

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	Address at the Shanghai Library re: SSN and DOB [partial] (1 page)	07/01/1998	b(6)
002. bio	re: Betty Tung [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Christine Macy
OA/Box Number: 17205

FOLDER TITLE:

China 1998/ HRC Speeches/ Harper's Article

2013-0936-S

re1340

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
at the Official Opening of the Shanghai Children's Medical Center
Shanghai, China

Shanghai, China

Monday, June 30, 1998

SENATOR ROCKEFELLER: When President and Mrs. Clinton came to China, we know it was their desire to open up a discussion so that possibilities for all people be as broad and as optimistic as possible for the future. There is no more important, I think, way for my country or for your country to make sure of its future than to make sure that children receive the health care that they need, when they need it.

Vice Mayor Zuo and others have put together, in Shanghai, a remarkable system wherein a child, no matter what that child's medical problem might be, can receive that health care when they need it. Shanghai has special challenges because there are so many people who are moving to Shanghai and the population is growing and health care is sometimes the most complicated service to deliver to citizens.

The United States has so much to learn from Shanghai, Vice Mayor Zuo, because universal health care and the right of people to have the health care, particularly when they are young and when they are developing, is an essential human right. Fortunately, both in Shanghai and in the United States through the Vice Mayor, Project Hope, Bill Walsh, so many doctors and nurses working together, and in our country through the ferocious and determined leadership of President Clinton and particularly Mrs. Clinton, we can all have a real "Project Hope" for good health care for our children when they need it so they can have the future that they truly deserve and need.

Thank you.

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you Madame Vice Mayor, thank you Dr. Chen, thank all of you for gathering here today for this celebration of the opening of this magnificent children's hospital. You have heard from Senator Rockefeller, and I want to introduce the other members of the United States Congress who have accompanied the President on this trip to China. We have Senator Akaka from Hawaii, Congressman Markey from Massachusetts, Congressman Hamilton [applause], Congressman Hamilton is from Indiana, Congressman Dingle from Michigan and Senator Baucus from Montana.

As Senator Rockefeller said, we have come to China to learn more and to discuss more about the future relations between the United States and China; and one example of our partnership is in the area of health care, as this children's medical center so well exemplifies. This medical center is the result of an extraordinary public-private collaboration between our two countries, the city of Shanghai, Project Hope, the Shanghai Second Medical University, and USAID's American Schools and Hospitals Abroad Program, as well as the generous contribution of many Chinese, American and other international businesses, foundations and individuals. I was given a tour by Dr. Chen and Dr. Jonas, from the Boston Medical Children's Center, of an area that will treat children with cardiac problems. And Dr. Chen and Bill Walsh, the President and CEO of Project Hope who is with us today, showed me

some of the recently installed equipment that will be used that is state-of-the-art in terms of diagnosing children's medical problems. And I am pleased that USAID's American Schools and Hospitals Abroad Program is providing training grants for the medical center because it is essential that this center help to train physicians, nurses and technicians from throughout Shanghai, but even perhaps throughout all of China.

Now I have been told that there are more pre-school children in China than the entire population of the United States. I don't know if that is true, but certainly if they are as beautiful and bright and intelligent as the children that I have already met on my visit in Xian, and Beijing and now Shanghai, this country has a very bright future indeed. And certainly the relationships between our two countries and our two peoples has no more important objective than improving the future for the children of both of our countries. And the United States both in our public capacity through our government, and more importantly, in private ways, through private business, foundations and other exchanges, wishes to be a good partner to build that kind of future for the children of both our countries.

So I hope we will continue exchanging physicians and nurses and technicians and experts, and I have seen when I walked in that we also will be exchanging great yellow birds, such as "Da Niao" and his cousins from Sesame Street, Big Bird. You know I often speak with my husband about how the work that he does on behalf of our country will be judged today and tomorrow, and we often speak that perhaps the most important question that can be asked about any work that is done in the government, business, academics, or anywhere in society, is this question: "Is it good for the children?" And certainly those of you who have helped to build this beautiful and important children's medical center will be able to answer that question with a very strong "yes" - it is good for the children. And I hope that the result of this visit that my husband has made to China will enable both of our countries, both our governments and our people to say in the years to come that we have made decisions that are good for our children.

Thank you very much.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Remarks at the Shanghai No. 3 Girls School
Shanghai, China

Shanghai, China

Monday, June 30, 1998

Thank you very much for your warm welcome and the invitation to visit your school. I have already been with your principal and the Vice Mayor in some of the classrooms to see some of the art work that all of you do and to talk about music with some of the students and even to see some of the students on the Internet. So, I have a bit of an idea about the wide variety of activities and interests that you pursue after you have done your studies.

I wanted to come here to be able to see for myself what is happening in the lives of young women here in Shanghai, and particularly young women such as yourselves, who attend such a difficult and demanding school. Because I agree with your principal that it is essential that as many young people as possible be given the very best available education. And that is particularly true for young women.

When I was in the classroom with some of your classmates, talking about music, one young woman asked me what I thought about young women here in China, because she knew that I had traveled in many places around the world, and when I travel, I try to make time for meetings with women and particularly to visit with young people. Because, although we have seen many, many advances in the world, in terms of opportunities for women and girls, there is no argument that women and girls in most of the world still are not given equal opportunities to pursue education, to pursue their dreams, to make choices for their own lives, and I believe strongly that it is in every country's interest – my country, your country, every country around the world that we do everything we can to make sure young girls are treated equally and given opportunities so that each young girl can make the best choices for her life. So I wanted to come to this school to have a chance to learn more about the lives of young women here in Shanghai and particularly young women such as yourselves who have entered into this school's curriculum with all of its demands because of interests that you have that you are pursuing, because I would like to be able to make clear to everyone that the opportunities that are available in a school such as this or in the best schools in my country for young girls should be available to all young girls everywhere. I also want to say just a word about the important visit that my husband is making to your country. Because when my husband decided to come to China, he wanted not only to meet with government officials in Beijing, but, as much as possible, to see people and talk to them about what is on their minds. He was just on a radio program where listeners called in and asked him questions, and earlier this morning he and I met with citizens of Shanghai in a discussion at your beautiful new library. In both of those instances and in the other occasions that we have had in a village outside Xi'an, in Beijing, here in Shanghai, we have been struck by the great changes that have occurred in China in the last several years, and by the way, the many ways that people's lives have improved. And we've had an opportunity to talk with and learn about these changes from older people, people who are doing all kinds of work to help build a very strong economy and to make China the kind of country you wish it to be in the next century.

But we haven't had as much opportunity to speak to young people until the President was able to speak at Peking University to a crowd of students and faculty and they were then able to ask him questions. Today, I would like also to give you the opportunity to ask me

questions and I may have a few questions to ask in return. Because we hope through this visit of the President and all of us who are traveling with him, that we will learn more about what is happening in China in the lives of people of all ages, and through our visit be able to communicate that back to Americans so that Americans will know more about what is happening with the Chinese people and, through opportunities such as this, we hope that the Chinese people will learn more about how Americans see the world and what we think about the future. So in a moment I will welcome your questions, because I would like the opportunity to hear what is on your minds. I think that one of the great results that we hope will come from this visit that my husband is making is that more people in both of our countries will understand more about the other country, and that we will see how much we do have in common, how many of the same issues we face, and where we have differences, that we will discuss those differences and understand ways that we can work together. So it is a great honor for me to be here to be part of this visit that the President is making, but it is a special pleasure for me to be here in this school. Because I know how hard you work, how competitive this school is, how difficult the curriculum is, and I admire you for your commitment to your studies and your understanding about how critical it is that education will open doors to you in the future. So I congratulate you on your hard work. I'm very pleased to see such a beautiful school building and grounds, but I'm especially appreciative of the chance to talk with those of you who are students here. So with that, Madame Principal, what I would like to do is to hear from the students and have an opportunity to answer their questions. [Applause]

STUDENT: Mrs. Clinton, I'd like to ask a question. You may have already heard something about Shanghai in the United States. Now you have seen Shanghai with your own eyes and is it the same as you thought before, and what impressed you most during your visit to China? Thank you.

FIRST LADY: Well, it will be quite some time before I digest everything that I have seen and heard and learned in the few days we have been here. But one image that will forever stay in my mind is what I saw in Shanghai last night as my husband and I drove in from the airport. I don't know if those of you who live here everyday have gotten used to the skyline and the extraordinary beauty of the city and the variety of the architecture that one sees, but it is a stunning and impressive sight to come to Shanghai for the first time especially at night as we did yesterday. I had been told that there is more construction occurring in Shanghai than in any place in the world, and that of all those great big giant cranes that tower over your skyline, I'd been told that 20% of all the giant cranes in the world are in Shanghai. I believe that based on what I have seen. So my first, initial impression was one of a vibrant, vivid, growing, exciting city. And then today, during the day, as we've been able to drive along the streets, as we went to the new library and toured it with your Mayor; as I went to the very impressive new children's medical center with the Vice Mayor, and toured that; as I visited a center for the retraining of women who have lost their jobs because of the economic transformation occurring here; as I went to a wonderful restaurant in an old historic section of Shanghai - everything that I have seen in just the very short time I have been here has been impressive to me. Because I have seen a place that is dynamic and is growing and is oriented toward the future, and I think that that is the kind of place that will be prepared for the challenges and changes of the next century. You know, in the world in which we live today, there is no certainty other than change because when you look around we see how much is changing all of the time. And for a city or a country or a person to be able to be prosperous and successful in the next century, I believe you must be flexible and adaptable to the

changes that will occur, and it appears to me that Shanghai is well prepared for that kind of century, so I was very impressed by what I have seen so far. [Applause]

STUDENT: Hello, Mrs. Clinton. My mother has read the book you wrote entitled "It Takes a Village." It's about education. She wanted me to ask you, as a mother, what do you think is the most important to teach your daughter? And what kind of a person do you expect your daughter to be? Thank you.

