND: A SETBACK?

Britain "A Damaging Setback"

An editorial today in the independent Financial Times said under the headline above, "The 11th-hour postponement of the Anglo-Irish summit represents a serious setback to hopes of an end to the present stalemate in Northern Ireland.... The risk of a resumption of violence by the IRA has never looked greater."

"Perhaps Crucial Role Of Clinton Administration"

In another piece, the Financial Times held, "Perhaps crucial to a resolution to the growing crisis will be the Clinton administration."

"A Fundamental Point Of Principle"

The conservative Daily Telegraph's editorial stressed, "Given the Irish republic's own history, its government should know better than most that no democratic country should be expected to admit to its political process a party that will not abandon the illegal possession of weapons.... If past actions are any guide, the Irish will now seek to enlist American help to force Britain to back down. The British government must make it absolutely clear to Washington that any attempt to browbeat it into submission on such a fundamental point of principle will be entirely counterproductive. The United States, in recent years, has made much of its determination to fight terrorism. It cannot now turn round and demand that its oldest ally must admit to its political process a party that not only refuses to forswear violence, but insists on maintaining undiminished the capacity to threaten it."

##

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 6-SEP-1995 12:14:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from gatekeeper.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879)  
id <01HUYERAVYTC003X2X@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for williams\_ma@a1.eop.gov; Wed,  
06 Sep 1995 12:16:37 -0400 (EDT)

Received: by gatekeeper.eop.gov (5.65/fma-120691); id AA12827; Wed,  
06 Sep 1995 12:11:11 -0400

Received: from usia.gov ("port 1034"@XGATE.USIA.GOV)  
by STORM.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879) id <01HUYELHZHXO00007J@STORM.EOP.GOV> for  
williams\_ma@a1.eop.gov; Wed, 06 Sep 1995 12:11:56 -0700 (MST)

Received: from Connect2 Message Router by usia.gov via Connect2-SMTP 4.00; Wed,  
06 Sep 1995 08:27:09 -0500

Organization: USIA

X-Mailer: Connect2-SMTP 4.00 MHS to SMTP Gateway

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (ALL-IN-1 MAIL)

CREATOR: Mary Ellen Glynn ( GLYNN\_M ) (WHO)

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-SEP-1995 07:37:45.97

SUBJECT: RE: are you there?

TO: Janice A. Enright ( ENRIGHT\_J ) (WHO)

READ: 6-SEP-1995 09:18:20.28

TEXT:

Janice:

I don't have much written guidance, but I am happy to walk him or you through the speech talking points. I should get a call from Beijing at 8am this morning, so I will call you after that.

What time is he meeting with the women?

Also, I need some guidance from you guys on the Ag report on the C-130s. I heard that James Lee and Glickman are meeting with D'Amato this morning.

Thanks

Mary Ellen

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (ALL-IN-1 MAIL)

CREATOR: Carol H. Rasco ( RASCO\_C ) (OPD)

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-SEP-1995 15:32:50.75

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I look forward to seeing you on Monday!

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: jamest@usia.gov@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-SEP-1995 13:46:00.00

SUBJECT: 9\_7\_Beijing

TO: baker\_k (baker\_k@A1@CD) (WHO)

READ: 7-SEP-1995 13:44:46.59

TEXT:

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FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION

EARLY REPORT USIA

OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND MEDIA

REACTION

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U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY, WASHINGTON, DC 20547

Patricia McArdle, Branch Chief Media Reaction, (R/MR), Tele. No. (202)619-6511

day, September 7, 1995

FRENCH NUCLEAR TEST:  
IS THE 'FORCE DE FRAPPE' STILL NECESSARY?

There was overwhelming condemnation in this morning's foreign press of the French nuclear test on the Pacific atoll of Mururoa. According to several writers, the test could not have come at a worse time, following so closely after the 50th anniversary of the dropping of atomic bombs in Japan at the end of WWII and the United Nations NPT conference in New York.

In France, most editors defended the action of the Chirac government and polls carried in today's influential Le Monde showed that although 59 percent of the French oppose the resumption of nuclear testing, 60 percent favor France maintaining its nuclear deterrent. Regional La Nouvelle Republique du Centre Ouest characterized French opinion thus: "France does not have America's strength, Germany's solidity, Japan's dynamism or China's size. But it has its atomic bomb. It is the nuclear weapon which grants her, according to the Gaullist vision, international respect." Analysts in Germany, India and Russia examined the implications of Paris using its force de frappe to reinforce its position in the European Union, with Moscow's centrist army Krasnaya Zvezda accusing the French of hoping "to raise their prestige by spreading their nuclear umbrella over Western Europe." In Tokyo, liberal Asahi characterized the French tests as "an open challenge to the international community" and regretted that "other nuclear powers have given tacit approval to the French resumption of nuclear tests." Other writers in East Asia and the South Pacific regretted the "betrayal of South Pacific and other non-nuclear countries that had hoped for a French unlimited extension of the NPT."

## FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: NEARING PEACE TALKS, AIR STRIKES CONTINUE

As the different participants prepare for tomorrow's diplomatic talks in Geneva, the press focused on the improved prospects for "some sort" of peace, even an imperfect one, in the former Yugoslavia and on the U.S. role in bringing military and diplomatic force to bear in the region. Assistant Secretary Holbrooke's efforts were widely discussed, and analysts were clearly impressed (although Greek ones were not exactly elated) with his "diplomatic feat" in prompting Athens and Skopje to renew talks regarding their dispute over the status of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

## BRIEF

-- Beijing Women's Conference

EDITORS: Mildred Sola Neely and Pat McArdle  
FRENCH NUCLEAR TEST:  
IS THE 'FORCE DE FRAPPE' STILL NECESSARY?

France "France Did Not Give In"

According to a front-page editorial in conservative Le Figaro today, "France did not give in (to pressure from ecologists). To give in would have meant to destroy our force de frappe, for deterrence lies on moral, as well as technical credibility."

"First Victim: Jacques Chirac"

Left-of-center Liberation's director Serge July authored the following commentary, "To date, the main victim of the resumption of French testing in the Pacific is Jacques Chirac. There is no reason for us to be happy about that. Because his maneuvering room as chief of state has narrowed, but also because France is undergoing, on the international stage, the negative consequences of a blast which was mainly aimed at inaugurating the Chirac reign. We don't need this."

"International Respect"

Regional La Nouvelle Republique du Centre Ouest commented, "France does not have America's strength, Germany's solidity, Japan's dynamism or China's size. But it has its atomic bomb. It is the nuclear weapon which grants her, according to the Gaullist vision, international respect."

Germany "No Withdrawal From World History"

Centrist Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich observed, "There will hardly be any radioactive fallout in the Pacific following the first of the French nuclear tests. The political fallout, on the other hand, is considerable. Nevertheless, French President Chirac is counting on it

having a short half-life--i.e. only temporary problems in France's relations with its partners. The plan may work since in the long term, France's voice is indispensable for the European and international chorus.... The suggestion that the force de frappe might one day be made available to a common European defense community is currently nothing but a rhetorical trick. But the partners should not miss the opportunity to take Paris at its word.... Anyone who seriously regards the EU as the equal of other world powers must accept that on the threshold of the third millennium, an army without nuclear warheads is like a group of knights in armor after the invention of firearms."

#### "The Bomb's Message"

Left-of-center Frankfurter Rundschau said, "Nobody can avoid this logic. How can anyone seriously negotiate non-proliferation and restrictions on or reductions in nuclear arsenals while holes are still being blasted into Pacific atolls and Chinese deserts?"

Russia "Nuclear Blast Shakes Global Mores"

Centrist army Krasnaya Zvezda held, "The French action shook not only the far-off atoll in the Pacific, but also the global moral atmosphere.... As well as attempting to justify...the revival of the spirit of the nuclear arms race, Paris is out to gain more ground in Europe...pushing the idea of the 'socialization' of its nuclear forces within the framework of the Western European Union. Obviously, the French hope to raise their prestige by spreading their nuclear umbrella over Western Europe."

Belgium "Nuclear Weapons Remain Guarantee Of Independence"

Independent Le Soir asks whether in the present geopolitical context, "France and Europe, at least in the medium term, should keep their own deterrent or should they rely exclusively on the United States, which is increasingly less concerned about European interests? Whether one likes it or not, the nuclear weapon remains a guarantee of independence, a characteristic of power and a factor of influence....

"Nuclear deterrence also remains a key element in the security of the big industrial and democratic powers. While one does not see its usefulness in conflicts of the Yugoslav type, future security remains largely unforeseeable..... For instance, how would the Gulf War have evolved had Saddam Hussein owned a nuclear bomb? And even though it does not give it a direct access to nuclear weapons, the delivery of Russian nuclear powers to Iran is not reassuring."

#### "Unnecessary Provocation"

Conservative Catholic Gazet van Antwerpen declared, "The timing of the tests could hardly have come at a worse moment. Right when the international community is commemorating the fact that two atomic bombs ended the world's most horrendous conflict 50 years ago, Paris believes it to be necessary to carry out tests to perfect that

murderous weapon. That is shocking and provocative.... In a world where interdependence is growing every day, it is unacceptable that a nation acts in such a stubborn manner and that it haughtily refuses to learn the technology elsewhere, via computer simulation, to refine its nuclear arsenal."

India "Nuclear Hypocrisy"

The independent Times of India remarked, "The Australian and the Japanese position would be more credible if they give up their dependence on the extended American nuclear deterrence that they insist on having and openly declare that the use and threat of nuclear weapons are crimes against humanity.... One wonders whether the protests against the French and Chinese tests are not in pursuance of a policy of keeping the world unipolar.... The international system is now polycentric....

"But as long as nuclear weapons are permitted to be used as the legitimate currency of power in the international system, protests against the French tests sound hollow and will serve to favor U.S. hegemony. The French intention in carrying out these tests is to demonstrate that the European Union with its modernized nuclear arsenal will be an active participant in the new balance of power game. It is also the French way of asserting its military primacy within the European Union."

Japan "French Nuclear Test Is Outrageous"

Liberal Asahi held, "The French resumption of nuclear tests is an open challenge to the international community which is striving to create a nuclear-free world. France says the tests are vital to protect its national prestige. What is the French national prestige? We strongly protest the Chirac government's willful attempt to carry out nuclear testing, while turning a deaf ear to international protests. It is regrettable that other nuclear powers have given tacit approval to the French resumption of nuclear tests. The United States initially reacted negatively to the French nuclear tests, but appears amenable to them in order to conclude the CTBT at an early date. It is unpardonable that the nuclear nations are joining hands to preserve their nuclear arms."

Australia "Mururoa: Not A Defeat But The Start Of Victory"

Melbourne's liberal Age editorialized, "The reality is that French insensitivity and ambition on Mururoa have brought forth an extraordinary coalition of forces whose aim, increasingly, is to abolish nuclear testing in the Pacific and elsewhere as soon as possible. The signs are that the anti-test campaign has gained enormous political credibility.... Those who protested will be able to reflect that they were not entirely ineffective. Out of a political and environmental disaster will have come some good."

Indonesia "French Nukes Should Not Be Tested But Destroyed"

Leading, independent Kompas opined, "Wednesday's nuclear test

demonstrates not only French indifference to the nuclear states' desire that they restrain from testing...but its betrayal of South Pacific and other non-nuclear countries that had hoped for a French unlimited extension of the NPT.... We hope that France's actions do not encourage other nuclear countries to follow suit. The United States has stated that it will maintain its position on the moratorium."

#### Thailand "Stop Buying All French Products"

A column in the Bangkok Post's Thai-language sister publication, Siam Post, strongly criticized France's nuclear test last Tuesday and urged, "Thai people stop buying all French products in order to bring French leaders to their senses, making them be more responsible to--and realize the value of--the lives of the Maori people."

#### Guatemala "Ecological Massacre"

Business-oriented Siglo Veintiuno yesterday ran a full-page obituary notice to voice its "deepest regret for the ecological massacre committed by the French government in conducting nuclear testing...and to condemn this open threat to the safety of our planet."

#### FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: NEARING PEACE TALKS, AIR STRIKES CONTINUE

#### Serbia- "Holbrooke's Goal" Montenegro

Senior foreign affairs commentator Stevan Niksic wrote for the Sept. 1 issue of Belgrade's independent weekly NIN, "Those who know Richard Holbrooke well, claim that he is a man deprived of any sentimentality, and aimed solely at achieving his goal.... From the very beginning, Holbrooke's main object was to get the unpleasant burden of the Bosnian war off Bill Clinton's back, and to eliminate the risk of possible U.S. troops involvement in the Bosnian war, since it might cause a lot of trouble to his boss during the forthcoming presidential election campaign.... So, what he wants is to bring the war in Bosnia to an end as soon as possible with as little as possible headache for the Americans. He does not burden himself much with possible civilian casualties, which might result from his plan."

#### "Some Sort Of Settlement..."

Belgrade weekly Vreme (9/1) ran this commentary by Milos Vasic, "Some sort of a peace settlement (presumably temporary) might be expected in Bosnia.... However, one should not get overly optimistic, since now both Karadzic and Milosevic have perfect alibis: The former can always accuse the latter of making too many concessions, while the latter can always accuse the former of obstruction and deceit.... The third player should not be forgotten, and it is the Bosniacs with their kibitzers--the big powers."