FIRST LADY: That's a very important question for all of us, because there isn't any more important job in the world than taking care of and preparing the next generation. You can have many, many jobs. You can be a physician like the Vice Mayor, or a principal like your principal, or a lawyer like I am, but I think the most important task is how you raise your children, or other children on whom you have an influence. And certainly you have a special responsibility when it comes to education. So I would answer your mother in two ways. I think there are certain values that you must teach your child that have nothing to do with book learning, values that are the kind of person your child will become, because you can be a very well-educated person, a very successful person, a very rich person in material wealth, but not be a person of value, not be a person of character, so many of the lessons that you must teach when your child is young have to do with the kind of person your child will be: will your child be kind, will your child be empathetic, in other words, sensitive to the needs and wants of other people? Will your child be confident, and able to face whatever challenges and disappointments will come in your life because all of us face those? So those are the kinds of things you must teach a child that don't have anything to do with what you learn in school, but the kind of person you will become. And then I think you have an obligation to instill in your child a love of learning, a love of education and that starts at a very early age. I was speaking with your classmates in the music discussion about how we now know the brain develops in the first three years of life. If you have a baby from the very beginning of that baby's life, and you speak to that baby, you read to that baby, you sing to that baby, you are not only building a warm relationship with your baby, you are actually building more brain cells in your baby's brain, and therefore, better preparing your baby for the kind of learning that you do here in school. And I think once a child is born, you have an obligation to help instill in that child a love of learning and to build a strong, positive attitude toward education, and then once a child goes to school, you must work with the teachers, you must help the child with homework, you must encourage the child. Now many parents do that, but some parents either don't know how to do that, or cannot do that, so it's important that other adults try to help children learn to love learning so that they can help the family and help the child be successful. And that is what my husband and I have tried to do with our daughter, both in the kind of learning about life, and then the learning in the education and schooling that she has had, and it is something that we believe in very strongly, that is very important to every child, boy or girl. And that is one of the arguments that I made in my book which your mother read. And would you thank your mother for reading my book. I appreciate that very much. [Applause] Thank you.

STUDENT: You have mentioned something about girls' schools. Since we are all girls' school students, we'd like very much to know what do you think are the advantages of a girls' school. Thank you.

FIRST LADY: I went to a girls' college. I did not go to a girls' school, I went to a very large high school with boys and girls, but then when I reached university age, I went to Wellesley College, outside of Boston, Massachusetts, which is a well-known women's

college, a girls' college in our country. And I am very happy that I did that. I found the atmosphere very conducive to learning, and I think it also true in the younger years as well. Here in your school, I met the young woman who is the leader of your school, the chair of your school. As young women, you have all the responsibilities in the school. You are the ones who have to make the decisions, you are the ones who are the student leaders, and I believe that instills in young women a sense of confidence about what they are able to do when they go out into the world. So I think that girls' schools are a very good opportunity for many young women, and I believe that they should be available as an option for young women if that is what they choose. Now my own daughter did not want to go to a girls' college and did not want to go to a girls' school. She had a different attitude and a different experience. So she went to a co-educational high school, and now she is at Stanford University, which is a large co-educational university. So she made a different choice, despite my encouragement of her to look at my own college. So I think it's an individual matter. Some young women are very successful in co-educational settings, and others like many of you, are very successful in this setting. I believe there should be a choice so that young women can decide what they think is best for them, so I'm very much in favor of having available girls' schools like this, and even girls' colleges like the one I attended. Thank you. [Applause]

STUDENT: Mrs. Clinton, we're all very interested to know if you will run for President, and do you think American people will have a woman President someday in the near future? Thank you.

FIRST LADY: Well, I will not run for President, but I do hope that a woman will run and be elected President sometime in the early part of the next century. I hope that I am still alive when we have a woman President, so that if I agree with her politically I can vote for her. Now if I do not agree with her politically, I will not vote for her, even if she is a woman, but I will be very proud that she is running for the President. And I think that it is important that we do everything we can to create opportunities for women in our political systems, so that I hope sometime in the next century, there will be a meeting between the woman president of the United States and the woman president of China. [Laughter; applause]

STUDENT: Thank you, very much.

FIRST LADY: Perhaps one of you will be in that position and I will be glad to read about that when that occurs.

STUDENT: Hello, Mrs. Clinton. I would like to ask what do the American students know about China? For example, Chinese characters, Chinese paintings, Chinese customs, and Chinese culture.

FIRST LADY: I don't know that the average student, the typical American student, knows very much and that is one of the reasons my husband wanted to make this trip, so that through our American media we could show to more Americans, particularly young Americans, more about Chinese culture and Chinese life so that more Americans would have a better understanding of China. I have met with a number of students, American students, who are studying here in China and they are very enthusiastic about what they are learning. In fact, the daughter of our American Ambassador is studying Chinese and has been studying Chinese for two years now, and loves Chinese culture, the Chinese language. So I am hoping that we will have more exchanges with more American students coming here to China to

study and more Chinese students going to America so that more American students can have first-hand relationships and friendships with young people from China, because I think it is very important that we understand each other better, and that we appreciate each other more. And I think as one of the panelists in our panel discussion this morning said, a woman novelist from Shanghai, it's important that we have more access to the books that are published here, that they be translated into English, that we have more exhibitions of art, that there be more exchanges of artists and musicians coming between our two countries, because everything we do to present the history, the culture, the ideas of China to America, I am convinced will enable more Americans to understand more about the choices that China is making and the kind of future that you are building so I hope that we will [inaudible]

The question you asked, let me answer by saying many more Americans do know more. Now of course, we have many Chinese-Americans living in the United States and they have been extraordinarily successful contributors to the building of the United States. So that many people in our country know Chinese-Americans and that is one way to further our understanding but I would like to see some of the other things happen that I just mentioned. Thank you. [Applause]

STUDENT: [Inaudible]

FIRST LADY: Yes to both. I like Chinese food very much and I've had some excellent Chinese food since we have been here. I just came from a very delicious lunch, and I learned many years ago to use chopsticks because even as a student I used to go and eat a lot of Chinese food, so I feel very much at home eating Chinese food. I'm not an expert with chopsticks, but I can get most of the food into my mouth. [Applause] Thank you.

STUDENT: [Inaudible]

FIRST LADY: You know, I am very aware of the generation gap, and I assume many of you are as well because every generation does things differently from their parents, and although those of us who are parents are sometimes surprised by those differences, that is what we did to our parents so that it is part of how people change over time, and yet, I think it is also very important, as I understand from my friends who are Chinese-Americans that the family in China always stresses the importance of the continuing relationship from generation to generation and the value that one can obtain from honoring those who are older. So although there will always be a generation gap, it can either be a small gap which is natural as people change over time because for example, I am not by any means an expert on the computer, my daughter can do really anything on a computer. That is a big gap between the two of us, but I hope that there is not very much of a gap in how we can talk to each other and how we can support each other and that is much more important. So there are things – there will be differences that I will not understand about her generation, but the important things about supporting the family and supporting each other and guiding each other I hope will remain the same no matter what the differences might be in the life that you will lead in the future. So it is always hard for parents to see their children grow up, and it is especially hard I think for parents to see daughters grow up and leave. And when my daughter left to go to Stanford which is all the way across the country from Washington, she would not have gotten any farther without falling into the Pacific Ocean, it was very hard on her father and me. But at the same time, we were very proud that she was so independent and able to take of herself, and confident about her ability to do her studies so far from home. So it was what we call in English, a "mixed blessing." We're blessed to have a child who could do that, but we were

sorry to have her leave home and be so far away. So that I think is the tension that you always find and I understand your parents' questions, because sometimes it is very hard being a parent and seeing a child you want to be educated and make choices for herself begin to do that, as I'm sure some of you already are. So I hope that if my family and your family are able to keep a strong family bond, even though there is, I believe, inevitably a generation gap between the generations, but understand, especially in today's fast-changing world, how confusing it must be for your parents or parents like my husband and me to see changes that we would never have dreamt of when we were your age. So be gentle about bold hopes, about the changes that you are living through and will be making in the next century. Thank you. [Applause]

STUDENT: [Inaudible]