#### Croatia "West Confident It Can Resolve The Problem"

Zagreb's pro-government Vjesnik today remarked in an article by Paris correspondent Mirko Galic, "The messages coming from Pale--Karadzic accepts the conditions, Mladic refuses to comply--are not creating confusion; the West, obviously, is talking only to Belgrade in an attempt to resolve the Serbian problem through Milosevic. The West is confident that it can resolve the problem. Richard Holbrooke, after his last meeting with Milosevic, stated that 'there was no diplomatic breakthrough,' but the American has good reasons to continue with the talks.... Should the same tenant remain in the White House after the coming elections, there are great opportunities for the 'Balkan Kissinger' in the State Department. This time not as Christopher's assistant, but as his successor."

Slovenia "International Community Is Now At War"

Left-of-center Delo today said in a commentary by Stojan Zitko, "The fact should not be overlooked that (the Serbs) have not yet lost the war; namely, aircraft attacks must be followed by the infantry in order to win a war.... With their military intervention, NATO and the European Community have undoubtedly crossed the thin dividing-line between neutrality and alliance.... They have clearly aligned themselves against the Serbs.... The international community will have to realize that it has entered a new reality, and admit that it has become definitely involved in the Bosnian war.... (The international community) will have to reconcile itself with the fact that a real war...generates victims on all sides."

France "Spectacularly Settled By U.S.: Athens-Skopje Dispute"

An editorial in economic Les Echos today held, "The dispute between Macedonia and Greece is on the verge of being spectacularly settled thanks to an intense U.S. diplomatic campaign started in early August.... After Washington's useful intervention bringing Greece and Albania closer to each other and its efforts to ease the tensions between Athens and Ankara, one has to admit--although regretfully--that the U.S. approach to Balkan issues is more coherent than that of Europe. Defusing the peripheral crises cannot but reinforce Washington's credibility in its search for a solution in ex-Yugoslavia."

Germany "A 'Disgraceful' Peace?"

Sabine Rosenblatt observed in centrist weekly Die Woche of Hamburg, "There are now voices in the Western press that speak of a 'disgraceful peace.' But let us be honest: What is more cruel: To tell the Muslims clearly the truth that no foreign power wants to recapture their state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, or to leave them in the dark about this, thus letting them continue to suffer? This is a question of conscience. Second, if the West accepts the division into two parts, it will undoubtedly approve the policy of 'ethnic cleansing' and brute force. But a multiethnic solution can be enforced in the Balkans only with brute force. This is horrible, but true."

## "Promise Of Peace In Balkans"

Munich's centrist Suedddeutsche Zeitung commented in an editorial by Wilhelm Saekel, "Holbrooke seems to have achieved a diplomatic feat. A few hours in Athens, a few hours in Skopje--and suddenly the squabblers...want to allow their foreign ministers to negotiate again. This caused international applause and sources are again talking about an early end to the Greek border blockade and the trade war.... Nevertheless, we cannot assume that Greeks and Macedonians will soon hug each other. There are hardliners on both sides, but at least we have got a peace-promising message from the Balkans."

## Russia "Pressure From Russian Legislators May Toughen Stance"

Commenting on the State Duma's decision to hold an emergency meeting on NATO and the former Yugoslavia, Andrei Smirnov noted in reformist, business-oriented Kommersant Daily, "Growing pressure from the legislators might force the Russian Foreign Ministry to get still tougher on NATO's actions in Bosnia."

## "NATO's Aggression"

Neo-Communist Pravda's Pavel Volobuyev and Lyudmila Tyagunenko wrote, "This unprovoked aggression risks escalating the war in Bosnia...into a deadly conflagration in the Balkans. Casting aside the mask of a peacemaker...NATO openly challenged...the Serbs...and became the main warring party.... The Communists, it seems, were right when they warned of NATO's aggressive nature."

## Greece "U.S. Imposed Direct Negotiations"

The news of next week's meeting of the Greek and Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia foreign ministers brokered by the United States was notable in Athens mostly for the furor caused by the procedure of the announcement. Influential, independent Kathimerini of Tuesday, for instance, said on page one, "In essence, the United States imposed direct negotiations between Greece and Skopje."

## "Boss Holbrooke"

Center-left Eleftherotypia Tuesday remarked, "Holbrooke came to Athens like a boss and demanded...the immediate solution of the Skopje issue...as if he were an official of the federal administration ordering a disobedient governor of a state to comply with Washington decisions. In order not to leave any doubts hanging in mid-air, the announcement was made by the American charge in Athens, while the prime minister's diplomatic adviser stood next to him. This is how far our proud national foreign policy has fallen. A problem that could have been resolved when it surfaced...is now solved by the Yankees who put their mark on it. In 1974, our political leaders promised a different Greece to us. Unfortunately, after 20 years, we have stepped 40 years back."

## Turkey "Turkey Plays A Special Role"

Mass-appeal Sabah's columnist Gengiz Candar today wrote of his flight to Geneva with Bosnian President Izetbegovic, "This is the test prepared by Holbrooke after his meeting with the Bosnian delegation in Ankara. The same text was taken by Holbrooke to Serbian President Milosevic. They said that after each meeting Americans had written a new text and that this was the latest text. The most important dispute is over the description of the independence and sovereignty of Bosnia. Serbs want a constitutional arrangement which will let Bosnia, and later Bosnian Serbs, establish a confederation with Serbia. Izetbegovic does not want even to discuss this.... He is particularly pleased that (Turkish leader) Demirel fully supports his 12-point peace plan and that Holbrooke mentioned that Turkey has a special place in the Bosnian issue."

## BEIJING WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

China "Western Media's Strong Bias Against China"

A piece by Xinhua news service ran today in the official, English-language China Daily, "There is a strong prejudice, a strong bias against China and against developing countries, said Xiong Lei, a veteran reporter of Xinhua.... Western press have paid little attention to the 20,000 participants in the NGO forum, but they focus on the collapse of a wall at Huairou, some car accidents and the (activities of) minorities and a few Tibetans in exile. They always look for trouble. If there is no trouble, they even make it.... Though it will not be easy, we should unite at this conference to pressure (the Western mainstream media) to change."

Britain "Mrs. Clinton Bests The Chinese"

An editorial today in the conservative Daily Telegraph conceded about Mrs. Clinton, "At last, she has done something right. In defiance of diplomatic convention...she delivered a ferocious speech denouncing the Chinese record on human rights... At a stroke, she achieved heroic status. Any prospect of Beijing's gaining the kudos to which it aspired from the hosting of the conference has been set at naught.

"More than this, Mrs. Clinton's performance opens up a new vision for American diplomacy.... The deployment of air power and the U.S. Marine Corps has proved of limited efficacy. But now perhaps the United States has stumbled upon a much deadlier and cheaper weapon: a visit from Hillary Clinton."

"Lost Momentum Overnight?"

The liberal Guardian noted about yesterday's speech, "(Mrs. Clinton) seemed to have lost momentum overnight and the only real applause she drew was when she spoke about the difficulties the women had, and continue to have, in Huairou."

France "Less Poignant Speech"

Conservative Le Figaro's special correspondent to Huairou Jean Leclerc du Sablon filed, "As to the U.S. First Lady, she gave a less poignant speech than the one the day before. She just expressed her support for non-official feminist organizations. The thousands of women who expected her with enthusiasm to protest against 'imperialism' noisily expressed their disappointment. Perhaps a small protest sign: Hillary Clinton wore a Tibetan necklace."

India "A Sad Beginning"

An editorial Tuesday in the independent Telegraph held, "National governments, the Indian included, are unwilling to acknowledge that structural adjustment policies are driving more and more women in the poorer countries into the unorganized sector.... It is true that the draft platform of action...targets poverty eradication. But developed nations have refused financial commitments toward social programs for women in Third World countries.... Even in an ideal situation, which the Beijing meet does not promise to be, such a broad based agenda could be expected to achieve little. Holding on to previous gains would be, in the circumstances, the most reassuring outcome. That the first Asian host of the international conference should betray the hopes of Third World activists is a sad enough beginning."

Nigeria "Major Battles To Be Fought Back Home"

Today's independent Daily Sunray of Port Harcourt concluded, "The major battles about women's role in development will not be those fought around the conference. They are the ones which political parties, bureaucrats, women's pressure or lobby groups will fight in various countries each year to widen the scope of freedom of action for women. They are the ones which will be fought to make governments implement honestly the resolutions from Beijing '95."

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 7-SEP-1995 13:44:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from gatekeeper.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879)  
id <01HUZW6OJA34002609@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for baker\_k@a1.eop.gov; Thu,  
07 Sep 1995 13:46:11 -0400 (EDT)

Received: by gatekeeper.eop.gov (5.65/fma-120691); id AA15941; Thu,  
07 Sep 1995 13:40:41 -0400

Received: from Connect2 Message Router by usia.gov via Connect2-SMTP 4.00; Thu,  
07 Sep 1995 13:45:32 -0500

Organization: USIA

X-Mailer: Connect2-SMTP 4.00 MHS to SMTP Gateway

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (ALL-IN-1 MAIL)

CREATOR: Kyle M. Baker ( BAKER\_K ) (WHO)

CREATION DATE/TIME:11-SEP-1995 09:06:20.84

SUBJECT: LANGUAGE ON 'SEX RIGHTS' PROVISION IN U.N. PLATFORM

TO: Remote Addressee ( 1=US@2=TELEMAIL@3=INTERNET@\*RFC-  
822DMARTIN628(A)AOL.COM@MRX@EOPMRX )  
READ:NOT READ

TEXT:

Date: 09/11/95 Time: 08:39

Language on 'Sex Rights' Provision in U.N. Platform

BEIJING (AP) Language on the controversial ``sexual rights" provision approved by the health committee at the U.N. women's conference. It must still be approved by the full 189-country conference.

``The human rights of women include their right to have control over and decide freely and responsibly on matters related to their sexuality, including sexual and reproductive health, free of coercion, discrimination and violence. Equal relationships between women and men in matters of sexual relations and reproduction, including full respect for the integrity of the person, require mutual respect, consent, and shared responsibility for sexual behavior and its consequences."

The word ``coercion" refers to trafficking in women as well as female circumcision, according to Joan Dunlop of the International Women's Health Coalition.

The term ``sexual rights" was dropped, she said, because it is not commonly used around the world and because some countries did not want sexual rights to be construed as an additional human right.

APNP-09-11-95 0848EDT

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: jamest@usia.gov@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME:11-SEP-1995 10:30:00.00

SUBJECT: 9\_11\_BOSNIA\_BEIJING

TO: schwartz\_l ( schwartz\_l@A1@CD ) (WHO)

READ:11-SEP-1995 11:11:43.44

TEXT:

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FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION

EARLY REPORT                      USIA

OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND MEDIA

REACTION

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U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY, WASHINGTON, DC 20547

Patricia McArdle, Branch Chief Media Reaction, (R/MR), Tele. No. (202)619-6511

nday, September 11, 1995

GENEVA ACCORD ON FORMER YUGOSLAVIA:  
NOT A 'BREAKTHROUGH,' BUT A 'BEGINNING'

As NATO today stepped up the pressure on the Bosnian Serbs by firing U.S. Tomahawk cruise missiles at Serb targets, the media overseas were divided over their assessments of the Geneva talks' accord Friday. The majority judged that the U.S.-brokered agreement was not a "breakthrough," but a first step toward peace. Sarajevo's independent Oslobodjenje maintained that the pact means that "Bosnia-Herzegovina has to choose between the worst peace and the worst war." Other analysts pointed to the many obstacles remaining ahead, not the least of which would be sustaining the viability of a divided Bosnia and weathering Russia's pique at NATO's intervention in the Balkans. Others complained, as did the centrist News of Islamabad, that the accord is "intrinsically...unfair" to the Bosnian Muslims and that, in the words of Ljubljana's right-of-center Slovenec, "The Serbian aggressor was rewarded." Saudi-owned, influential, internationally circulated Ash-Sharq Al-Awsat disagreed with these last two papers, saying that "the U.S. initiative is getting the backing of Islamic countries that have seen the details and that in itself should give an added feeling of security to the Bosnian people."

Observers joined in urging the U.S. and its Allies to maintain the diplomatic and military pressure in order to enforce the agreement and stressed that NATO should not cave in to Russian demands that it cease the bombing campaign. London's conservative Daily Telegraph cautioned, "The worry remains that President Clinton, already preparing to run for re-election next year, will be tempted to appease the Serbs in order to reach a settlement as quickly as possible." Most writers, however, expressed their gratitude for the U.S. intervention in the Balkan conflict

and praised Assistant Secretary Holbrooke for his "successful" brokering of the pact.

## BEIJING WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Foreign commentators, while giving the Beijing conference mixed assessments on several levels, were nevertheless in general agreement that despite its flaws, it has effectively raised the profile of women's issues across the globe. Others remained discouraged, however, that lack of funds, obstacles erected by the Chinese hosts during the conference and cultural prejudices on the part of some participating nations would continue to slow progress for the world's women.

EDITORS: Mildred Sola Neely and Pat McArdle  
GENEVA ACCORD ON FORMER YUGOSLAVIA:  
NOT A 'BREAKTHROUGH,' BUT A 'BEGINNING'

Bosnia- "Worst Peace Or Worst War"  
Herzegovina

Hamza Baksic opined today in independent Oslobođenje, "Bosnia Herzegovina has to choose between the worst peace and the worst war.... Human rights are the only measure. If the present leadership, with Nikola Koljevic as their most moderate representative, stays in the Serb part along with the present orientation, then they will not respect human rights. Their present leadership and policy will lead to war again.

"Both the peace solution, if that is what this is, or the possible continuation of war, will expose all the weaknesses of Bosnia. Both options contain all the mistaken estimates from 1991 to today and all the political and human sins of our declared friends.... One actual event can be connected with Bosnia. The world recently marked 50 years since the end of the second World War and the Japanese capitulation. However, Japan, along with Germany, is the winner of the latest economic race in the world. On the other hand, Vietnam is seeking help from America. Thirty years of war turned the Vietnamese into people with warrior's minds. Knowing only how to fight for freedom, now that they have it, they do not know what to do with it."

Slovenia "A Step Forward Toward Peace"

Left-of-center, independent Dnevnik's Maroje Mihovilovic observed today, "Although the Geneva meeting is a step forward toward peace, it does not have a decisive importance for the issue of war and peace.... The meeting has set the grounds which can not be essentially changed...unless the international community's viewpoint on the war in Bosnia is basically changed--i.e. if the West openly...decides to definitely defeat the Serbs, which is hardly likely, even unlikely."

"Serbian Aggressor Rewarded"

Marjeta Simunic wrote for right-of-center Slovenec, "After 41 months of slaughtering and persecuting of the non-Serb inhabitants...the Serbian aggressor was rewarded. This is incomprehensible for all those who are...still able to use common sense.... The vague Geneva agreement is an official confirmation of the beginning of the end for an internationally recognized state.... Time will show the actual fate of the Bosnian Muslims.... The Bosnian tragedy and resulting recent disagreements among the most important international factions...may also indicate another division of Europe and the world.... The decisive international players...have failed in their search for a formula for East-West integration and...they cannot or do not want to offer more than a recipe for a Cold War."

#### Britain "NATO Launches Cruise Missiles In Anger"

All broadcast media monitored this morning led on the launch of cruise missiles by NATO against the Bosnian Serbs. As BBC Radio put it, "the first time cruise missiles have been launched in anger in Europe."

#### "A Step Toward Peace"

The conservative Daily Telegraph opined Saturday, "The agreement reached in Geneva yesterday by the warring parties in Bosnia is an important step toward a negotiated settlement.... Yesterday's agreement provides a framework for peace. Now will begin even trickier negotiations on how the territory should be divided between the federation and the republic. A key to this will be the fate of Sarajevo, the symbol of a once truly multiethnic state....

"For the moment, at least, Mr. Richard Holbrooke, the U.S. aswsistant secretary of state, deserves thanks.... The Bosnia-Herzegovina which the outside world recognized in 1992 will not be resurrected in its old form; given the military strength of the Serbs and the understandable reluctance of foreign powers to commit ground troops against them, that was probably inevitable. Hoever, a state which had often seemed in danger of being swallowed by Croatia and Serbia does now have a chance of survival.

"For yesterday's agreement to hold will requite sustained diplomatic and where necessary, military pressure, from the West. The worry remains that President Clinton, already preparing to run for re-election next year, will be tempted to appease the Serbs in order to reach a settlement as quickly as possible. The president will also have to stand up to threats from Mr. Yeltsin over NATO bombing and artillery attacks."

#### "Squaring The Circle In Bosnia"

The liberal Guardian held Saturday, "The new Bosnian deal reached in Geneva is a long way short of a 'breakthrough'; but may just prove to be an 'opening for peace.'"

#### France "America Is Back"

Bernard Guetta told his Radio France Inter audience, "For the first time since the beginning of the (Yugoslav) war, the Americans have taken world affairs into their hands. They are the ones deciding.... They are not afraid of irritating the Russians, (or) stealing their ideas and the show from the Europeans.... America is back.... Chirac's determination...accounts for the U.S. awakening.... Suddenly, the French were shaking the Americans. Competition, in politics, has its good side."

#### "Holbrooke's Cleverness"

In the view of Baudouin Bollaert in the week-end edition of conservative Figaro, "The U.S. commitment has been crucial. Holbrooke's cleverness was to put back on the table all the issues on which talks had broken down.... "He hasn't won the game yet. But he is rewarded for his efforts. Europe--and Yeltsin's Russia...cannot but salute the dawning of a 'pax Americana.'"

#### "Most Difficult Part Remains"

Influential Liberation's Veronique Soule concluded over the weekend, "The most difficult part remains to be done. By failing to get Belgrade to recognize Croatia's territorial integrity, the U.S. negotiator failed to reach his ultimate goal, i.e. the mutual recognition of Croatia, Bosnia and (Serbia-Montenegro). Zagreb may now try to recapture eastern Slavonia militarily.... The Americans want to move fast. They will have to serve notice to all those who consider this accord a piece of paper."

#### Germany "A Beginning"

Thomas Reimer said in a commentary Friday on national ARD-TV, "It is still necessary to show caution, since, first, the 51:49 division can be achieved only in a very difficult solution, and this will be a long and thorny path.... What has been presented sounds credible, but it is no solution to the conflict.... We saw a small but maybe decisive step.... It can be a beginning."

#### "Boris Throws A Fit"

Friday's ARD-TV also aired the following commentary, "Yeltsin is bashing NATO but he means mainly the Americans.... Czar Boris, whose Bosnia initiatives all failed, is now seeing himself demoted and is acting like a bad loser.... Moscow's zig-zag course regarding NATO's expansion eastward demonstrated how unpredictable Moscow's policy is. Russia's new allures to protect the Serbs should not be overestimated but should also not be taken easy. In order to prevent (Moscow's) isolation and thoughtless reactions, the Kremlin should be included more in military rescue attempts for Bosnia. But NATO should beware not to be blackmailed."

#### "Optimism Should Prevail"

Stephan Maier of regional radio Bayerischer Rundfunk of Munich commented Friday evening, "The Americans want to prevent the unspeakable from being said: The Muslims will be the losers.... Nevertheless, irrespective of all skepticism, optimism should prevail in the waiting room for peace. Diplomacy and NATO resoluteness are now the only and last chance to put an end to the war in the Balkans."

"What Milestone?"

Klaus Natorp judged today on the front-page of right-of-center Frankfurter Allgemeine, "This 'declaration of principle' is first of all nothing but a piece of paper that is, in addition, full of contradictions.... Therefore it is no wonder that hardly anyone in Sarajevo shares the U.S. view that the Geneva declaration of principle is a 'milestone' on the way to peace in ex-Yugoslavia.... "How should it ever be possible to take away 20 percent of the territory the Bosnian Serbs captured?... And because they are still not willing to withdraw their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo despite NATO's bombardments, we must take their intentions seriously. Obviously, they are not yet willing to make peace.... The critical tones from Moscow are also not appropriate to consider the Geneva 'milestone' as a real milestone."

Belgium "A Long Way Lies Ahead"

Following last weekend's peace conference in Geneva, socialist De Morgen commented, "With the help of U.S. envoy Richard Holbrooke the parties involved brought a political settlement closer--although many concrete items of the basic agreement still have to be filled in. A long way still lies ahead and the accord is so fragile that it is continually at risk.... It deserves full support."

Spain "A Geneva Light Of Hope"

Liberal-left daily El Pais today commented, "One should neither over or underestimate the risk derived from the Russian upset [over NATO raids on Bosnia...but think that]...Yeltsin is obliged to act this way due to domestic pressure.... The West would best take note of this attitude and think that a possible solution might be a pact which would put an end to air-raids in exchange for Moscow to use its influence on Belgrade and Pale's Serbs."

Egypt "NATO Intervened In Response To Islamic Pressure"

Galal Dwidar, editor-in-chief of pro-government Al Akhbar, said, "NATO intervention to strike Serbian enemy bases...is a response to Islamic and Egyptian pressures.... President Mubarak stated...that a peaceful just settlement is the only solution for Bosnia.... Egypt's efforts will not stop until peace and justice are achieved for the Bosnia people."

Israel "Reason For Mild Optimism"

An editorial in the right-wing Jerusalem Post suggested, "There is some reason for mild optimism about this latest initiative, and it must be said that much of the credit for the progress belongs to the often-maligned Serbian president, Slobovan Milosevic, even though it was an American initiative successfully brokered by Richard Holbrooke."

Saudi Arabia "Cautiously Optimistic"

Influential, internationally circulated Ash-Sharq Al-Awsat Saturday commented in an editorial, "One other reason to feel optimistic is that the European countries that have used the Balkans as a theater for their tug-of-war are themselves agreed on backing the U.S. initiative. Even Russia, which has expressed its anger over NATO's air strikes, is for the U.S. move. And one more reason to be optimistic is that the U.S. initiative is getting the backing of Islamic countries that have seen the details and that in itself should give an added feeling of security to the Bosnian people. "Finally, and more importantly, there are tell tale signs that say that all combatants from either side are tired and war weary, and wars must end eventually. Maybe the time to end the Bosnian war is now; and, at this juncture, we should be cautiously optimistic."

"Keep Up Military Pressure"

According to influential, religious An-Nadwa yesterday, "Military pressure on the Serbs remains the most effective way to success for negotiations and diplomatic moves."

Pakistan "An Unfair Resolution"

An editorial in the centrist News yesterday maintained, "The 'partition' formula which was hammered out...is extremely complex to be worked easily. It has still too many loose strings and unsettled questions that could ultimately wreck it and renew war. But regrettably, the agreement intrinsically remains an unfair resolution, denying the Bosnian Muslims the right to the whole state that had received international recognition."

"A Major Breakthrough"

Under the headline above, the government-owned Pakistan Times held yesterday, "The Serbs have been forced to the negotiations table by the UN-NATO combine. This strategy should be pursued to dilute their military threat to the besieged civilians.... The dream for a greater Serbia is effectively over and it is face-saving time for the Serbs: The earlier it is done, the better.... The fact remains that it is a good beginning which should be taken to its logical conclusion."

India "Some Justice"

An editorial today in Urdu-language Pratap stressed, "The conference

convened by the United States to solve the Bosnian crisis has now made it clear to Bosnian Muslims what kind of justice the United States intended for them.... The division of Bosnia has been proposed on disproportionate lines."

Japan "First Positive Move Toward Peace"

Top-circulation, moderate Yomiuri's editorial yesterday pointed out, "Although rough going is expected at future rounds of peace talks, the accord should be hailed as a first positive move toward achieving peace after a long period of suspended negotiations.... Parallel to NATO military pressure on the Serbs, the United States has successfully brought the three differing parties to the negotiating table. The international community should hail and give as much support as possible to the U.S. effort at ending the ethnic strife and restoring peace."

Indonesia "Wariness"

Readers of leading, independent Kompas today saw this editorial, "The tripartite talks...produced a number of commitments...which could form a milestone for peace in the Balkans. Yet we should be wary of empty promises. Both Holbrooke and EU mediator Carl Bildt reiterated that 'peace is still a long way away.'... NATO's continued attacks suggest that the Serbs remain unwilling to withdraw their artillery from Sarajevo's boundaries.... Their intent appears to be to occupy Sarajevo, oust the Bosnian government, and expel all Bosnian Muslims. Given these realities, the fragility of the Geneva accord requires a firm commitment and financial support to ensure its fruition."

#### BEIJING WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

China "All Mankind Inhabits The Same Earth"

According to a commentary in official Communist Party People's Daily today, "Chinese women, who constitute one fifth of the world's women, play an ever greater role on the global stage and in the women's cause. China's economic reform and opening up to the outside have provided a wider sphere for women to give full play to their talents.... To realize equality, development and peace through action is not only the common aspiration of women but also needs the commitment of all elements of society including men, because all mankind inhabits the same earth."

Britain "Beijing's Week"

According to the liberal Guardian, "It is already evident that the sneering has been wide of the mark. As our correspondents in Beijing report today, the traditional type of lobbying by non-governmental organizations has been invigorated by the activism and imagination of a women's movement now of global dimensions. If this has not come over very clearly, it is because most media coverage dwelt on the most obvious points of conflict with China and on the starring role of Hillary Clinton.... Many of the things which went wrong in Huairou last week had more to do with the weather and with

deficiencies in organization which could well have occurred whatever venue had been chosen....

"The conference has shifted attention to areas of sexual exploitation and degradation such as female circumcision which have previously been on the margin of debate. A world where women in so many countries score so significantly worse than men for literacy, political participation, economic equality and health provision has a very long way to go. Beijing may only manage to take a few steps forward but they are in the right direction."

Germany "Chinese Leadership's Strategy Worked In Part"

A commentator on national ARD-TV said on Friday, "The Chinese leadership's strategy worked in part.

"By moving the independent women's groups to Huairou, it succeeded in keeping protest and demonstrations out of Beijing and away from Tiennanmen Square. But there are perceptible cracks in the smooth facade. Too many security officials, poor transportation and an extremely bad situation for the handicapped dominated the discussions here. The conference was intended to set 'the accents for women's policy in the next century.' But it came nowhere near achieving this aim."

Australia "Great Yawn Of China"

A columnist for Melbourne's liberal Sunday Age said yesterday, "Would you rather be a woman in China, the nation that has been subjected to the courageous criticism of Ms. Clinton, or a woman in Cuba, the nation that her husband could release from the scourge of the absurd economic blockade that only the United States believes in, thereby simultaneously improving the lot of both women and men?... Ms. Clinton's diatribe is remarkable more for its hypocritical selectivity than for its courage."

Philippines "Sweet Nothings In Beijing"

The independent Manila Times today held, "The Beijing meet gains greater significance because it seeks to draw up a platform for women in the post-Cold War, wired, and, hopefully, environment-conscious, gender-friendly, war-weary and conscience-stricken 21st century.... The bottom line issue of money--who will bankroll programs to enhance the welfare and rights of women?--splits the developing and developed countries. The United States and the EU won't make pledges to put their money where their mouth is and implement the platform, despite an appeal from developing states. That is the picture in the official conference, which, a Sri Lankan delegate says, can be expected to produce only 'sweet nothings'."