→ Asked about violence in schools

FIRST LADY: You're right. We've had in the last months very tragic instances of young boys obtaining guns and going through schools and shooting their classmates, even some of their teachers. It has been very disturbing to Americans, very troubling because of the violence that these young men have used. Both my husband and I have spoken about this and we're both very concerned because we think that there are a number of reasons why these young boys, some as young as 11, between about the ages of 11 and 18, would turn to violence and be able to act out their anger and their rage, their feelings that they had inside of them. One of the reasons we believe is that there is a lot of violence in the media in the United States. The average child growing up in the United States watching our television will see something like 20,000 murders on television by the time they're 18 years old. Now for most young people like my daughter and her friends who come from strong families, that come from families that talk to them, this exposure to violence doesn't lead them to violence. But for other young people, for whatever reason, who don't have that same support or who are not given the help that they need as a young person, an exposure to violence begins to wear away at their own sense of reality and also gives them ideas that this is a natural way to solve one's problems and so we are concerned about the amount and level of violence on our television, in our movies, in our music that our children are exposed to. But that, of course, is not the only reason that we have had the problems we've had. Another issue is that there are many, many guns in America. And these young boys have these guns from their own families. In one case, the young boys stole the guns from a grandfather who liked to hunt with the guns and they took them from the grandfather without his knowing and used them. In another instance, the boy had his own gun which he had been given because he wanted very much to have a gun which he said he would use for target practice or for hunting. And my husband has very many concerns about having young people, particularly children, have access to guns, and he has advocated that there be locks on guns that children would not be able to open without an adult who handed him the key or the combination so that even if a child took a gun from his father or his grandfather, he would not be able to use it. Because with so many guns around what would be ordinary schoolboy arguments or fights, the kinds of arguments I would see on the playground when I was a little girl growing up where boys would push each other or they would yell at each other or they would call each other names, maybe even have a fight with each other, if you have access to a gun, what is an ordinary schoolboy fight becomes a potential deadly tragedy because every young boy I know – I have two younger brothers – at some point has some kind of argument or fight with some other boy – that seems to be part of what boys do when they grow up, you know, pushing or shoving or yelling at each other. We expect that, and that passes. But if that boy while he's still angry at his classmate, while he is still disappointed, can go and get a gun instead of using his fists or using his mouth to yell, then you can see how that could lead to a tragedy.

And finally, we think that there is a real problem with the identification of some of our children who need some kind of psychological help or counseling. If a young boy is acting up – I say “boy” because that’s who has committed these crimes, young boys – if a young boy is acting up, threatening people, causing trouble in school, if the school takes its usual step and expels the boy, sends the boy home, that may not be enough, because that’s what happened in the last case. The boy was disruptive, he brought a gun to school, and the school immediately sent him home. He was not supposed to be in school with a gun. But we think more needs to be done. You know that boy should have been probably arrested, he should have been given some kind of psychological evaluation, something should have been done to try to intervene to prevent the tragedy. So we are going to be doing a lot of hard work about this issue in our country in the weeks ahead. My husband and I will have several meetings with experts about this, we’ll look for ways that we can persuade parents to eliminate some of the television violence in their houses. In fact, the President passed a law a few years ago that requires all American television starting next year to have a microchip installed in the television so that parents can program the microchip so that young children cannot turn on the programs that the parents disagree with, that they think are not right for the child to watch. So we hope through a variety of ways we’re going to be able to limit the circumstances in which a child can translate whatever terrible feelings are inside into such a tragedy as the ones we have seen. It is a problem that we are taking very seriously and working very hard on to try to find some solutions for and I hope that we will be successful so that we don’t have any more of these very tragic, violent incidents like the ones we’ve had. Thank you. [Applause]

Now let me thank all of you. Those were excellent questions. I think we should applaud the questioners. Those were excellent questions. [Applause]

I also want to thank the band, I saw the band as I came in and I want to thank those who are behind me, the musical ensemble. And I want to thank all of the teachers and the staff of the school and the students particularly, for this kind invitation. And I hope that we have all learned something and that I certainly have seen first-hand the quality of the students here at this school and I wish all of you a very successful break in school. I understand you’re coming up on a vacation time. And I learned from your chair, the student leader, that some of you will be taking exams in July, and I wish you much success on your exams. Thank you very much. [Applause]

[Remarks outside the building]

Thank you. You have been so patient. I’m sorry that there was not enough room to fit all of you in the auditorium and I thank you so much for being here to greet me and then waiting here so patiently. I am very pleased that I’ve had a chance to visit your school. You have made me feel very welcome and I know that all of you are working very hard, that your studies are demanding, but that you also have time for many activities, sporting, athletic activities, artistic activities and the like, and inside, one of the young women, one of your classmates asked me about girls’ schools, and I said I am very much in favor of there being girls’ schools so that young women like yourselves can choose to attend such a fine school as this. And I want to congratulate you for a making a choice that will be very demanding, that will really push you to excel and I wish all of you much success in your studies, and whatever you choose to do in the future. Because I believe that investing in a girl’s education is one of the best investments any family or country can make. So I am delighted to see what a good

investment this school has with all of you. Thank you for letting me come to see you. Thank you very much.

and that you are putting into action are ones that will make a difference in the lives of millions and millions of women and will make a difference in your entire society.

I was very pleased yesterday when my husband and I visited a small village outside of Xian to meet both men and women who talked to us about the changes in their lives in the last years, talking about the opportunities that they face and they were taking advantage of. And I was very struck by what I heard in that rural village was very similar to what I use to hear, with my husband, in our rural state of Arkansas, in the United States. And that many of the solutions that we are talking about here are ones that we have also worked on in the United States -- expanding legal rights for women, changing the judicial system to be more sensitive and aware of women's needs, expanding education to girls and women, persuading families, particularly families of minority cultures to educate their daughters, working very hard to increase the number of women who go, not only to primary education, but like the example the professor gave, of women who go on to university because their families sell donkeys or borrow or do whatever is necessary to educate their daughters.

I have also been very struck by how health care is a basic human right and educating women about their bodies, about the health care system, about their opportunities to seek and obtain health care, about reproductive health care is a basic human right for every women in the world. And more work needs to be done about that. I was also very impressed to hear the work you are doing both to create economic opportunity through micro credit and to assist women who need retraining because of the economic changes that are going on in your country. Micro credit has been proven in so many different countries in both rural and urban areas to give women economic opportunity and access to credit that they would not otherwise have.

You know in my own country we are using micro credit to help poor women, particularly women who are coming off welfare because we have changed our welfare system, to start small businesses for themselves. So this is not only a very good strategy for rural China, but also urban China and rural and urban America, and many other countries in every continent that I have visited.

So what I have heard today, the voices that I have heard, are very exciting to me, because I remember so well when I was here in Beijing at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, in 1995, there were so many different women from over 180 countries, but we agreed on a platform for action. China signed it, the United States signed and we are seeing results from following that platform for action. What you have told me today are all specific steps and strategies designed to increase the opportunities, the rights and responsibilities for women. I think it is clear as we look at the 21st Century that no society will be successful that does not empower women, that does not educate girls as well as boys, that does not keep girls healthy, that does not provide economic opportunity for women, that does not enforce the laws for the political and civil and legal rights of all people, but particularly for women, and each of you has described very

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

**A Dialogue with Chinese Women:
Progress and Challenges in a Transforming Society**

Held at the Beijing International Club Hotel

Beijing, China

Saturday, June 27, 1998

For the public campaign stressing that it is as good to have a girl as a boy and the importance of valuing our daughters which is something that the President and I are very, very supportive of since, of course, we have a daughter and think that daughters are as important as sons and that girls are as important as boys.

So today I want to listen, ask questions, and learn from the distinguished women on this panel. I have reviewed their resumes; I have studied information about the work they are doing, both in urban and rural areas on behalf of women, and, as I said when I was here in Beijing three years ago, I believe that women throughout the world in every country -- urban and rural -- have very much in common in terms of the issues and the problems that we face. And that we learn much from each other, and we can strengthen each other as we all work to achieve opportunities and rights and responsibilities for women and girls. So I am delighted to be here and thank all of you for coming, and I particularly thank the panelists for taking time out of their busy schedules to be here with me to explain what they are doing and to discuss with me how we can all make more progress on behalf of women here in China and women in my own country and women throughout the world. So with that, I would love to start the discussion and hear from these very impressive women as to what they are doing and the issues on their minds.

Chinese Dialogue from panelist:

Well I want to thank the panelists, I think we should all give them a round of applause. I have been in discussions like this all over the world because when I travel alone or when I travel with my husband, I always seek out women to discuss with me what is happening in their societies, because I do believe that so much of the challenges and opportunities that women face today are similar. They may be different in degree or intensity but every problem that I have heard about today, from the panelists, I've heard about in every country including my own to some degree or another. And because I have been in so many of these discussions, I have learned so much from women like those whom we have heard from today, but I don't think I have ever been a more lively, energetic, informed, exciting discussion as the one I've heard from today with these women. I think that says a great deal about the work that each of you is doing, but also how you represent millions of other women who are worried about poverty, who are worried about education, who are worried about health care, who are worried about the status of women and who are looking for solutions. And the solutions that we have talked about today,

eloquently what is happening that will achieve that kind of opportunity for women in the next century.

Our moderator said that there is the old Chinese saying that women hold up half the sky. I have always like that saying. But of course women cannot hold up their half of the sky if they are not educated, if they are not healthy, if they don't have their rights, if they cannot enforce their own personal goals and aspirations, if they are not respected by the men in their lives and by their larger society. I particularly liked the saying that you are using as part of your campaign, "Self respect, self confidence, self reliance and self improvement," now those are goals for women everywhere in the world. But you have very clearly illustrated this morning how much progress is being made in helping women lift up their own voices. Because of course, each of us here on this panel are very lucky because our families respected us, our parents wanted us educated, we have remained healthy so that we could peruse our own dreams of being a professor or starting a publication or translating many books and running projects, but I think that makes it even more important that women like us use our voices to speak up on behalf of the millions of women throughout the world whose voices are silenced. They are not listened, to they are not respected, they are not encouraged, they are not given their rights, and they cannot hold up their half of their sky. So what I want to thank you for is very clearly explaining this morning all of the work that you are doing to create change in the lives of individual women which are sometimes the hardest changes to make. Sometimes the most difficult challenge is to persuade an individual women to have hope, to feel that she is worthy, to go to school, to protect her daughter, and yet you are also through these efforts that you have described, I think, changing the lives and attitudes of women and men. And that will change the society in which you live. Now I don't think any of us who have worked on these issues as long as each of us has is in any way unaware of how hard the challenge is.

There is a great deal of work. Because for every women who does not have her legal rights, there is not a legal center. For every women who needs the information in your publication and in your books, they do not always get it. For every women who should go to Beijing University because she is intelligent and motivated she may not have a family to sell a donkey to send her. So there is much work to be done and I think that there is a lot we have in common that we can work on together that will up-hold the value of each girl and will create an environment in which even more girls and women can participate in panels such as you with your education, your eloquence, your passion, your advocacy and that will do a great deal to create the conditions, not only in China, but throughout the world that will enable us to proudly enable us to proudly hold up our half of the sky in the next century, so thank you very much for what you said, but thank you more for what you are doing on behalf of girls and women.

Thank you.

voice



Record Type: Record

To: Christine N. Macy/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject:

I have never seen a better description of the reason why women's silence must end than in a poem I received yesterday. This was not how my speech was to end, but when I was handed it by Meenakshi Gopinath, the principal of Lady Sri Ram College in New Delhi. (Applause) A poem entitled, "Silence" written by a student, Anasuya Sengupta of the Class of 1995. I wanted to share the words of this young woman who speaks for countless other young women here in India and throughout the world. Because if we listen to the voices of women and pay particular heed to the voices of young women, the goals we have for women will be more likely achieved. And this is the poem I received, it is entitled "Silence":

"Too many women in too many countries speak the same language-of silence. My grandmother was always silent-- always aggrieved--only her husband had the cosmic right (or so it was said) to speak and to be heard.

"They say it is different now. (After all, I am always vocal and my grandmother thinks I talk too much) But sometimes, I wonder.

"When a women gives her love, as most do, generously--it is accepted. When a woman shares her thoughts, as some women do, graciously--It is allowed. When a woman fights for power, as all women would like to, quietly or loudly, it is questioned.

"And yet, there must be freedom--if we are to speak. And yes, there must be power--if we are to be heard. And when we have both (freedom and power) let us not be misunderstood.

"We seek only to give words to those who cannot speak (too many women in too many countries) I seek only to forget the sorrows of my grandmother's silence."

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

**A Dialogue with Chinese Women:
Progress and Challenges in a Transforming Society**

Held at the Beijing International Club Hotel

Beijing, China

Saturday, June 27, 1998

For the public campaign stressing that it is as good to have a girl as a boy and the importance of valuing our daughters which is something that the President and I are very, very supportive of since, of course, we have a daughter and think that daughters are as important as sons and that girls are as important as boys.

So today I want to listen, ask questions, and learn from the distinguished women on this panel. I have reviewed their resumes; I have studied information about the work they are doing, both in urban and rural areas on behalf of women, and, as I said when I was here in Beijing three years ago, I believe that women throughout the world in every country -- urban and rural -- have very much in common in terms of the issues and the problems that we face. And that we learn much from each other, and we can strengthen each other as we all work to achieve opportunities and rights and responsibilities for women and girls. So I am delighted to be here and thank all of you for coming, and I particularly thank the panelists for taking time out of their busy schedules to be here with me to explain what they are doing and to discuss with me how we can all make more progress on behalf of women here in China and women in my own country and women throughout the world. So with that, I would love to start the discussion and hear from these very impressive women as to what they are doing and the issues on their minds.

Chinese Dialogue from panelist:

Well I want to thank the panelists, I think we should all give them a round of applause. I have been in discussions like this all over the world because when I travel alone or when I travel with my husband, I always seek out women to discuss with me what is happening in their societies, because I do believe that so much of the challenges and opportunities that women face today are similar. They may be different in degree or intensity but every problem that I have heard about today, from the panelists, I've heard about in every country including my own to some degree or another. And because I have been in so many of these discussions, I have learned so much from women like those whom we have heard from today, but I don't think I have ever been a more lively, energetic, informed, exciting discussion as the one I've heard from today with these women. I think that says a great deal about the work that each of you is doing, but also how you represent millions of other women who are worried about poverty, who are worried about education, who are worried about health care, who are worried about the status of women and who are looking for solutions. And the solutions that we have talked about today,

and that you are putting into action are ones that will make a difference in the lives of millions and millions of women and will make a difference in your entire society.

I was very pleased yesterday when my husband and I visited a small village outside of Xian to meet both men and women who talked to us about the changes in their lives in the last years, talking about the opportunities that they face and they were taking advantage of. And I was very struck by what I heard in that rural village was very similar to what I use to hear, with my husband, in our rural state of Arkansas, in the United States. And that many of the solutions that we are talking about here are ones that we have also worked on in the United States -- expanding legal rights for women, changing the judicial system to be more sensitive and aware of women's needs, expanding education to girls and women, persuading families, particularly families of minority cultures to educate their daughters, working very hard to increase the number of women who go, not only to primary education, but like the example the professor gave, of women who go on to university because their families sell donkeys or borrow or do whatever is necessary to educate their daughters.

I have also been very struck by how health care is a basic human right and educating women about their bodies, about the health care system, about their opportunities to seek and obtain health care, about reproductive health care is a basic human right for every women in the world. And more work needs to be done about that. I was also very impressed to hear the work you are doing both to create economic opportunity through micro credit and to assist women who need retraining because of the economic changes that are going on in your country. Micro credit has been proven in so many different countries in both rural and urban areas to give women economic opportunity and access to credit that they would not otherwise have.

You know in my own country we are using micro credit to help poor women, particularly women who are coming off welfare because we have changed our welfare system, to start small businesses for themselves. So this is not only a very good strategy for rural China, but also urban China and rural and urban America, and many other countries in every continent that I have visited.

So what I have heard today, the voices that I have heard, are very exciting to me, because I remember so well when I was here in Beijing at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, in 1995, there were so many different women from over 180 countries, but we agreed on a platform for action. China signed it, the United States signed and we are seeing results from following that platform for action. What you have told me today are all specific steps and strategies designed to increase the opportunities, the rights and responsibilities for women. I think it is clear as we look at the 21st Century that no society will be successful that does not empower women, that does not educate girls as well as boys, that does not keep girls healthy, that does not provide economic opportunity for women, that does not enforce the laws for the political and civil and legal rights of all people, but particularly for women, and each of you has described very

eloquently what is happening that will achieve that kind of opportunity for women in the next century.

Our moderator said that there is the old Chinese saying that women hold up half the sky. I have always like that saying. But of course women cannot hold up their half of the sky if they are not educated, if they are not healthy, if they don't have their rights, if they cannot enforce their own personal goals and aspirations, if they are not respected by the men in their lives and by their larger society. I particularly liked the saying that you are using as part of your campaign, "Self respect, self confidence, self reliance and self improvement," now those are goals for women everywhere in the world. But you have very clearly illustrated this morning how much progress is being made in helping women lift up their own voices. Because of course, each of us here on this panel are very lucky because our families respected us, our parents wanted us educated, we have remained healthy so that we could peruse our own dreams of being a professor or starting a publication or translating many books and running projects, but I think that makes it even more important that women like us use our voices to speak up on behalf of the millions of women throughout the world whose voices are silenced. They are not listened, to they are not respected, they are not encouraged, they are not given their rights, and they cannot hold up their half of their sky. So what I want to thank you for is very clearly explaining this morning all of the work that you are doing to create change in the lives of individual women which are sometimes the hardest changes to make. Sometimes the most difficult challenge is to persuade an individual women to have hope, to feel that she is worthy, to go to school, to protect her daughter, and yet you are also through these efforts that you have described, I think, changing the lives and attitudes of women and men. And that will change the society in which you live. Now I don't think any of us who have worked on these issues as long as each of us has is in any way unaware of how hard the challenge is.

There is a great deal of work. Because for every women who does not have her legal rights, there is not a legal center. For every women who needs the information in your publication and in your books, they do not always get it. For every women who should go to Beijing University because she is intelligent and motivated she may not have a family to sell a donkey to send her. So there is much work to be done and I think that there is a lot we have in common that we can work on together that will up-hold the value of each girl and will create an environment in which even more girls and women can participate in panels such as you with your education, your eloquence, your passion, your advocacy and that will do a great deal to create the conditions, not only in China, but throughout the world that will enable us to proudly enable us to proudly hold up our half of the sky in the next century, so thank you very much for what you said, but thank you more for what you are doing on behalf of girls and women.

Thank you.

**First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
at the signing of an agreement between
Beijing Medical University and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention**

Held at Beijing Medical University

Beijing, China

Saturday, June 27, 1998

DR. BERRY: Mrs. Clinton, Minister Jiang, President Wang, Prefessor Li, colleagues and friends, I am honored to participate in the signing of this declaration today. Seven years ago, representatives of the Centers for Disease Control and Beijing Medical University signed an agreement that marked the beginning of the very fruitful and productive international scientific collaboration. Our objective was to reduce the occurrence of neural tube defects, a severe, debilitating and often fatal birth defect of the central nervous system. By encouraging women to take folic acid, a simple vitamin pill before they became pregnant, in the United States and other countries, folic acid has been shown to reduce the occurrence of this defect by at least 50%.

Neural tube defects occur more frequently in China than anywhere else in the world, up to ten times as often as in the United States. We estimate that more than 50,000 Chinese women have a pregnancy affected by neural tube defects every year.