Egypt "We Cannot Relinquish Our Deep-Rooted Traditions"

Dr. Fawzeya Shafik El-Sadr, a contributor to pro-government Al Ahram, contended, "We expect the conference to release many resolutions, some may be positive others negative. However, certainly we will

take what is appropriate for us in all respects because we cannot forget our firm culture or relinquish our deep-rooted traditions whatever the challenges or incentives may be."

##

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE:11-SEP-1995 10:28:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

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RFC-822-headers:

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id <01HV5AHS5LS003NMJ@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for schwartz\_l@a1.eop.gov; Mon,  
11 Sep 1995 10:29:57 -0400 (EDT)

Received: by gatekeeper.eop.gov (5.65/fma-120691); id AA07424; Mon,  
11 Sep 1995 10:24:22 -0400

Received: from Connect2 Message Router by usia.gov via Connect2-SMTP 4.00; Mon,  
11 Sep 1995 10:29:33 -0500

Organization: USIA

X-Mailer: Connect2-SMTP 4.00 MHS to SMTP Gateway

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (ALL-IN-1 MAIL)

CREATOR: Sabrina Corlette ( CORLETTE\_S ) (WHO)

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-SEP-1995 19:07:16.11

SUBJECT: micro

TO: Angela Davis ( DAVIS\_AC ) (WHO)

READ:12-SEP-1995 19:10:37.00

TEXT:

PRINTER FONT 12\_POINT\_COURIER

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
REMARKS FOR UNIFEM/COALITION PANEL  
FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN  
BEIJING, CHINA  
SEPTEMBER 6, 1995

Thank you, Noeleen [Heyzer], for your kind words. And thank you for your great leadership of the United Nations Development Fund for Women, which we all know as Unifem. It is a word that in any language translates into hope for women who dream of a better life for themselves, their families, and their nations.

Around the world, Unifem has helped to invest in the lives and aspirations of women. It has helped to empower women in ways that have not been tried before. Like the women it helps, Unifem is ever innovative and deeply dedicated.

We are here today to talk about micro credit, where it's needed and what needs to be done to get it into as many of the right hands as possible. It's called micro, but its impact on lives is macro. It takes just a few dollars, often as little as \$10, to help a woman to self

-employment and lift her and her family out of poverty. This is not a handout; it's a helping hand.

From the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh to the Self

-Employed

Women's Association in India, to banks and programs modeled on them from Indonesia to the Dominican Republic, to my own country, we have seen that micro

-lending works. Women who have received these loans from Grameen have a repayment rate of 97 percent, and often within a year. And they invest their money well. Some buy livestock animals, others materials to make handicrafts they can

sell. Others make bricks, or repair bicycles.

It is a fact: Give a woman a seed, and she will plant it,

she will water it, nurture it, then reap it, share its fruits, and finally, she will replant it. In this way, step by step, the world's poorest women are leading their families, their communities and their countries to a better future. When we help these women to sow, we all reap.

I met one such woman during my visit to South Asia last Spring. She was in a small village in Bangladesh, and she was a member of a borrowing group at Grameen Bank. She said she used her first loan to buy a milk cow. Then she used a second loan to buy a second milk cow, and a third loan to buy a rickshaw for her husband, so he could do something to help the family. That's what Dr. Yunus meant when he said, "When you give the opportunity to borrow to a woman, she invests in her family."

Whether it's a milk cow in Bangladesh or a computer in Chicago, women need help to make that first investment.

I will never forget a conversation I had with an American woman who had worked very hard to start her own business. I met with her and other women at an organization in Colorado called Mi Casa. It is an organization dedicated to providing women with the tools they need to become self

-sufficient and self

-respecting.

The women who came there were on welfare, but they saw a better future for themselves and their children. And they just needed a little help -- a jump

-start -- to realize their own potential.  
but often that jump

-start is hard to come by.

As this one woman told me: "More great ideas die in the parking lot of a bank" -- because women get only that far before

the loan officer turns them away. Often a good credit history doesn't matter as much as the fact that the applicant is a woman. Gender is often reason enough to reject the loan application.

But this must change. Anywhere that this kind of discrimination occurs, it must end.

In the United States, the microcredit enterprise field is very young. But already several hundred programs have enabled tens of thousands of Americans seeking economic opportunity to consider self

-employment as a realistic option for improving their lives. These programs are giving many Americans, particularly women, greater access to something that has always excited the human spirit: the opportunity to start a business and build from there.

This conference has identified economic opportunity as a critical area of concern, along with the promotion and strengthening of micro enterprises and women's access to credit and capital. Our country has accepted the challenge of making the

world conference on women a conference of commitments. I am pleased to announce several actions that our government will be taking to further self

-employment and micro enterprise development in our country.

Our Small Business Administration is already making more loans than ever to women. Through the Community Development Financial Institutions Fund, we will establish a new Presidential awards program to honor outstanding microlending organizations. The awards will provide challenging benchmarks for microenterprise programs throughout the nation and acquaint the public with the prevalence of microenterprises within our own

economy. We believe they will also highlight the important work of programs that provide microenterprises with key support structures such as access to credit, markets, technical advice, and training.

The President also is establishing a mechanism to better coordinate microenterprise programs across a number of our federal agencies to ensure that federal funding effectively supports the growth and development of the microenterprise field.

Additionally, the United States will continue to support microenterprise in developing countries through USAID.

We know that it will take a lot of education to spread the good word about micro

-credit. Despite a record that is nothing less than inspiring, the idea of micro

-credit is often met with skepticism.

The challenge becomes even greater as new worldwide economic realities widen the gap between rich and poor.

Capital formation and growth in some economic sectors often accompany higher unemployment, longer hours with less pay, and severe restrictions on access to credit. We must not allow small enterprises to be marginalized as a result of these rapid global changes.

I became a believer in microcredit years ago, when my husband was Governor of Arkansas. It's a poor state, and we were looking for ways to help people who didn't have access to credit. We found our model at the South Shore Bank in Chicago, which helps steer private investments to neighborhoods that need them, building economic growth from the bottom up. We wondered if such a bank could help small towns and rural areas in Arkansas. And it

did.

Through our project we were fortunate to meet leaders in the field, including members of the very distinguished panel assembled here today. Many of you know our four special guests. But I would like to introduce them and highlight their accomplishments.

Ela Bhatt is the Founder and General Secretary of the Self

-Employed Women's Association, or SEWA, in India. She is also founder of SEWA Bank, a leader in opening financial services to poor women. Mrs. Bhatt was the first woman appointed to the Indian Planning Commission and has also served as a member of the Indian Parliament. Mrs. Bhatt chairs the Board of Trustees of the Women's World Banking, and co

-chairs the Steering Committee of the International Coalition on Women and Credit. [You might want to tell a story of meeting with her at the SEWA bank]

I met our next panelist years ago when my husband and I began to explore micro

-lending in the United States. Professor Mohammad Yunus is the founder and Managing Director of Grameen Bank. Grameen is one of the largest and most successful financial institutions focusing on economic participation of the rural poor. Before founding the Grameen Bank Project in 1976 and the Grameen Bank in 1983, Dr. Yunus headed the Economics Department at the University of Chittagong. He is a member of numerous international advisory committees and boards. [You might want to add a personal story about him]

Esther Ocloo is an inspiration, a living example of the exponential power of limitless hope, given life by a powerful

vision and a little bit of money. Starting with only 10 shillings, she opened the first food processing factory in her native Ghana. She is now Managing Director of Nkulenu Industries and the Founder and President of the Ghana Manufacturers Association. She is the chair of the Sustainable End of Hunger Foundation and on the board of the International Federation of Business Women.

These experts have devoted much of their lives to finding ways to end poverty, and they have found that in so many places women are the key. In many countries, these women have been ostracized socially, ignored politically and marginalized economically.

But these women are an untapped force for progress. That is why the Coalition and Unifem are so important.

And that is why recently, the World Bank and the USAID, along with 8 other donors, have joined together to form The Consultative Group to Aid the Poor in order to finance small loans to the world's poor, the vast majority of whom are female. This proposal builds on the successful Grameen model.

It is clear that if we are to truly make an impact against poverty in all corners of our world, credit for poor women must be promoted at all levels, from the World Bank to the neighborhood bank.

All these efforts will lift higher our humanity, one dream, one women, one family at a time.

I know that if an issue is connected to women -- as poverty,

education, health and children are -- it is called "soft" by

people who would have us think these issues are unimportant. But I would ask that we remember that our most precious metal on this earth, gold, is soft -- so soft that in its pure form you can bend it. But gold is also strong, it is reliable, it is enduring and it is a universal measure of wealth -- and all that can also be said of women all over the world.

And that is why we must do all we can to help them.

And one of the ways we can help is by each of us getting out the good word on micro

-enterprise and micro

-credit. With that,  
let us begin our discussion. Thank you.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: jamest@usia.gov@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME:14-SEP-1995 09:44:00.00

SUBJECT: 9\_14\_Russia\_Asia

TO: matsui\_d (matsui\_d@A1@CD) (WHO)

READ:14-SEP-1995 09:55:23.24

TEXT:

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FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION

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REACTION

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U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY, WASHINGTON, DC 20547

Patricia McArdle, Branch Chief Media Reaction, (R/MR), Tele. No. (202)619-6511

ursday, September 14, 1995

#### RUSSIA QUARRELS WITH NATO; BOSNIA BOMBING CONTINUES

Commentators abroad hoped that President Clinton's sending of Deputy Secretary Talbott "can encourage (President) Yeltsin to agree to an acceptable compromise" on the former Yugoslavia. The grenade attack against the U.S. Embassy in Moscow prompted several to stress, as did London's BBC TV, the "mounting anger about NATO's air strikes" in Moscow which overnight turned Mr. Talbott's visit "into an emergency mission." Analysts agreed with influential, liberal-left De Volkskrant of Amsterdam that reconciliation with the Kremlin is desirable because "a good peace settlement for Bosnia is not very likely without constructive cooperation from Russia." Some also looked beyond the Bosnia crisis and hoped that Moscow could be persuaded to pursue its previous cooperation with the West on the wider European and international stage. Business Handelsblatt of Duesseldorf judged, "To treat Moscow as a 'vanquished country,' to exclude it from information and talks means to deal in an irresponsible manner with the fragile European security structure." Others were not so sanguine about Russia's good will toward the West and predicted that the "future will see not a 'strategic partnership' but political confrontation." In Warsaw, weekly Polityka said that Mr. Yeltsin's outbursts, instead, have convinced the Central Europeans "to strengthen their efforts to get under the NATO umbrella, as soon as possible."

Once more, a clear majority of writers supported the NATO bombing in Bosnia, although more were increasingly concerned by the Serbs' recalcitrance. French and Italian dailies discussed the disagreements and resentments their governments are having with the U.S./NATO strategy.

FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN ASIA

Perhaps influenced by the ferment of ideas at the Beijing Women's Conference and by the statements of Clinton administration officials traveling in the region, analysts in several East and South Asian nations--including two in China--commented on the prospects for freedom, democracy and future ties with the U.S. in their region. The English-language Bangkok Post praised UN Ambassador Madeline Albright's statement to Burmese leaders that their policies "fall far short of what is needed" for improved relations and international acceptance. Hong Kong's leading, independent South China Morning Post urged China to improve its international reputation by "reinstating the Dalai Lama, and offering guarantees of freedom of religion and assembly and other rights given to Hong Kong." Assistant Secretary Robin Raphel's statements in Bangladesh were characterized by a paper in Dhaka as an indication of U.S. commitment "to the continuation of democracy" in that nation.

## BRIEF

-- Beijing's Women's Conference: 'More Than Just Symbolic'

EDITORS: Mildred Sola Neely and Pat McArdle

RUSSIA QUARRELS WITH NATO; BOSNIA BOMBING CONTINUES

Germany "Yeltsin Must Know Clinton Won't Stray From His Course"

Washington correspondent Ingolf Karnahl yesterday told his regional radio Hessischer Rundfunk of Frankfurt audience, "Russia continues to insist on being accepted as a major power and on not being humiliated by the United States. The Clinton administration wants to show consideration for this wish and pursues a cautious policy, but, at the same time, it is not willing to give away the initiative in the policy toward Bosnia.... Yeltsin must know that Clinton will not stray from his policy course in Bosnia. And a deterioration of bilateral relations has already been included in the political calculations."

"Confrontational Course?"

Right-of-center Frankfurter Allgemeine's editorial by Guenter Nonnenmacher said today, "Those who characterize the tough statements from the Kremlin regarding Bosnia as election campaign fuss are dodging reality. For a certain period of time, there have been indications that Moscow's interest in cooperative relations with the West is declining.... During his visit to Moscow, Strobe Talbott...will try to find out whether and where cooperation with the Russian government continues to be reasonable at all. If Russia is taking on a confrontational course, the West cannot help but do the same sooner or later."

"Show Greater Consideration For Moscow"

Christoph Rabe offered this analysis in an editorial in business Handelsblatt of Duesseldorf, "The statements of the past days give a foretaste of how quickly the sensitive balance of peace in Europe can be shaken up. This is why it is all the more important to show

greater consideration for Moscow. To treat Moscow as a 'vanquished country,' to exclude it from information and talks means to deal in an irresponsible manner with the fragile European security structure."