In 1993, Beijing Medical University began to work on an ambitious community intervention program. The aim was to enroll women into the program at the time they registered for marriage so they could begin to take pills before they became pregnant and then to follow these women throughout pregnancy to the birth of their child. One component of this program was the development of a birth defects surveillance system that established the means to determine the rates of neural tube defects. At this time, more than 600,000 births have been documented since 1992, identifying more than 12,000 cases of birth defects, 850 of which were neural tube defects.

Efforts to promote folic acid consumption in China have met with exceptional success. You've just heard from President Wang about that. These high rates of participation and high compliance with folic acid use in China mean that many babies who would have been born with a serious birth defect have now been born healthy. As a result of these outstanding achievements, the Ministry of Health of China established a national prevention program in October, 1995 recommending that all women who are getting married should take folic acid to prevent neural tube defects.

Similar prevention efforts are being implemented in many countries throughout the world. In the United States, for example, the Public Health Service recommends that all women of child-bearing age consume 0.4 milligrams of folic acid daily in the form of fortified grain products or pill supplementation. In the future, we need to work very hard to educate women and health workers about the benefits of folic acid. We also need to develop and implement effective folic acid prevention programs around the world. Folic acid represents an economical and humane intervention that is effective in preventing lifelong disability and suffering and, in many cases, death.

Our signing of this document this day establishes our intention to continue scientific collaboration beneficial to the United States and to China, and ultimately to all the countries of the world, in the prevention of birth defects, disabilities and health hazards due to environmental factors. In the area of birth defects, some of our continuing effort will include evaluating the role of folic acid and other vitamins in the prevention of congenital heart disease and other birth defects. In the area of environmental health, we will collaborate to identify sources of exposure to radiation and lead and to help develop programs to control these exposures.

We also plan to work together to assess the health impacts of asthma and other respiratory diseases and their relationship to environmental factors. We at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention look forward to working with our colleagues at Beijing Medical University and the Ministry of Health to insure that all of our children have the best chance of being born healthy and the opportunity to live full and productive lives. Xie xie da jia.

Now I have the very great honor to introduce to you the Honorable Minister of Health Jiang Wen Kang.

MINISTER JIANG: (Remarks in Chinese)

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you again. Thank you very much, Mr. Minister. And I am honored to be here at this very renowned University. Beijing Medical University is, I was told and confirmed, the largest medical university in the world. (applause) And I'm delighted to be here. Thank you, Dr. Jiang, for that kind introduction. Thank you, Dr. Berry of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Thank you, Dr. Wang and all of you who are here today with us to witness the signing of a new agreement to expand U.S.-China cooperation in the areas of medical and scientific research.

It is very important that we continue the cooperation that has existed between this great university and the Centers for Disease Control for a number of years. And today, we reaffirm our joint commitment to tackle the neural birth defects that rob too many children of their health and their lives.

I was pleased to meet the young mother and her baby girl because I know that, as a mother of a girl, how important we cherish every child, and I know that this young mother understands the benefits of taking folic acid during the early months of pregnancy. This is a message and a lesson that is being transmitted to millions of women around the world. Because we have seen, all too often, how spina bifida and other neural tube defects affect hundreds of thousands of pregnancies around the world and more than 50,000 here in China alone.

We know, and thanks to the research that you have done here, that we can do much to prevent this leading cause of death of infants in the first weeks of life and to prevent the defects that many children endure. If we take this research that you have done and be sure that we spread the message as you are doing, then women will be more aware of what they themselves can do to prevent defects and deaths.

It is also significant that you are discovering that there may be another benefit of folic acid, mainly a marked decrease in congenital heart defects in newborns. We look forward to working together to learn more about this possible new research.

Today, the CDC and the Beijing Medical University come together again to announce a new and expanded framework for collaboration that will build on the progress we have already made together. The signing of this declaration of intent calls for collaboration on prevention of birth defects, disabilities and health defects resulting from environmental factors, such as exposure to lead, radiation and water pollution. This is one of the most significant areas for medical research that we should be pursuing throughout the world.

We are learning more in my own country about the environmental causes of various diseases, particularly in infants and children. We are learning to great extent how different children are from adults. If one thinks about it, they are not little adults, they actually breathe in more air, they roll around in the dirt, they are exposed to more of the environment than adults are. So it is critical that we learn more about the environmental effects that do affect women during pregnancy and babies and children.

So, we are very excited about this collaboration. And as we see and witness the signing of the declaration, I hope that we re-double our efforts to be partners and collaborators, on behalf of women, children, men -- everyone who seeks the expertise that can come from a great university such as this. From the doctors whom you train and the research that you do so that we can better promote the health of all of our people.

This unique partnership goes beyond making positive changes to public health practices in the United States, China and around the world. It also strengthens goodwill and scientific collaboration between our two countries. I want to commend all of you here at Beijing Medical University. And I want to commend the CDC for all the hard work that has brought us to this point. And I wish to commend you on your future collaboration. By working together, we will make progress.

And, perhaps in the 21st century, our grandchildren will have to look in history books, not medical books, to learn about diseases like spina bifida. We have that progress within our grasp. If we work together, we make the necessary research breakthroughs, and then we take the knowledge that you derive at a great university such as this and disseminate it to women like the young woman we saw throughout your country, my country and the world, paying particular attention to rural women and poor women, whether in urban or rural areas.

And if we do that, we will all together see great progress in improving public health in the years to come. And that will mean that we will see more happy mothers and babies like the one we saw today. Thank you very much.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Address at the Shanghai Library
Shanghai, China
July 1, 1998

It's a great pleasure to be in Shanghai, the gateway to China, the vibrant center of China's economic transformation, and the wellspring of great intellectual, political, and creative leadership. I am also pleased to be speaking here--at the Shanghai library--which my husband and I visited yesterday. I understand it is one of the largest municipal libraries in the world; with vast resources--from ancient Chinese texts to the latest CD-Roms--that embrace both the past and the future of this great nation.

My husband and I have only been in China a few days--yet in that short time, we've glimpsed both China's rich history and promising future. We've visited some of your ancient sites-- from the Terra Cotta warriors to the steps of the Great Wall. And marveled at Shanghai's ultramodern architecture. But we understand that this country's greatest treasures are its people - men and women like yourselves, who are seizing the opportunities for progress, and helping to transform your society for the better.

When I first came to China three years ago, I had the privilege of participating, as did many of you, in the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. It was an extraordinary gathering of women from 189 nations--women of different colors, different cultures, and different faiths; from small villages and urban centers--who had come together from every corner of the globe to discuss our common concerns and our common future. At the conference and the forum of nongovernmental organizations in Hairou, I listened to women giving voice to the

voiceless; strength to the powerless; hope to those marginalized.

While we spoke different languages, and came from different places, we shared a universal belief: that women's rights are human rights and that human rights are women's rights.

What the Beijing conference made undeniably clear, and what we all know from experience and history, is that development and progress depend on women having equal access to life's basic tools of opportunity: health care; education; credit; jobs; legally enforceable rights; and full participation in the political, social and economic life of our countries.

The Beijing Platform for Action provided a framework and the impetus for governments to make these tools of opportunity and rights available to women. And the extraordinary potential and energy of women unleashed at that conference has begun to transform lives and societies. Governments are being held to their commitments, and grassroots action is igniting reform in every corner of the globe.

I have seen the changes occurring first hand, from Senegal to South Africa, from America to Australia, and from Chile to China.

During the time I've been in China, I've had the privilege to meet women and men who are working together to ensure that women are not left behind in the 21st century. I have heard the vital voices of your girls and women, and seen the flowering of independent organizations committed to transforming rhetoric into action to achieve tangible results toward the empowerment of women across your country.

Last Saturday in Beijing, I participated in a spirited, lively and informative discussion with women leaders about the challenges and opportunities facing women in China. Although there were only eight of us sitting around the table, I felt as though I were hearing the voices of millions of Chinese women committed to improving their lives.

I listened to the publisher of a magazine for rural women speak of improving conditions for poor rural women through expanded economic opportunities. She told the story of a disabled woman who was made to feel like a burden to her husband. But, through a micro credit program, she got a small loan and set up her own bean curd shop. As she began to make money, the relationship with her husband improved. And she also gained self-confidence, and earned a position of respect in her village.

University professors talked about new efforts to educate women, and change traditional attitudes about women and girls. Participants told me about programs aimed at keeping girls in school, and convincing dropouts to return to school. They showed me illustrated pamphlets used to inform women and girls about their political and legal rights.

On Monday, I met with women lawyers and professors running the Center for Women's Law Studies and Legal Services at Beijing University, which offers free legal counseling to women; arbitrates, mediates, and litigates significant cases with wider legal implications for society; and recommends changes in policies that affect women.

One of the Center's clients told me she had wanted to leave her abusive husband--but didn't know what her legal rights were. She sought the help of the Center, and finally obtained a divorce and an

award for child support. But she and her daughter are still living with her ex-husband, because her apartment was assigned to him by his work unit, and she is unable to get housing on her own. The Center is pursuing ways for her to obtain housing, and collect the support to which she is entitled.

Another client explained how she and the women she worked with in a factory were denied their pay, and are suing the factory's manager for their back wages--which he still refuses to pay.