### "A Call For Help"

Berlin's right-of-center B.Z. opined, "It is likely that the crime (the attack against the U.S. Embassy) was committed by a lunatic, but, nevertheless, the Kremlin's rhetorical flexing of muscles is a call for help."

### Britain "Mounting Anger In Moscow"

On BBC TV's Breakfast News, reporter Clive Myrie said in the lead item, "In Moscow, where a grenade was fired at the U.S. embassy yesterday, there is mounting anger about NATO's air strikes."

### "Grenade Attack Turns Talbott Visit Into Emergency Mission"

The left-leaning tabloid Today noted, "(Talbott's) task...was to get the Russians to back America's Bosnia strategy. The grenade attack turned his diplomatic visit into an emergency mission."

### "This Is No Time To Go Wobbly"

An editorial in the centrist Independent observed, "To borrow a phrase from Margaret Thatcher, this is no time to go wobbly.... Stripped of the encumbering UN bureaucracy, the Allies have accomplished much in the past few weeks.... They must now remain coherent and keep the Russians attached to the negotiations unfolding in parallel with the bombing campaign."

### "Good News From Balkans"

The conservative Times commented editorially the impending Athens-Skopje deal, "There may be some good news, at last, from the war-torn Balkans.... The cautious rapprochement is the product not just of unflagging American diplomacy: It flows also from a very belated resort to good sense in Athens and no small amount of Macedonian generosity."

### "West And Russia: Political Confrontation"

Strategic expert Jonathan Eyal wrote in the Times, "Regardless of how the current Balkan row is resolved, the problem remains: What the West is prepared to offer is not enough for Moscow, and what the Kremlin is demanding, the West is not prepared to give. The future will see not a 'strategic partnership' but political confrontation."

### "NATO Has No Obligation To Russia"

The conservative weekly Spectator's editorial held, "The chances (of world war three following the current Russian-NATO crisis) are

extremely slim; it is probably more accurate to say that they are non-existent.... To all of this whingeing, there is only one possible Western reply: It is that NATO has no obligation to seek Russian advice--not in Bosnia, not ever. Russia is not a member of NATO; Russia is unlikely ever to be a member of NATO. Russia, as the Russians themselves know better than anyone else, has little influence in Bosnia, and little military power."

#### France "Irritation At U.S. Attitude"

According to conservative Le Figaro, "Paris thinks that Washington treated France poorly on Sunday night (by using the Tomahawk missiles).... In fact the Americans simply did not consult, even inform their French allies.... France, which has made the biggest military effort in ex-Yugoslavia among Western countries, thinks it should not be treated this way. Discretely, Paris said it to Washington.... Franco-American differences go beyond military quarrels.

"Although they share the same goal in Bosnia, France and the United States do not have the same behavior.... With the signature of the Washington accord on the creation of a Croatian-Muslim federation in March 1994, America chose its side. France still hopes to maintain good relations with the Serbian nation as a whole--its ally during WWI."

#### "Russia May Break Off With NATO"

According to Le Figaro's Moscow correspondent: "Isolated and humiliated, Russia may one day decide to radically change its policy, break off with NATO, and come back to Cold War Times--especially if communists and nationalists come to power."

#### "Western Bluff Has Failed"

Regional L'Yonne Republicaine observed, "While NATO, in other words, the United States, vows to launch a new military phase which consist of attacking economic targets, the UN is desperately looking for a political solution to stop the raids. In this terrible poker game, the West's bluff seems to have failed."

#### Italy "Italy Would Be Out Of Place In Contact Group"

Paris correspondent Arturo Guatelli filed for centrist, top-circulation Corriere della Sera, "If Italy were admitted as a full member of the Contact Group, then membership would have to also be extended to Canada, Spain and the Netherlands, which have ground troops in Bosnia.... The Contact Group is not only the organization dealing with the Balkan crisis. It is also the embryo of a new world directorate, a new Security Council independent of the United Nations, without China, but with Germany. In this unconfessed directorate, Italy would be out of place. To call things by their name, its presence would not be justified by the appropriate political weight. This reality may be unpleasant for Italy, and in fact Italy does not like it. But only by bearing it in mind can one

realize how sterile is the dispute over inclusion in the Contact Group.... This is why the link between inclusion in the Contact Group and the deployment of Stealth planes at Aviano is a courageous move, but perhaps a questionable one."

#### Latvia "Russia's And NATO's Problem Spot"

Left-of-center weekly Atmoda Atputai published this article yesterday by Andis Sedlenieks: "Many believe that the answer to solving the (Bosnian) crisis lies not in the Balkans itself, but in Russia's and NATO's struggle for world power since the fall of the Soviet Union.... Is it conceivable that Russia's current democracy is only a temporary setback in the drive to achieve much higher goals, Lenin-style?"

#### The "Clinton Did Right By Sending Talbott" Netherlands

Influential, liberal-left De Volkskrant said in an editorial today, "The accusation that NATO is threatening the Bosnian Serbs with genocide indicates that Moscow, like it did in the Soviet era, is losing a sense for reality.... President Clinton did right by no longer ignoring the attacks from Moscow and by sending...Talbott.... A good peace settlement for Bosnia is not very likely without constructive cooperation from Russia.... We hope that Talbott can encourage Yeltsin to agree to an acceptable compromise."

#### Norway "Russia's Claims Exaggerated"

Top-circulation, populist Verdens Gang maintained, "The terrorist accusations against NATO are extremely exaggerated. NATO has in fact been so concerned with avoiding loss of civilian lives that the effect of the attacks have been diminished.... The overruling concern is to avoid a major war.... If...Mladic succeeds in waiting until the United States exhausts its pressure, the fuse under the powder keg of the (Balkans) will continue burning. Even Yeltsin and his associates realize that this is a situation they will not benefit from in the long run. To sum up: The threats are solely meant for the Russian election in December."

#### Poland "Yeltsin Convinced Former Satellites To Join NATO"

Weekly Polityka (9/16) stated in a commentary by Witold Pawlowski, "The lesson of the superiority of strength over talk should convince those who announced the end of NATO, as a result of the end of Cold War.... It was a bitter reminder for Russia, which has big ambitions, nuclear weapons, and the (burden of) an upcoming presidential election.... President Yeltsin reacted in character: A sharp attack on the proposed NATO expansion. The tone of his statement, the arguments, the show of force--all of that, instead of frightening the Eastern satellites, has convinced them that they have to strengthen their efforts to get under the NATO umbrella, as soon as possible. There is something to be protected against."

#### Saudi "Bombing Must Continue"

## Arabia

An editorial in the top-circulation English-language Arab News remarked, "It is clear that the NATO operation will have to continue. Not to do so would be catastrophic; it would send a clear message not only to the Serbs but to the whole world that no one is prepared to stand up to them and that they therefore are the masters of Bosnia's fate.... But how to continue the campaign without stirring up an aggressive Russian response?"

"That has to be the prime concern of Washington and its partners. It most certainly will mean a recourse to all the diplomatic skills which the West possesses. Either way, Russia must be kept out of the conflict."

## Japan "Bosnia Testing Ground For State-Of-The-Art U.S. Arms?"

Liberal Mainichi observed, "As NATO continues air strikes against Serb positions in Bosnia-Herzegovina, voices are being heard to say the ethnic conflict-hit region has become a testing ground for state-of-the-art U.S. arms. The U.S. Air Force, a major player in the NATO air campaign against the Serbs, has dropped 'smart bombs' and other guided missiles on Bosnia, while 13 Tomahawk missiles were fired from a U.S. warship at the Adriatic Sea against Serb strongholds. A USAF source said the use of F117 Stealth bombers was under consideration. The Air Force is trying to test the performance of Stealth bombers in real combat situations.

"European nations are increasingly concerned that the U.S. may be using these ultramodern weapons in a bid to demonstrate to Middle East and Third World nations the superiority of its arms over other arm suppliers. Sen. McCain said, however, that U.S. reliance on air strikes resembles operations during the Vietnam war. McCain added such air operations could lead to a longer U.S. involvement in the Bosnia conflict."

## Indonesia "Serbs Not Reacting To NATO 'Diplomacy'"

Budi Winarno concluded in Christian-oriented Suara Pembaruan, "The Serbs are not showing the effects of U.S.-NATO gunboat diplomacy, let alone Western demands, as they are aware that the West will continue to vacillate on the Balkans."

## FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN ASIA

## China "Safeguard Sino-U.S. Relations"

Official Shanghai Communist party Liberation Daily opined today, "An academic forum on Sino-U.S. relations in Shanghai yesterday drew more than 30 scholars. Some pointed out that the United States, in last February's report on East Asia Strategy, puts China in the list of neither enemy nor friend. Here is the dual nature of the Clinton administration's China policy: It stresses developing extensive contacts and cooperation with China, while wanting to maintain pressure on China and restrict China's development. Some persons in

the American Congress and society even openly advocate containing China. Viewed from these changes in the relationship, the forum participants held that at present, Sino-U.S. relations are at a crossroads.

"In what direction will Sino-U.S. relations develop? This question will not only involve regional security but also international strategy and, most of all, the basic interests of the two countries.... Participants observed the U.S. government should...no longer create new obstacles in order to create a propitious atmosphere for improving relations between the two countries."

#### "Perspective On Present U.S. China Policy"

A commentator writing in official, intellectual Guangming Daily said, "After the Cold War ended, Sino-U.S. relations entered a period of unsteadiness. After Clinton entered the White House, relations became all the more tortuous. Allowing Lee Teng-hui to visit the United States was the product of the evolution of U.S. China policy after the Cold War, is also connected to domestic political struggles and reflects certain changes in the thinking guiding U.S. China policy. Sino-U.S. relations are extremely important not only for the two countries and their peoples but also to safeguard world peace and stability. Peace benefits both countries. Confrontation benefits neither side. The United States will get nothing (from confrontation) except pay a heavy price. On this issue, the United States can absorb sufficient lessons from the history of the evolution of Sino-U.S. relations."

#### Thailand "Burmese Unity Hinges On Suu Kyi Dialogue"

The lead editorial of largest circulation, English-language Bangkok Post remarked, "Whether imprisoned or free, and even when officially snubbed, Mrs. Suu Kyi is Burma's most vital political figure. Until the military leaders come to terms with this stark fact, the Burmese cannot enjoy international respect nor political stability.... Mrs. Albright spoke for many nations and potential investors and visitors to Burma last week, when she told Khin Nyunt of the regime that his policies 'fall far short of what is needed' for improved relations and international acceptance. Rangoon can gain respect only by following through on its release of Mrs. Suu Kyi. If the regime fails to negotiate the country's future with her and other democrats, it will face continued sanctions, criticism and lack of foreign investment. The possibility of another violent uprising by democratic supporters always looms throughout Burma as well. The political future of Burma can only be decided by the citizens of that nation."

#### Hong Kong "Tibetan Tremors"

The leading, independent, English-language South China Morning Post noted, "The best way to pacify Tibet would be to recognize the legitimacy of the Dalai Lama and meet his demand for Tibetan autonomy over domestic affairs under Chinese sovereignty. That autonomy was

conceded under the 17-point Agreement of 1951, but was repudiated by both sides after Tibetans rose at China's flouting of its provisions. Reviving the agreement, reinstating the Dalai Lama, and offering guarantees of freedom of religion and assembly and other rights given to Hong Kong would help China's international reputation."

#### Bangladesh "Zeroing In On A Solution Or Showdown"

According to the English-language weekly Dhaka Courier, "If Robin Raphel's visit is any indication of the future shape of politics in this country, one thing is certain: The United States remains committed to the continuation of democracy in Bangladesh.

"That commitment at this crucial moment should discourage any extra-constitutional force to venture to fish in troubled waters.

The other thing which the United States remains committed to is 'free and fair elections.' As long as the United States means this, there can be an end to the present crisis. How? We just can't guess at this moment.

#### BRIEF

#### BEIJING WOMEN'S CONFERENCE: 'MORE THAN JUST SYMBOLIC'

#### South Korea "More Than Just Symbolic"

A government-owned Seoul Shinmun column noted that "First ladies, politicians and other big names from all over the world came together at the Beijing conference. Unlike in past conferences, their presence in Beijing this time was more than just symbolic. Many of them fulfilled their expected roles in addressing issues. The result was a world conference memorable as a serious and broad experience."

#### India "Beijing Tea Party"

An editorial in the right-of-center Statesman said, "In the event it was a damp squib.... The UN conference degenerated into a squabble, with women from the more developed countries preoccupied by teenage sex, lesbian rights and fighting the Vatican for the right to abortion. Ironically, the only strong and coherent note was struck by...Hillary Clinton whose passage to China was facilitated by the release of the human rights activist...Harry Wu. She declared boldly that 'women's rights are human rights' and made it clear that China was not a model to emulate....

"At the end of it some questions remain unanswered. Is it imperative for 50 percent of the human race to fight for equality as if they are a special and underserving breed? In the effort to carve out one's own identity, can a common 'plan of action' for the betterment of, say, American as well as Indian women serve a real purpose? And if not, what value should be attached to such UN sponsored tamashas?"

#### Finland "More Important Than Opponents Thought"

Social Democratic Demari contended, "Especially in the Nordic

countries, there were those who suggested that the conference could mean a step back for women's rights. But the meeting may turn out to be much more important than the opponents thought. Even though the hosts effectively suppressed publicity about the meeting, it discussed vitally important issues which could not even be mentioned in a forum of this sort just a while ago. Human rights of women are not minor issues--they concern half of mankind."

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===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE:14-SEP-1995 09:42:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from gatekeeper.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.0-4 #6879)

id <01HV9FR6QUSW005P3P@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for matsui\_d@al.eop.gov; Thu,  
14 Sep 1995 09:44:16 -0400 (EDT)

Received: by gatekeeper.eop.gov (5.65/fma-120691); id AA06434; Thu,  
14 Sep 1995 09:38:33 -0400

Received: from Connect2 Message Router by usia.gov via Connect2-SMTP 4.00; Thu,  
14 Sep 1995 09:43:02 -0500

Organization: USIA

X-Mailer: Connect2-SMTP 4.00 MHS to SMTP Gateway

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (ALL-IN-1 MAIL)

CREATOR: Alan P. Sullivan ( SULLIVAN\_A ) (WHO)

CREATION DATE/TIME:28-SEP-1995 12:17:23.23

SUBJECT: GAO Meeting

TO: James A. Hawkins ( HAWKINS\_J ) (WHO)

READ:28-SEP-1995 12:24:18.86

TEXT:

Jim,

Please make sure Larry knows about this. APS

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE:28-SEP-1995 11:54:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:B

ATT CREATOR: Cheryl D. Mills

ATT SUBJECT: GAO Audit

ATT TO: Larry Spencer ( PR\_U=LSPENCER@PR\_L=WHMOOEOB@MRP@OPUS )

ATT TO: Harold Howell ( PR\_U=HHOWELL@PR\_L=WHMOOEOB@MRP@OPUS )

ATT TO: Dennis Stump ( PR\_U=DSTUMP@PR\_L=WHMOOEOB@MRP@OPUS )

ATT CC: Alan P. Sullivan ( SULLIVAN\_A )

ATT CC: Jodie R. Torkelson ( TORKELSON\_J )

TEXT:

Larry, Harold and Denny, can we meet to discuss the costs incurred for the First Lady's travel to Beijing for the Women's Conference.

GAO is auditing it and has asked us to provide these figures. How about 4:00 p.m. on Monday in my office?

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (ALL-IN-1 MAIL)

CREATOR: Barbara D. Woolley ( WOOLLEY\_B ) (WHO)

CREATION DATE/TIME: 5-OCT-1995 08:16:10.12

SUBJECT: FLOTUS Speech in Beijing

TO: Alice J. Pushkar ( PUSHKAR\_A ) (WHO)

READ: 5-OCT-1995 08:38:58.97

TEXT:

Alice:

Can you add the following women to list to receive Beijing speech.

Helen Latimer

4724 Butterworth Place, NW

Washington, DC 20016-4460

TY.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: SPERSAUD@worldbank.org@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME: 8-NOV-1995 19:01:00.00

SUBJECT: FIRST LADY'S SPEECH

TO: Davis\_AC ( Davis\_AC@A1@CD ) (WHO)  
READ: 8-NOV-1995 18:06:22.18

TEXT:  
THE WORLD BANK

"BEYOND BEIJING: ACTING ON COMMITMENTS  
TO THE WORLD'S WOMEN"

First Lady of the United States

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Wednesday, November 8, 1995

11:30 a.m.

H Auditorium  
600 19th Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

## P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. WOLFENSOHN: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. It is a great privilege and an honor for me to introduce this morning to you the First Lady of the United States, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

I know that I speak to you, Mrs. Clinton, on behalf of everybody when I say that we are absolutely thrilled that you are here with us. All of us know that you play a major role in the life of this country and the life of the world. Those of that heard you or read your speech

in Beijing had a reaffirmation of your deep concerns for women's rights, for women's education and empowerment, and social justice for all.

As I re-read your speech last night, I was reminded that really no one can forget your statement where you said, "If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, it is that human rights are women's rights, and women's rights are human rights."

And you went on to comment about the role of women and their families, where you said, "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 will flourish."

I know that you understand the role of the World Bank, and I know that you know that we share your concerns. We cherish your leadership. We cherish your interest. And may I say personally I cherish very much the many references you now make to the World Bank as you speak in terms of giving us support in places where we need it.

We share with you your interest in education for girls, in basic health care, and in access to credit and services. And we know, as you do, that loans as small as \$100 to a woman can help double her family's income over a five-year period.

In fact, in just this last week, Jan Piercy helped us organize here at the Bank the first meeting of our Policy Advisory Group on Microenterprise Lending, including Mohammad Yunus, whom you know well, Nancy Barry of the Women's World Banking, Mario Atara (?) of Action International, and other leaders in the field. And we committed ourselves yet again to move forward in this area of financing which is of such great importance to the development of women's roles in the world.

I would like to say to you that in my Annual Meeting speech, by accident I wrote that we judge our effectiveness and not by a bureaucratic process but the smile on a child's face. Having read your speech and having been to Beijing, I should amend it and say that you judge our success by the smiles on a mother's and a child's face.

Faces, I guess it is. And so I say to you today that we cherish the fact that you're here. You have within this group people who care greatly about the issues about which you care, and I want you to know that we all admire and respect and are grateful for the efforts that you give to the causes that we share.

May I introduce the First Lady of the United

States, Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton.

[Applause.]

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you all. Thank you very much, Jim, for that kind introduction and for inviting me to be part of this significant series of meetings that you will be having about follow-up to the Beijing Conference.

I appreciate the conference organizers for putting this together because I think that the conference itself opened many doors and minds, but now it falls to all of us in our various capacities to determine how we will keep those doors open, to walk through them, and to take the opportunity that those open minds give us to work together to make change on behalf of the issues that you have worked on so hard and that many of us share with you.

As I look at this audience, I am reminded, as I always am when I think about the World Bank, of how representative this institution is of people all over the world and their aspirations. And I want to congratulate all of you and the Bank on its continuing commitment to the difficult but crucial task of improving lives of people everywhere and to congratulate you on your emphasis on women and children.

I know by your very presence here you need little persuading that investing in women should be at the core of any strategy to alleviate poverty, energize economies, and strengthen our global family. I know that you here at this Bank seek to maximize the return on your loans and investments, and supporting projects that raise the social, economic, political, and legal status of women in their families and communities is one of the soundest investments countries and the World Bank can make.

As Jim said, I believe strongly and I think we are now all recognizing that, if women are healthy and educated, their families do better. If they are free from violence, their families do better. If they have the opportunity to earn and work as full and equal partners in society, their families do better. And when those families do better, then the communities and nations of which they are a part do better as well.

But these simple calculations are ones that many in our world, even after all the work of the World Bank in recent years, even after the U.N. conferences in Copenhagen and Beijing, still fail to understand. There are many who seem to think that so-called women's issues--education and health care, for example--are soft issues, not worthy of addressing in any strategic manner, or in conferences such

as these. But that is wrong, and you are helping to prove that it is wrong every day.

Issues that affect the well-being of women and families across the world are just as hard and just as central to our future success and prosperity as figuring out budgets, determining defense strategies, and negotiating trade agreements.

The economic security of every nation hinges in part on the productivity and well-being of its women. This is particularly true in developing nations where so much of your work takes place. Women represent more than half the world's population. They tend to be the primary nurturers and teachers of the world's children and caretakers of our elderly. Women in developing countries grow at least half the world's food. In short, they are the unrecognized backbone of the world economy.

But women are 70 percent of the world's poor, and two-thirds of these are not taught to read and write. To this day, they continue to die from diseases that should have been prevented or treated. They too often are forced to watch their children succumb to malnutrition caused by poverty. While they often grow and prepare the food their families eat, women in some countries continue to be fed least and fed last. Women are often being denied the right to go to school by their own fathers and brothers. They are being barred from the bank lending office and banned from the ballot box.

Those who enjoy the opportunities of education, health care, jobs, credit, and legal and political rights are flourishing in the new world economy. Those without such opportunities--and most often they are women and children--are lagging farther and farther behind.

So long as those obstacles exist, so long as women are prevented anywhere from realizing their God-given potential, the vicious cycle of poverty that traps not only women, but also their children, husbands, communities, and nations will continue. And this trend threatens the very institutions we are seeking to uphold: strong families, strong economies, and strong democracies.

As Jim Wolfensohn told the delegates in Beijing, not to empower women is a tragically missed opportunity, not only to create a more just but also a more prosperous society.

At the conference in Beijing, women and men from all walks of life and all regions made clear that democracy and prosperity cannot be attained or sustained in countries that do not value women as full and equal partners in

society.

It was a historic conference. More than 180 nations agreed to implement a platform that enumerated specific ways to expand the rights and opportunities of women around the world. So the conference was a success, despite many of the naysayers before it began. But it was only a step.

Now it is up to every nation, every non-governmental organization, every concerned individual to make sure that the spirit, energy, and commitments of Beijing are carried forward. And the World Bank is a crucial partner, a vital player in our world's efforts to ensure that the goals and remedies agreed to in Beijing become reality.

The Bank is already supporting several projects that have made a significant difference in the lives of many poor women. And your participation in international microfinance programs, including the new consultative group to assist the poorest, is already yielding returns.

During visits to South Asia and South America this year, I saw firsthand the transforming effect small loans to women can have on families. In many cases, those loans do double family incomes. They do lift families out of poverty. And, maybe more importantly, they give confidence to women who before had none, confidence to believe their lives are worthy, their children's lives are of value, and confidence in the future which is the first step towards sustaining the kind of prosperity and democracy that future hope relies upon.

Anyone who has visited Allahabad and Sewa (?) in India has seen that look of confidence on the faces of those women. Anyone who has visited the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh has seen that look of confidence.

I know that when I went to the village where I visited the participants in the Grameen Bank, I was told before going that it was a village of Hindu untouchables, that no one goes to that village. And because I was going to that village, a nearby village of Muslims wanted me to come there as well. But, unfortunately, my schedule did not permit. So for the first time, Muslim women came to the Hindu village. They were sitting together in rows on benches. And as I walked toward them, seeing them in their multicolored saris, I could not tell who was a Hindu except for the red dot on the forehead. Then as they talked, I could not tell any difference in their aspirations or their hopes for themselves and their families. And as I talked with them individually about what they had spent their loans for, I heard the same stories from Hindus and Muslims alike:

buying a milk cow, buying a second milk cow, buying a rickshaw for a husband to make a living.

All that I heard reinforced my belief that providing this kind of opportunity was not only a bridge to economic prosperity, but at least a hoped-for bridge across many other divisions that keep up apart from one another.

Expanding a woman's access to credit is essential to elevating her status in her own home as well as in her society. Microlending institutions have helped women with that status to become recognized breadwinners. They are responsible for the first time to help improve the living conditions of their families.

At a roundtable discussion in Santiago, Chile, I met a seamstress who compared her new situation, having received a microcredit loan, to that of a caged bird set free. Without a sewing machine, this woman could barely make a living and compete with other factories and seamstresses. She told me, "I felt like I had all this potential and all this energy, but like I was a bird in a cage." Then she applied for and received a small loan. With it, she bought a modern sewing machine. "I kissed that sewing machine over and over again," she told me.

In the United States, we too are trying to establish microlending networks to help our poorest women and families become independent and self-sufficient. Even here in the United States, women's access to credit is still very difficult. As one woman at a microlending project in Colorado said to me, "Too many great ideas die in the parking lots of banks."

That is a situation we can do something about. At each of these small banks supporting microlending in Chile or Nicaragua or Bangladesh or India, the loan repayment rate is consistently near 100 percent. It is a rate of return the world's most prestigious and powerful banks can only dream of.

The United States believes strongly in international microlending efforts and has pledged through U.S. AID to support such programs abroad. And through the creation of the Community Development Financial Institutions Act, we plan to do so here at home as well. And we have learned a great deal from the experience of microlending abroad.

When my husband was Governor of Arkansas, he called upon Mohammad Yunus in 1985 for advice in creating Arkansas' own group-based borrowing program called "the good-faith fund."

In keeping with one of the commitments the United States made at the Beijing Conference, the Treasury Department is establishing an annual Presidential award for microenterprise excellence. The Department will also coordinate a Federal microenterprise initiative that will help publicize microcredit and microenterprise, set benchmarks for programs to use in assessing their own efforts and better standardize existing efforts.

Women cannot become full participants in the social and political lives of their countries without proficiency in reading and writing. And what we have tried to do here at the Bank and what you have been accomplishing around the country is taking steps to ameliorate the situation many women find themselves in. Jim Wolfensohn and his predecessor, Lew Preston, have long noted that investments in education are the single most important contributions the Bank can make to strengthening women's role in development. And I welcome the Board and the Bank's creation of the Lewis Preston Fund for the Education of Girls.

Educated women tend to marry later and plan the size of their families. With fewer children, they have more time and resources to care for them. They stress the importance of school to their children and recognize the need for basic health care. Most importantly, education helps women gain self-confidence and encourages them to reject traditional notions of second-class citizenship that condemn them and their children to lives of poverty.

The World Bank is an important guarantor in the effort to make sure the world meets the goal set by the U.N. Summit on Children to increase primary school completion rates for both girls and boys to 80 percent. I encourage you to maintain your commitment to this goal, as well as the new goal of raising secondary school completion to 60 percent, proposed by Jim Wolfensohn in Beijing.

Also fundamental is health care. Girls cannot study and women cannot work well without basic nutrition and protection from disease. Too many women in developing countries still die of unnecessary complications from childbirth, and sick girls are often denied potentially life-saving treatment simply because of their sex. These issues should be at the forefront of any strategy to assist women.