These stories and many others, underscored for me that while laws protecting women's rights in China, as in many other countries, are often quite comprehensive on paper, they are frequently not enforced. Throughout the world, I hear the same complaint--without the rule of law, which includes open access to the legal system and judicial orders that individuals can enforce, laws can be a cruel hoax on women. But based on what I have I have learned here, steps toward better implementation are being made in China. When I asked for a show of hands at the Center of those in the audience who were studying to become lawyers--all the hands that shot up were young women's. The extraordinary growth in the number of lawyers in China--including women lawyers--will further strengthen the rule of law that is necessary for expanding and enforcing women's rights.

And yesterday here in the Library, my husband and I talked with more people in Shanghai who are defining China's future. I also visited a retraining center where women, who have lost their jobs because of China's economic reforms, are learning new skills to prepare themselves for a more competitive job market. I was struck by how supportive they were of each other in the face of daunting challenges. I especially noticed the emphasis that the teachers

placed on changing a woman's attitude about herself, so that in addition to skills, she could work for "self respect, self confidence, self reliance, and self improvement."

And I visited a beautiful new children's medical center, with state of the art technology--and met with the bright, articulate students at the Shanghai Number 3 Girls School: two snapshots of the new China.

Exchange
My experiences here in China this past week have convinced me how important personal exchanges are between our two countries. So it is with great pleasure that today I am announcing five new China/America exchange programs that will bring Chinese women to the United States next year to share ideas and experiences with their American counterparts. These exchanges, sponsored by USIS, will embrace Chinese and American women leaders at all levels of society, including lawyers, business representatives, local government officials, and youth leaders. And I know they will deepen the understanding and ties of friendship that continue to grow between our two countries.

They will also enable American and Chinese women like us, with education and position, to learn from each other about how we can continue to work toward social change that benefits all women.

One of the great privileges of my position is to travel on behalf of my country. Wherever I go, I speak with women and girls. I find that no matter what nation we live in, we face the same challenges, and dream the same dreams. We all hope for the day when no woman is a victim of domestic abuse and other forms of violence. When no woman is the victim of economic discrimination. When no woman is denied the basic rights of health care and education.

Yet we know, even as we enter this new millennium--with all of its possibilities for humankind--that too many women around the world remain on the outskirts of opportunity, and their daughters remain undervalued in their societies.

For as much as progress is being made on women's behalf-- here in China and around the world--deeply imbedded barriers remain. Because for every women who needs more information, we know there are not enough books, let alone Internet access; for every woman who needs her legal rights protected, we know there are not enough legal clinics. For every women who seeks an education, there are not enough families who are able or willing to pay the fees; and for every girl who today dreams of a world of unlimited possibilities, there remain yesterday's attitudes that hold her back.

As some of you may know, I am particularly lucky on this trip to have not only my daughter but my mother with me. We have, as the saying goes, "three generations under one roof." And I think about how many changes the three of us have experienced in our lifetimes. My mother was born before women had gained the right to vote in the United States. And 30 years ago, when I entered law school, there were very few women sitting beside me in the lecture halls. Today, women in those law classes are in the majority. And already in her life, my daughter has greater freedoms and opportunities and choices than I could ever have imagined at her age.

We all must work harder to ensure that all girls have the ability and right to make their own choices. That starts with valuing and respecting our daughters in our hearts and in our homes--so that they develop the strength and confidence to move forward--for

themselves, their families and their countries.

Since I've been here, I have heard the expression "Women hold up half the sky." And I've seen firsthand the enormous reservoirs of talent, and the boundless potential that exist within the women of China to shoulder this burden.

This is also an image that applies to women everywhere. In my own country, for example, many women feel they are holding up more than half the sky, as they struggle to balance family and work demands, with little help from government or business with their child care needs. So each of us in our different social and economic settings, should ask ourselves what needs to be done to equip and support women to hold up their half of the sky. Some answers seem obvious to me:

Women can't hold up half the sky--if as girls they are not loved and valued by their parents, and given the same opportunities as their brothers to fulfill their potential;

Women can't hold up half the sky--if they make up the vast majority of those who can't read or write;

Women can't hold up half the sky--if girls are still pulled out of school early, and robbed of the education that they need to thrive in the 21st century;

Women can't hold up half the sky--if they are denied the jobs, loans and credit they need to lift themselves and their families up from poverty;

Women can't hold up half the sky--if they are deprived of basic legal rights and services;

Women can't hold up half the sky--if they are victims of violence and abuse in their own homes, or are kidnapped or sold into marriage;

Women can't hold up half the sky - if they are denied the freedom to plan their own families.

Women can only hold up half the sky when their feet are planted firmly on the soil of freedom and equal justice.

The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights-- adopted 50 years ago by my country and yours--states "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity= and rights." The Platform for Action adopted by the UN Conference in Beijing three years ago lays out a powerful agenda for the empowerment of women based on those principles of universal rights. Economic reforms here have lifted millions of Chinese out of poverty--an extraordinary accomplishment. But economic and social progress must go hand in hand with the strengthening of other freedoms. The yearning to be treated with dignity, to be able to choose one's own religion, to speak freely, to participate fully in the life of one's community -- knows no national boundary, but is deeply rooted in the human spirit.

All of you here today are playing a role in the great transformation of China we can see all around us. Based on my own experience in America, I am aware of how hard progress can be, and how sometimes it feels that you take two steps forward - and one step back.

One hundred and fifty years ago this month, at Seneca Falls, New York, a small band of women and a few men adopted a declaration of sentiments that called for women's equal rights. We have made tremendous progress since then, but the work is never finished. For every law the United States passed - from voting rights to equal pay for equal work - we have had to work hard not only to enforce it, but also to change the underlying social and cultural attitudes that undermine its meaning. (As late as the 1980s, I met women in America who said they did not vote in elections because their husbands did.)

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
--------------------------	---------------	------	-------------

001. speech	Address at the Shanghai Library re: SSN and DOB [partial] (1 page)	07/01/1998	b(6)
-------------	--	------------	------

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Christine Macy
OA/Box Number: 17205

FOLDER TITLE:

China 1998/ HRC Speeches/ Harper's Article

2013-0936-S

rc1340

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

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

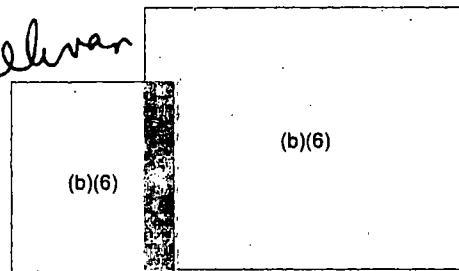
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

Almost eighty years ago, in 1919, the voices of the young Chinese intellectuals of the May 4th movement argued passionately that women must gain social, economic and political equality if China was to survive and prosper in the 20th century. That message is even more compelling in 1998, ~~as~~ China enters the 21st century. As we stand at the brink of a new century, no country will be successful in the years ahead if it leaves half its population behind. No country can reach its full potential until all of its citizens - men and women; boys and girls -- have the freedom and the resources to reach theirs.

Only when we create a world where every citizen enjoys fundamental freedoms and every child is valued and given equal opportunities - then, and only then, will we be able to say with honesty: yes, women hold up half the sky.

[Susan O'Sullivan
1-a
1130



[001]

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
ARTICLE FOR HARPER'S BAZAAR
JULY 1998

There's an old expression in China that "women hold up half the sky." I thought of that powerful image over and over again, as I accompanied the President on his historic trip to China a few months ago, and met with women from all walks of life, struggling to improve their lives and expand their freedoms. Their achievements -- some of which astonish even the women themselves -- are helping to shape that country's future, as it undergoes perhaps the greatest period of change in its history.

One of the women I met in China was Xie Lihua. She's in her forties now -- but as a teenager she was a passionate member of the Red Guard. Today, she's turned her revolutionary zeal to helping some of China's poorest women lift themselves and their families out of poverty. When banks refused to offer some of these women credit -- Xie raised money to make the loans herself. In explaining how these programs are empowering women across the country, she says: "If I give you an apple, you will eat it once. If I give you a seed, you can grow your own tree."

Xie told me about how her micro-credit program helped a disabled woman in a small rural village to start her own bean curd shop. Her husband had always viewed her as a burden, but with the money she earned with her new businesses, she was able to help him with expenses for their small farm -- gaining respect not only within her own family but throughout the village.

The President and I went to China to strengthen the ties between our two nations, and to make progress on critical issues like non proliferation of missiles and human rights. As the President said throughout the trip, to meet these kinds of challenges, "our two nations will be far better off working together than apart." We also wanted to see for ourselves the dramatic changes that were sweeping this vast country, and to help the Chinese people learn more about who we were, and our hopes for a more peaceful and democratic future. Nowhere did I learn more about the challenges and the possibilities facing China today than when I met and talked with women leaders.

I had another wonderful dimension to my trip -- the company of both my mother and my daughter, Chelsea. There's a Chinese expression about the value of having "three generations under one roof," and the fact that I was able to share some of these experiences with the two of them made this an especially meaningful trip for me.

I had first come to China three years ago, when I had the privilege of participating in the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. It was an extraordinary gathering of women of different races, cultures, and beliefs who had come together from every corner of the globe to discuss common concerns, and a common future. One of the clearest messages that rang out from that conference was that the progress and prosperity of a country depends on women having equal access to life's basic tools of opportunity -- like health care, education, credit, and jobs. And that no nation can move forward until women are able to fully participate in the political, social and economic life of their countries.