I want also to congratulate the Bank on its latest efforts to ensure equality between the sexes and its lending programs and its own employment practices. As a major source for many developing nations of both funding and example, you are in a unique position to influence their anti-poverty programs. I am heartened to know that through

your new gender analysis and policy group, gender issues will be addressed in all country assistance strategies and lending programs sponsored by the Bank. I am also pleased that the World Bank recognizes the unique perspectives women bring to these issues and has actively sought to increase the representation of women in leadership positions within the Bank.

Women sometimes know that others around the world are engaged in the same struggle they are. It has been one of the most heart-warming experiences that I have had to bring women together and to see women in different contexts learning from each other.

When I met with small borrowers at the Finca (?) Bank in Managua, Nicaragua, I met women who had carved out livelihoods as bakers, seamstresses, makers of mosquito netting, automobile parts saleswomen, and they asked me about women in India who were doing the same thing. Apparently they had seen some television coverage of my trip to South Asia, and they wanted to know what women half a world away were like and what they were doing with the loans they received.

At that moment I felt I had witnessed a profound connection among women around our world, one that transcends borders and reaches from the barrios of Managua to the villages of India and beyond.

So now two months after Beijing, we still have much to do in making the message of that conference live in the minds and hearts of people all over the world, and we have even more work to do in implementing the agenda for action that was adopted. But I believe that we have turned an important corner, that for the first time institutions as significant as the World Bank, governments like that of my own country, and people throughout the world in NGOs and on their own are finally saying and believing that women should be valued and invested in. And if we carry forward on that promise, then I am confident we will see results in the short and medium term that will in many ways reflect that this new commitment is well founded. And your leadership, both in articulating it and implementing it, will be crucial to any hope for progress that we have.

Thank you for what you are doing, but more than that, thank you for what you will be doing now and in the future on behalf of women everywhere. Thank you very much.

[Applause.]

MR. WOLFENSOHN: The First Lady has agreed to answer questions and has asked me if I can call on a few of you that I hope will indicate that you want to ask

questions.

MRS. CLINTON: But if you don't, that's all right, too.

MR. WOLFENSOHN: Yes, sir?

QUESTION: Mrs. Clinton, I heard you in Beijing, and I also heard here your emphasis on improving access to women and girls in education. It is quite well placed.

The dilemma which we face in the international organizations is that poverty reduction involves keeping the women who are already below the poverty line come up with education and opportunities for employment. So given our collective role, should we invest in girls' education for the primary schooling, which will take, you know, many generations and many decades, or should we really allocate our resources for literacy of the adult women? And I would very much like your opinion because you have traveled both in South Asia and other parts of the world, where poverty prevails, as to the international organizations such as the World Bank, where should our emphasis be and where our priority should be.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think that's a very important question, and I do not pretend to be an expert about any region of the world, nor of that particular subject. But I do believe that the short answer is you have to do both, and how you allocate those resources is obviously the challenge.

But I think there are some creative ways of leveraging resources and maximizing them that I have seen in action in various parts of the world. Let me just mention a few.

I think providing incentives for families to keep girls in school through direct food aid, even through direct monetary assistance, is a relatively cheaper way of engaging those families in supporting girls' education than some of the other ways we have tried in the past. So I would urge that the World Bank look at some of the food for education programs. I know there is one that I personally visited in Bangladesh that the Prime Minister there has supported where I saw families lined up once a week to get commodities which they were only able to receive because they kept their girls in school.

There was a secondary program also in Bangladesh where the direct payment of compensation to families in relatively, very small amounts was enough of an incentive to keep their daughters in secondary school.

I also think, though, that there has to be some emphasis on what I would call family literacy, and there I think one of the benefits of the possible spread of global technology may be to use some of that technology for enhancing literacy among adult-aged women. And yet one of the best ways for engaging adult-aged women in literacy is through their child's education. I have seen that being very successful, either at the workplace but more successfully within the family unit.

Israel has a program that I imported to Arkansas called HIPPY, the Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters, which it began to implement following waves of refugees primarily from North Africa and Ethiopia in the late 1960s and 1970s who were having a difficult time socializing their children to be successful in the Israeli school system. By working with the mothers to make even illiterate mothers feel like they were their child's first teacher, there was quite a success in both preparing the child and in convincing the mother to increase her own literacy level.

So I think direct grants to families to keep them in school with a commitment to girls' education, family literacy programs, and then I think if you are going to follow through on your secondary program, 60 percent completion rate, there will have to be more schools built. And anything you can do to encourage nations to do that, because one of the great impediments, even if they send their daughters to primary school, is that many families have no access to a secondary school that is within easy commuting distance, and they will not send their daughters off to a strange place, as I probably wouldn't either, for a secondary school under those circumstances.

So those three elements just off the top of my head would be things I would look at, at trying to encourage.

MR. WOLFENSOHN: Yes, ma'am?

QUESTION: I am Zeeshan Fatima (?), and I have been with the Bank for 14 years, all of it in Pakistan except two in the U.S. I happened to write to you just before your visit to Pakistan, and I am glad to say I got an acknowledgment from you.

I had a question which, in the Bank language, is not necessarily the views of my government. It is my personal view. My personal view is that there is a very fine line between religious beliefs and human rights. And most often than not, religion is viewed as an excuse to suppress human rights.

Firstly, where do you see this line meeting and leaders and preachers being actually influenced for the better by forums like the Beijing Conference?

Thank you.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, my views are not necessarily those of my government either, so I understand that.

[Laughter/applause.]

MRS. CLINTON: I think you have asked, you know, an incredibly complex and difficult as well as sensitive question, and I think that it is a question all of us are searching for: What is the proper balance between sensitivity and respect for religious beliefs and concern about religious beliefs being used to deny human rights and, even beyond that, justify violence, as we have just seen over this past weekend with the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin? And I think that it is going to be one of the great issues we all have to grapple with, and it is one of the reasons why we have to be willing to stand up against expressions of religion that are filled with hate and intolerance toward other people, because very often those mask political and other agendas. They are not strictly religious in any definition.

And I believe that showing respect for every religion and working to create an atmosphere of tolerance for every religion is an important obligation that we in leadership positions here at the Bank or anywhere have. But being willing to speak out against abuses of human rights and misuses of religion for political and other gains I think is also an obligation.

You know, words of hate can incite deeds of violence. There is a very direct line there. And when one makes political arguments based on one's religious beliefs, there's no discussion possible. How does one have a discussion, whether it is in our country or any country, with people who say, you know, here's what God told me to do?

Well, we have to do more to work with people of good faith across all religious lines to build an atmosphere of religious respect and tolerance, but intolerance for violence, for abuse of human rights that is rationalized by religion. And I would hope that all of us are going to be more willing to speak out against that wherever we see it. And it will take some--it will take some risk to do so, because the forces of negative energy that are often fueled by extremist religious views right now are very strong because they command a lot of media attention, they are dramatic, they are controversial, they are often given

attention far beyond what their numbers warrant, and they have a chilling effect on people of good faith and reason who are afraid then to speak out against such intolerance. And I think all of us have an obligation to do more of that.

So I think there is a way to be respectful and at the same time speak out against the extremists.

QUESTION: Hello. As you have described, in your travels you often meet with the leaders of non-governmental organizations and secular women's organizations. I am wondering what your sense is of the capacity of those organizations to tackle the problems the breadth of which you have described, and specifically, if you can give some advice to the World Bank on how we can enhance that capacity and perhaps work more effectively with these organizations.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I believe that there are an enormous number of effective, well-functioning organizations that are devoted to women's issues around the world, and there are many who are not as effective. I think that is always the case.

But I believe there ought to be more attention paid as to how we can replicate through technical assistance and support the effective NGOs and provide more assistance to those who share the same aims for are not as effective in implementing them.

For example, I think it would be hard to argue that--you know, Sewa in India has been a great success. There are many groups that could learn quite a bit, and with technical assistance from the World Bank could be more successful.

Part of our dilemma in all of these non-governmental efforts is that so often they arise from and depend on a charismatic leader who is the person around whom the organization is built and who really holds it accountable. And there is no succession, and there is very little in the way of reasoned replication efforts. And I have for a long time believed that organizations such as the World Bank and others should spend some serious time trying to figure out how you can replicate the successes of these organizations in the absence of a charismatic leader.

There are certain institutional imperatives that we ought to be able to support. One of the reasons why I think Grameen Bank has been successful is that Mohammad Yunus from the very beginning understood it had to be a bank, not just a project or a program or an NGO that was on the margins of the financial delivery system. And I think that made a big difference in the success of that organization because from the very beginning it was seen as

an institution, and an institution that looked like other banks.

Well, I believe that there are ways that we can learn better how to replicate the successes of the effective women NGOs. I also think that in many situations a lot of those NGOs could be more effective if more attention were paid to their relationships with other organizations so that they could leverage their impact. Many NGOs lead very isolated lives. They don't interact with either governmental sources of assistance or other NGOs. Anything that we could do to bring people together in more of a cooperative sense--I think often of what northern Italy could teach us in the way that it brought together small entrepreneurs through organizations that provided bookkeeping assistance to many small businesses, for example, so that each business wouldn't have to go out and worry about that particular aspect of its functioning.

In that work, you can see how the dollars that are available to support these NGOs can be stretched so much further if they could be brought into more of a cooperative mentality.

So those are two things, the replication and the cooperation, that I think would assist already effective NGOs and bring others up to a level of higher functioning.

QUESTION: My name is Sweta Gandhi (?). I have been with the Bank seven years. I am from India. And next year I am taking leave of the Bank to work on (?) development with a values focus for children back in India with my little organization that I started as a charity organization. It has grown a little bit. And I wanted to know, because education in and of itself, while it leads to a sense of dignity, what happens often in many developing countries is that people don't get jobs after they are educated, and women find increasingly they are frustrated. And I have found that in my work in Morocco. And I was wondering whether you feel that we should be also considering the content, and especially in the context of religious problems that we face, the focus on tolerance and other values that allow us to look at people as people and not as against the context of their religion or their race or whatever.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I hear two different questions, both of which I think are very important. The one is education for what in a global economy and how effective education will be in providing real employment for people. I think that is one of the huge issues that the entire world has to face, because the flip side of this globalization is, I think, an ultimate reduction in employment opportunities for many people already in the

labor force, and for many others whose educational levels, despite the promises made to them, will not support adequate employment in the so-called global economy or information age. That is a problem for the private sector as well as for the not-for-profit and public sectors, and I believe that we are going to have to give some very serious thought to that, because it is not only a worthwhile altruistic matter to consider, but if economies don't flourish because education pays off in rising incomes but instead results in either stagnant or falling incomes, or even the inability to find work, that will increase political instability. It will drive people into all kinds of identification with negative forces, whether ethnic, religious, or whatever. And it will ultimately undermine markets, which is something that business should be concerned about.

So the second part of your question is very timely as well, because at the same time that we are trying to increase levels of education, figure out how in the global economy there will be enough jobs for all these people we are trying to get educated, we also have to put a stress on the values of respect and tolerance and the importance of diversity, both as a way of opening up employment and educational opportunities and as a way of perhaps holding back some of the tide of discontent and disappointment that will be inevitable as we make this economic transition.

So I think anything one can do, and it goes back to the question about the role of religion and the abuse of human rights, anything one can do to create a more open society, to create more ladders of opportunity, to rid societies of the artificial divisions, whether it be caste or religion or race or class or whatever, the more likely it is you will be able to buy some time to try to successfully navigate this transition into this new economy. So I think that both of those questions are very important ones for us to think about.

One of the hardest questions I have been asked in the whole time that I have traveled, I was asked on a Moscow radio station--I was on a call-in in Moscow, which was interesting, and a woman called in and asked me what she was expected to do. She was highly educated, as were all of her friends, and they were all having trouble finding work and keeping work that gave them any decent income or sense of security. And she said, you know, you go around talking, all these leaders go around talking about the need to educate people in the developing world; we are highly educated, and we don't know what our future is.

So this is not just a problem for what we consider the so-called developing world. This is a problem for many, many other countries that are confronting a lot of these social and economic changes at the same time.

QUESTION: I was very happy to hear your emphasis on microfinance, both here and in Beijing when I was privileged to hear you speak with Professor Yunus and Ela Bott (?). But I do have a worry that is associated with even what I've heard today. The focus is often--the word credit is used a lot, and I think that there's a general tendency to think that if we can just get a lot of credit out there, a lot of things will happen.

I think as you said yourself it is really the systems, the financial systems that get built by people like Ela and Professor Yunus that really leave something in their place when the donors have gone away and the governments get bored, the systems that actually can keep going with the women's own savings once that effort is put in. And I just would like to have your response on what I think is a problem for many of us in the development world, is that we are under an institutional imperative, quite often, to lend, to make a big loan, have a credit line, get that money out there. And there is less of an emphasis than perhaps there should be on the institution building, what I call the social intermediation part, rather than the financial intermediation.

Basically, I think this touches on a contradiction that the Bank faces between being a bank--our product is loans, and we've got to get money out there--and being a development institution where our real product is systems and institutions and people with better capacity. And I as a person in the Bank trying to work in the field of microfinance, I think a lot of our task managers face this over and over again, that the big bosses are looking for a large loan, and the people out there really need institution building.

Thank you.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think you're right, and I think it's an inevitable tension, but one that I would hope is going to be resolved more in favor of institution building than it has been in the past, in part because I think now there is more of an awareness of the importance of institution building.

There was an idea--and not just in the World Bank, but in many large institutions, both doing development and governmental programs within countries in the past--that money itself would seed the ground for institution building and the creation of intermediary institutions that would lead to stable structures that could then carry on on their own. And we know that that is much more difficult to do than we had originally thought and that money alone is not the answer. Money, however, is a great incentive, and given

the fact that your business is making loans, using those loans to further institution building I think is not an incompatible mutual objective.