Everywhere I went in China, I heard echoes of the women who attended that UN conference, and felt a renewed determination to improve people's lives, and expand human dignity. I met Xie at a forum of Chinese women leaders in Beijing, and it was an experience I will never forget. We'd been told that this kind of open dialogue among women "had never been done" before -- and we were concerned that the women who came might feel intimidated, and wouldn't speak out. How wrong we were. I don't think I have ever met advocates more excited about the progress that women are making -- or more vocal about the hard work that remains to be done to ensure women's basic human rights.

From these courageous women, I learned about the high rate of illiteracy among women in China -- particularly those living in rural areas. Many can't even write their names. Xie and others now publish a magazine called "Rural Women Knowing All" -- which is designed specifically to reach those who can't read. It uses colorful pictures to inform women about jobs, and health care services, and their basic legal rights. A university professor on the panel told me about other programs underway to keep girls in school, and to convince girls who had already dropped out to return to class.

I also learned at that forum -- much to my surprise -- that "Our Bodies, Ourselves" -- one of the most popular books ever written in America -- and one relied on by American women for over 30 years -- had just been translated and published in China. That such fundamental information about women's health issues had been so scarce up until now underscored how far China still needs to go in educating its citizens -- particularly its women. But the fact that such a book is now available is also a sign of progress.

No matter where I went, women spoke to me about the importance of ensuring women and girls had greater educational opportunities. China is a country that has traditionally placed great importance on education, and it has set as its goal to eliminate illiteracy among young people by the year 2000. Yet even as educational reforms are helping to meet the more competitive times -- girls are dropping out of school at an alarming rate. Many parents, feeling the pressure of tough economic times, are taking their children out of school to work in factories or on the farms.

But the high drop out rate reflects another, more subtle reality in China: that girls and women have been traditionally less valued in this society -- their education less a priority. This is a society that still practices infanticide of girl babies and forced abortions -- although government policy prohibits such acts. And there is reportedly an alarming rise in the incidence of girls and women being sold into marriage -- the result in part of skewed demographics in which there are far fewer women than men in some rural areas. The situation has spurred the government's All China Women's Federation to launch a campaign entitled: "Girls are Just as Valuable as Boys."

So I was particularly pleased to visit an all girl's school in Shanghai -- which had a rigorous curriculum, and clearly challenged these future leaders to work hard at their studies. When I entered the computer room, I admit I noticed that one student had pulled up my website at the White House. These smart young women asked me all kinds of questions -- from whether I had mastered the skill of eating with chop sticks [barely] to whether I would ever run for

president [No]. One student got up and said her mother had just read my book, "It Takes A Village" -- and wanted to know what I thought were the most important lessons a mother could teach her daughter. And once again, I was reminded that no matter what country we live in, or what language we speak, we are bound together by our love for our children -- and by our determination to create for them a better world.

These young women attending Shanghai School #3 are growing up in a country undergoing a profound transition, as the country moves from a tightly controlled system toward a free market economy, and as Chinese citizens gain a level of personal freedom unimaginable even a few years ago. Today, citizens enjoy far greater flexibility to travel within and outside of China, to buy own their own homes, to choose a job, or attend a better school.

The President and I saw some of these changes firsthand when we visited the village of Xiahe -- just outside China's ancient capital of Xi-An. It's one of the half million villages around China which will elect its own leaders this year. This is the first tentative step -- but a critical one -- towards creating a more open, pluralistic society. Here, in this poor dusty rural village, I saw the future of China -- in the spirited elementary school students whom we met, and in the eyes of their parents -- who for the first time in their lives will freely cast a ballot for their local leaders.

The economic changes taking place in China are profound as well. Since 1978, China has experienced perhaps the fastest rate of economic growth in human history. Yet that extraordinary progress has been uneven. Millions of Chinese citizens have risen out of poverty. While others -- particularly uneducated women -- have been left behind.

One reason for these disparities is that while the Chinese economy has been growing -- the government's closing of inefficient and money losing state enterprises has pushed up the unemployment -- in some cases dramatically. All too often, women are bearing the brunt. Women are more likely to lose their jobs and their benefits, and less likely to benefit from retraining programs.

I visited a job-retraining center in Shanghai aimed at addressing this problem, where I watched women learning trades such as tailoring and flower arranging. It's also the site of China's first women's hot line, where volunteers field questions ranging from how to find a job to what to do to control unruly children to how to get out of an abusive marriage. I was impressed with how these women were reaching out to each other, providing support in these difficult times -- and how their questions mirrored concerns of women and mothers the world over.

One of the biggest surprises on my trip was discovering the extent to which women's rights have been written into Chinese law. I learned about some of those legal protections -- as well as the ongoing challenge to enforce them -- at the Center for Women's Law Studies and Legal Services at Beijing University, which I visited with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. There are only a few cramped rooms at the clinic -- located in a simple building at the outskirts of the University. Yet the work taking place there is having an impact on the lives of Chinese women throughout the country. The Center takes on a wide range of cases -- from family

planning to job discrimination to rape. And they've won more than half their cases. But there are major hurdles to overcome. There's still rampant discrimination against women in China -- and the justice system, particularly the area of women's rights, is still weak. Many of the laws are vague, and others are ignored by judges.

One woman talked about her efforts to get out of an abusive marriage. She was a frail, soft-spoken woman, but her voice didn't waver as she told us of how the Center had changed her life -- helping her to obtain a divorce and an award for child support. "I came to the Center," she said simply, "and I got justice." But she and her daughter are still living with her ex-husband -- because her apartment was assigned to him by his work unit -- and she was unable to get housing on her own. Everyone in the room applauded when she said she was raising her daughter to be a lawyer.

Another client told us how she and the women she worked with in a factory had been denied their pay -- and that the Center had launched a class-action suit against the factory's manager for back wages. They won the suit -- but the manager still refuses to pay.

These stories and many others underscored for me that while laws protecting women's rights in China, as in many other countries, are often quite comprehensive on paper, they are frequently not enforced. And that without the rule of law, which includes open access to the legal system and judicial orders that individuals can enforce -- laws can be a cruel hoax -- especially for women.

But based on what I heard about the Center's work, I believe steps are being taken to strengthen implementation of the laws in China. I was further heartened when I asked for a show of hands of those in the audience who were studying to become lawyers. All the hands that shot up were young women's. In fact, there is a dramatic rise in the number of lawyers in China today -- including women -- which will further strengthen the rule of law that is so critical for expanding and enforcing women's rights.

Women's rights was the main topic of my address at the Shanghai Library. I spoke about how impressed I was with the progress that women were making in China today, in areas like the rule of law, and micro-credit loans, and literacy -- particularly in the rural areas. But I also spoke about the work that remains ahead to ensure that women in China are not left behind in the 21st Century. "Women can't hold up half the sky," I said, "if they make up the vast majority of those who can't read or write; if they are still pulled out of school early; if they are denied the jobs they need to lift themselves and their families up from poverty; if they are denied the freedom to plan their own families."

One of the missions of this trip to China was to strengthen the ties between the United States and China. So I was pleased to have had the opportunity to attend the signing of an important joint medical collaboration between the Centers for Disease Control in the United States and the Beijing Medical University. For years, our two countries have worked together to reduce the occurrence of neural tube birth defects -- including spina bifida -- in Chinese babies. Unfortunately, such defects occur more frequently in China than in any other country in the

world. Yet it's been shown that women taking folic acid before they become pregnant can reduce those defects by at least 50 percent.

That day in Beijing, I met a woman who had lost her first child to the deadly ravages of spina bifida. In her arms, she was holding her healthy daughter -- thanks to the 3-year program between CDC and Beijing University -- aimed at giving thousands of women like her a regular dose of folic acid. The new agreement being signed will expand this already successful collaboration to prevent birth defects, disabilities and health defects resulting from environmental factors, including exposure to lead, radiation and water pollution.

At a time when pollution is becoming a major health hazard not only in China but around the globe, I'm proud that our two countries are working together to improve the health of children not only in China, but in communities worldwide.

We're working together in other areas as well. I was pleased to announce five new China/America exchange programs that will bring Chinese women to the United States next year to share ideas and experiences with their American counterparts. These exchanges will be sponsored by the United States Information Service, and will embrace Chinese and American leaders at all levels -- including lawyers, business representatives, local government officials, and youth leaders. We have so much to learn from each other, and these kinds of interactions between the people of our two countries will be even more valuable in the years ahead.

Secretary of State Albright joined me for a final roundtable discussion with women in Hong Kong -- on the last day of our trip. This was a high-powered group of women lawyers, doctors, and political leaders, who held positions of power and authority still unknown in the rest of China. It was, in a sense, a quick snapshot of what China would look like if it continues to open up -- both economically and politically -- in the years ahead. One of Hong Kong's most prominent women -- Ansan Chan -- chief Secretary for Administration -- spoke about the challenges facing Hong Kong's autonomy under the new reversion to China. Other women talked about ongoing problems like the scarcity of housing, and what they were doing to promote the fledgling consumer protection movement, and secure greater human rights. I had to laugh when the conversation turned to a familiar topic -- the need for women to find more time for exercise in their busy schedules.

That night, as Chelsea and my mother joined me and the President on the long plane ride home, we shared a few stories before we drifted off to sleep. The stark beauty of Guilin -- where rugged mountains dipped dramatically into China's Li River. The sights and smells of Beijing's mud market, where we bought carved Chinese boxes and small cricket cages made out of gourds. The wilting heat -- but also the awe -- as we walked the Great Wall, and saw it curve its way over the crests of China's hills, as far as the eye can see.