How you do that, I don't pretend to know, but I do know that when one looks at many of the successful institutions that have been built over the past 10 or 15 years, two of which you have named, it was both. It was both lending the money, but also creating an infrastructure so that that money had a context. It wasn't just out there. And part of the reason Grameen worked and Sewa works and other things like it have worked is because they didn't make it an either/or issue.

It is amazing to me that in many commercial banks, loans that are bad loans get written off and more bad loans get made. It's like inevitable. That's the idea of lending, you know, you make some good loans, you make some bad loans, without a recognition that if commercial banks would spend just a small fraction of their resources supporting microenterprise and microcredit, even as difficult as the start-up costs are, even as difficult as it is to think on that kind of a level, that they would be adding to the financial stability of the entire region. And that is to the good for the big loans they make.

It is all interconnected, and I think understanding that interconnection will begin to open people's minds, perhaps, to some new ways of leveraging assets and resources. So I think that many of the loans should be tied to infrastructure and to development in ways that haven't been done quite in the same way in the past, and I think there is a lot of creativity in this Bank and there are a lot of people around the world who are more open to it than were in the past.

QUESTION: You mentioned your trip to Moscow. There has been a dramatic decline in women's participation in that part of the world. The new democracies have become very male democracies. What role do you see for American women to help women in this part of the world make their voices heard in shaping the transition of their societies and their economies, and what role for international organizations such as the World Bank?

MRS. CLINTON: I think you are right, and certainly friends of mine who are working in the NIS countries and elsewhere have remarked to me about that, and many of the women I have met with, particularly in Moscow, but also in Belarus and in other countries, as well, have remarked on it to me.

I think that you have to do what we are doing, encouraging women NGO's, helping to create such entities in those countries, providing some good role models and technical assistance to give people the confidence about making these decisions on their own. There is a great need for building confidence across the board in a lot of those countries about people's capacity to make these independent decisions, whether it is on behalf of an NGO or in any other arena of the political or economic life.

So I don't think the work is that different than it was anywhere else in the world, but I think that it has to be approached with some real sensitivity, because we are dealing with women who have higher levels of education in general, women who often held positions, both in the government or in other capacities, who no longer hold them. So trying to be sensitive to the conditions that they are living through, while trying to support them, I think is very important.

I have worked to create partnerships between maternal hospitals and children's hospitals in some of these countries and ones here at home, because most of the doctors in those hospitals are women and they have really been left in a very precarious position. The whole health care infrastructure has collapsed around them and they don't get a lot of attention from the government officials who are preoccupied with the big macro issues. So I am trying to create relationships so that these women have support from peers and professionals.

We have one going on between the nursing school at the University of Pennsylvania and nurses in Kiev. And the idea that they are talking to one another as peers, not somebody coming in from the outside to tell these women how they are supposed to do it better, but trying to create a situation of mutual respect. So that kind of effort I think should be pursued and supported as much as possible.

QUESTION: Mrs. Clinton, the success of Beijing, of course, is going to depend to a large degree on the effectiveness of transferring from the rhetoric in Beijing to programs of action, particularly by the government. What are the mechanisms that the U.S. Government has to pressure or encourage these governments to undertake those programs of action? You specifically talk about not the aid-related activities, but other political or official channels.

MRS. CLINTON: I can tell you what we are trying to do here in our own country. The President has created an inter-agency council on women that is tasked with following up on Beijing. It is chaired by the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Donna Shalala.

It includes both Cabinet officers and other high-ranking officials in our own government in this inter-agency council, and each has been assigned a different aspect of the Beijing platform, so that the Department of Labor works on many of the issues related to pay equity and other working conditions for women, the Health and Human Services Department is working on follow-up to health issues that were raised, the State Department is tasked with keeping track of human rights issues. So there is an effort that we are making to try to house our follow-up in one place, so that it is not disbursed through the government so that it can basically get lost and so that nobody is responsible for it.

I hope that that will be effective in bringing a lot of these issues to the forefront in our own country and making linkages. For example, we have this new law that was passed last year, the Violence Against Women Act, and we have an office now set up in our Justice Department.

If you track the U.N. Women's Conference as one of the great changes that occurred was between Nairobi, where violence against women, particularly in the domestic sphere, was mentioned for the first time as a problem, and the emphasis that was put on it at Beijing. So what we are trying to do is not only better coordinate our own resources to react against domestic violence in the United States, but to reach out to other countries.

For example, when I was in Pakistan, Prime Minister Bhutto was opening up special police stations so that women who are subject to violence in their homes have a place to go and to be heard and get recourse of some kind. So we are attempting, both internally within our own government and externally, reaching out to keep this discussion going and to demonstrate to other countries what the United States is doing to fulfill its commitment, so that it is not just bringing home the rhetoric, it is actually bringing home an action plan.

QUESTION: Mrs. Clinton, I have heard you speak before on the importance of women's political participation and women's role in decision-making. It was a major theme at the Beijing conference, as you know, and the United States Government announced two initiatives, complementary initiatives in women's political rights and women's political participation. I wonder if you could comment on how you see women in decision-making and women's political participation in relation to some of the initiatives to alleviate poverty, to empower women across many different sectors, and how that might play out for an organization such as the World Bank and other major donors.

MRS. CLINTON: I hope that one of the results of

Beijing will be to raise awareness about women's political participation and to catalyze a variety of ways that each of us can promote that. There are small ways of doing it.

When you attend meetings in some countries and you know that there may be a woman buried in the bureaucracy who has been working on this and she is not invited to the meeting, ask that she be there. When you make site visits and you are taken to the male leaders of the village or the project and you know that women are doing at least half the work, ask to see them. Those are small, but significant signals about who is important in the eyes of the World Bank. I think any conversations, Bank-to-government conversations, and certainly government-to-government conversations should do the same, to try to raise the role of women and their participation.

There is a funny phenomenon going on in most parts of the world, probably with the exception of the Scandinavian countries. There really is a noticeable pull-back in the participation of women at the highest levels of decision-making, whether in the public or the private sector.

I think some of that is due to the fact that most women, regardless of their income in the world today, hold down two full-time jobs, one in their home and one outside the home, and the amount of energy that it is taking for women to fulfill all those responsibilities is very draining, and politics has become, if not a disaster in their eyes, certainly of no help to them, and so they have withdrawn from political participation. We noticed that in voting numbers here even in our own country.

So we have to make these issues, whether it is poverty alleviation or ending discrimination against women and the treatment of domestic violence more real in the lives of everyday women, so that they will feel connected to actions that seem abstract and distant from them and feel in some way empowered to take more authority over their own lives.

So I think in both very small ways, each of us can make some points, and then in larger ways we can continue to try to link a lot of the work that is being done to what the changes will be in women's lives if this work is continued or if it is discontinued, so that they feel some stake in it.

Finally, I think everywhere we can work to eliminate the barriers to participation that still exist in many countries, we should speak out again. And I think that goes back to the question about your job is lending and how far can you go in lending in terms of making both financial

infrastructure suggestions or even linkages between what you do and political change.

But I certainly think there is a legitimate role, given what we know about how nations flourish if women are active participants, that it is in the long-term interest of the Bank and its rate of return that you do link some of this political participation and decision-making on behalf of women with the projects that you fund, and I think that would begin to open some eyes that might not otherwise be open.

QUESTION: I work in a region which is not traditionally a region where promotion of women has been high on the agenda. Now, those are also very hierarchical societies and it seems to us that the most important thing is to get commitment from the top of the political leadership in those countries to putting women's issues higher on their priorities.

Beijing was a good step in that direction, but I am afraid that quickly people will forget what happened in Beijing. Since you are someone close to the top, what would you recommend as strategy --

[Laughter.]

A moving target.

[Laughter.]

What would you recommend as strategies for reaching those traditional political leaders in those countries?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, goodness, I don't know.

[Laughter.]

I think that one of the ways that perhaps we all could do more to work with, as you say, hierarchical leadership in many countries, not just in that region of the world, is to share some of this information with them about the effects that investing in women have for the long-term stability and prosperity of their country.

I find it amazing that many people really don't know what you all know. When I was preparing for Beijing, the best information I got were some early studies that had been done at the World Bank correlating investments in women with outcomes for prosperity and democracy.

Some of the large multinational corporations do these ongoing assessments of where they are going to make

investments, and one of the factors they look at is how women are treated. But somehow that information doesn't get conveyed effectively to the leadership in a lot of those countries.

I think it would be very significant if a major executive of a multinational corporation, accompanied by a major executive of the World Bank, paid a call on a lot of these countries' leaders and did a presentation. I know that may sound simplistic, but I am convinced that a lot of that is just not known, it has not been said often enough, it is not yet absorbed.

You cannot imagine how difficult it is to get information like this across to people, and I have seen this in my own country where things that we take for granted, those of us who know how the government works, we are stunned when we go out into the country and people don't know. So that would be one suggestion.

I think some targeted presentations that don't attempt to make political points so much as to inform leaders about what it is that multinational corporations and others look like. I mean if you have a lot of natural resources, they are going to come to you anyway. They are going to want to get it out of the ground and then they are going to want to leave you. But if you have a more complex economy or you are hoping to develop a more complex economy, these factors are important.

Secondly, I think that talking about girls is less threatening than talking about women.

[Laughter.]

So I would talk a lot about girls and a lot about daughters --

[Applause.]

A lot about daughters and daughters' opportunities. I have had several conversations with leaders in very, very conservative countries who have told me how difficult it is to educate girls and to combat the extremists in their own culture who are against educating girls, but how there seems to be kind of an epiphany when it comes to their daughters, and to link that kind of commitment to their daughters with commitment to other girls who have promise I think is an effective way of beginning a conversation. Because if you start with young girls and you educate young girls, then you do have at least an opportunity for people to be less threatened for several years, anyway. We will deal with that later.

[Laughter.]

I guess finally I think that it goes back to the points that several of you made. You know, this difficulty we find ourselves in in talking about very hard problems and the consequences of all the changes that we are confronting and what it is doing to people's individual and collective psyche is something we don't have a very good vocabulary for yet.

We are not doing a very good job of articulating a more positive vision. We are not doing a very good job in this country, but frankly nobody is doing a very good job around the world. We are caught in this transition that we are trying to work our way through and we don't have an adequate vocabulary to express what it is we are trying to present as an alternative.

If the alternative is rampant consumerism, materialism, debasement of values and alienation, that is not very attractive. And if people turn on their television sets and they see the advanced world and they look at both men and women who are caught in all of the personal dilemmas that get portrayed endless on television, why would anybody want to change what they have in order to move toward that?

So I think part of the West's and the advanced economies and however we want to describe what it is all of us are trying to communicate need to do is to spend some real time thinking through how do we talk about it and how are we honest about the shortcomings in our own society.

I mean it is a little daunting to visit countries that at least have the feeling that they are able to maintain a network of familial and kinship networks that are very important to them and to see their panic at the idea that they will be broken down because of the intrusion of the electronic media and the relentless pressures for consumption that drives so much of what they see happening elsewhere, or when they see the breakdown of families and the absence of fathers and all of the other social problems.

When we were in Nicaragua, there was a huge billboard on the side of the road with a crying child saying, "Father, why have you abandoned us? Please come home." And they have this huge problem now because of war and earthquakes and everything else, where family structure has just taken a terrible beating in the last decades. You find this litany of social problems that is marching its way through the world connected in the minds of many conservative leaders and many religious people with all that they don't want. You know, they link education with these problems. They link credit or political participation.

We ought to be recognizing that this is a major dilemma for us and there ought to be a way we can better express both honestly the drawbacks we have in our own society and what we intend as individuals and collectively to do about them, and the vision we have of what individuals who are given a chance to express themselves, but can remain rooted in culture and religion and the larger society, are able to do if given the support to do so.

So these are issues that I would like to see all of us spend some time thinking about, because we don't discuss them very well. And everywhere I travel, political leaders in democracies describe how their countries are divided right down the middle.

Whether it is the separatist vote in Quebec, whether it is Prime Minister Rabin attempting to get the Knesset to ratify his moves toward peace, whether it is election after election where the margins are razor thin and people are very divided one against the other, that should tell us something, that there is a great deal of concern, discontent, confusion about what the future means to all of us. And those who believe in progress and development, which includes everyone in this room or you would not be here, we must do a better job of expressing what we mean by that in today's world, and showing more respect for the moorings that culture and society give, but rejecting the intolerance and the divisiveness that they also lead to.

So until we can better articulate what it is you are doing to achieve, we will continue to encounter skepticism, as well as resistance, and we can only begin to wear that down by trying to present a better vision that is more honest and more inclusive about what it is we are working toward in the 21st Century, and that is a challenge for all of us. None of us, in my view, is doing a very good job of it. All of us are trying to find our way in our words, and any help that the World Bank could give on that front I know many of us would welcome.

Thank you very much.

[Applause.]

MS. : On behalf of the World Bank staff and all of us here today, we would like to present you with a token of appreciation.

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you.

[Applause.]

MR. WOLFENSOHN: I think, Mrs. Clinton, there is no need for words. You can see how appreciative we all are.

It was a comprehensive and wonderful speech and the answers to questions were breathtaking and I think demonstrated your vision and your breadth, and we all are certainly grateful to you for your leadership.

So would you join me in expressing our thanks.

[Applause.]

[Whereupon, at 12:39 p.m., the proceedings were concluded.]

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