We also talked about the extraordinarily frank and open exchange between the President and the students at Beijing University, where he spoke about the universal rights that are the birthrights of people everywhere -- "the right to be treated with dignity; the right to express one's opinions, to choose one's own leaders, to associate freely with others, and to worship or not

freely, however one chooses.” And how greater economic and political rights were in fact the foundations for “strength and stability going forward.” That his speech, and the free-wheeling question and answer period that took place afterwards was broadcast live on Chinese television was surely an historic moment -- and an indication of the kind progress that could take place in China and between our two countries in the years ahead.

I’m convinced, from the experiences I had on this trip, that the women of China, like the women I’ve met in so many countries around the world, are playing a leading role in a period of extraordinary change. They are speaking out for better jobs; stronger legal protections; greater political freedom; and fundamental human rights. And their voices are being heard. These women are also struggling to change a society still rooted in a tradition that doesn’t fully value their contributions. They share the universal yearning to lead full, independent and productive lives -- and to be able -- as the Chinese saying goes -- to truly “hold up half the sky.” With extraordinary courage and resolve, they are working to create a freer, more open China in the 21st century. And it is in all of our interests that they succeed.

To: Marcia Berry Fax 2175-3113
From: Kay Mayfield phone 9353-3966

ROUNDTABLE WITH DISTINGUISHED WOMEN

Hong Kong Convention and Exhibition Center
July 3, 1998

**(TRANSCRIPT OF OPENING REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY AND THE
SECRETARY OF STATE)**

PARTICIPANTS:

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
SECRETARY OF STATE MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT
BETTY TUNG, WIFE OF CHIEF EXECUTIVE C.H.
TUNG
ANSON CHAN, CHIEF SECRETARY FOR
ADMINISTRATION
CHEUNG MAN-YEE, DIRECTOR OF
BROADCASTING, RADIO TELEVISION HONG
KONG
FANNY CHEUNG, CHAIR, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES
COMMISSION
LENA CHI, DEPUTY LAW OFFICER
CHRISTINE LOH, CITIZENS PARTY LEGISLATOR
ANNA WU, CHAIR, HONG KONG CONSUMER
COUNCIL
DENISE YUE, SECRETARY FOR THE TREASURY
AUDREY EU, CHAIR, BAR ASSOCIATION
ROSANNA WONG, CHIEF OF HOUSING AUTHORITY

(FOLLOWING AN INTRODUCTION BY MRS. TUNG)

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Thank you very much, Mrs. Tung. And Anson Chan, I'm very glad to see you here, and I would like to thank all the panelists very much for coming. I know that your husband is the head of the town, but it seems to be run by women. (Laughter.) So it's great to see everybody here. It's wonderful to be here to be able to learn about the dramatic changes taking place in Hong Kong from the people who are making things happen. I was here a year ago for the ceremony, and it's wonderful to be back and to have a chance to see you. I also would like to thank Mrs. Tung for this beautiful scarf. Women's intuition knew that purple was my color. (Laughter.)

As women in your respective fields, you are pathfinders, and in that, we all have something in common. Since President Clinton named me as the first female Secretary of State, I have found some important benefits to working closely with women colleagues. The understanding is there, and we all face the same challenges, and frank and honest talk, and a commitment to take each other's phone calls. There are now nine women foreign ministers in the world, and I always take their calls first. (Laughter, applause.)

But as leaders in fields from politics and law to finance and journalism, you are showing the

way not just for the next generation of women, but for the future of Hong Kong and the region. And those of you that are in the government have managed Hong Kong's reversion to Chinese sovereignty with great aplomb, maintaining the confidence of citizens and business alike. And this is a process we have watched with great interest, and I'm eager, as is the First Lady, to hear all your thoughts about what lies ahead.

— Those of you who work as lawyers, advocates, and journalists are helping to ensure that every citizen enjoys full and equal protection under the law. And as you know, the United States strongly supports those efforts to maintain and expand the rule of law. In the United States and Hong Kong and elsewhere, a legal system is always a work in progress, and what you do here has important implications for the future. And I know that those of you working in finance or business find yourselves in truly uncharted territory these days, as Hong Kong copes with the effects of Asia's financial crisis. I want to stress our support and our confidence in what you are doing.

In all these areas, you are accumulating experience that may be of value elsewhere in China, and that will certainly be invaluable to those who follow you. When women and men take on new challenges and try to make themselves agents of change, they usually find that there is no manual on how to do it. And nobody knows that better than our First Lady.

Our First Lady, I think, has managed in a most remarkable way to combine her professional life with that of First Lady of the United States. She is someone who has had a career in many of the areas that you all represent in one form or another. She has been a professor, she has been a lawyer, a legal aid advocate, and so when we've visited legal centers she is able to ask the most penetrating questions because she's been there. She also has had a great interest in children, and she is someone that American women look up to. She is also a woman that is, I think, America's best ambassador abroad. She has traveled widely representing the United States in an incomparable way, showing the fact that American women are strong and smart and determined, and that our partnership with the men is something that makes things work. It is my great pleasure to introduce to you the First Lady of the United States and my very good friend, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much. Thank you Madeleine, thank you Betty, thank you all for taking time out of your very busy schedules to be here. Let me just make a few quick points, because I came to listen more than to talk. I'm very anxious to hear from the extraordinary women gathered on this panel, and as I look at this audience, I see more extraordinary women who have made an accomplished contribution to what has gone on here in Hong Kong.

There are several reasons that Secretary Albright and I are here together at this meeting. The first is that we both believe strongly that the voices of women and the contributions of women have to be recognized at the highest levels of government, of business, and throughout society. One of the commitments that Secretary Albright made and that she and I articulated in a speech together at the State Department shortly after she became the first woman Secretary of State for our country, is that women's concerns and voices had to be part of the calculus of American foreign policy -- that there were issues that women had a particular interest in that the United States Government had to pay attention to. And we have

worked very hard these last several years to make that apparent, whether it is support for family planning, or an understanding of the economic dislocations that occur around the world that affect women primarily, or continuing to press for literacy and health care and other basic rights that are often denied women in many societies.

Secondly, we both feel very strongly that much of what is going on in the world today as we move into the 21st century is being shaped both directly and indirectly by women: in their private lives, at home, as Betty referred, and in the public arena — in so many different capacities. And that as women, we want to be supportive of these changes and of the women who are putting themselves on the front line to bring these changes about.

As I've traveled, both with my husband and alone, I've always sought out women such as the ones here, both publicly in a setting such as this and often privately, to learn more myself about what is happening in the lives of women in different settings, and also to learn how in either a direct or indirect way I personally or the United States can be supportive of the positive changes that are occurring. That is one of the reasons why I went to Beijing in 1995 to the International Women's Conference that I'm sure some of you also attended, to speak out strongly on behalf of the basic principles that affect women's lives, and to try to do what we could to promote a platform for action that would result in transforming change. Because as we have had these conversations, and as I've seen changes occurring, it is apparent to me that we are making progress, but that the progress is faster in some settings than in others.

Now when I was in Beijing and Shanghai, I had the privilege of meeting with a number of Chinese women who spoke openly and freely about what they were doing to bring about changes in their own particular areas of expertise and interest. So whether it was the panel discussion that I held in Beijing last Saturday, where six women were among the most spirited that I've ever discussed anything with anywhere in the world, or visiting the legal aid center in Beijing that is operated in association with Beijing University, or visiting a women's retraining center in Shanghai where many of the women whose jobs are being lost to economic transformation are seeking help and assistance, I was struck over and over again by the way that women in China are doing all they can to change attitudes that would hold them back and make a very solid contribution to their own personal development and to the building of a new China.

But I was particularly struck by a private comment that a woman made to me, when she said, "Well, now that you have met us, do you think that we are like Hong Kong women?" (Laughter.) And I thought I knew what she meant, but I wasn't quite sure, and I said, "Well, now, exactly what do you mean by that question?" She said, "You know, assertive, forward-looking, standing on our own." And I said, "Yes, I think you are like Hong Kong women." (Laughter and applause.) But I thought that it would be better for me to come to the source of such a comment and to have an opportunity to listen to some, very few, but some of the women who are leaders in Hong Kong in every sector of society.

So I appreciate greatly these women taking time out of their extraordinarily busy schedules to be here to talk about what is happening in Hong Kong, what challenges and opportunities are available certainly for all people, but in particular for women and girls growing up in Hong Kong today facing this new century. So with that, I would like to turn first to a woman I had the privilege of meeting just a few weeks ago in Washington in preparation for this trip, and whom I am greatly admiring of, and the work that she is doing and the leadership that she is

providing. So, Anson, if you would start off the conversation, please.

(ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION FOLLOWS)

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Address at the Shanghai Library
Shanghai, China
July 1, 1998

It's a great pleasure to be in Shanghai, -- the gateway to China, the vibrant center of China's economic transformation and the wellspring of great intellectual, political, and creative leaders. I am also pleased to be speaking here--at the Shanghai library--which I understand is one of the largest municipal libraries in the world; and whose vast resources--from ancient Chinese texts to the latest CD-Roms --embrace both the past and the future of this great nation.

My husband and I have only been in China a few days -- yet we feel we've walked back thousands of years into China's rich history. We've visited some of your ancient sites -- from the Terra Cotta warriors to the steps of the Great Wall. But we understand that this country's greatest treasures are its people - men and women like yourselves, who are seizing the opportunities for progress, and helping to transform your society for the better.

When I first came to China three years ago, I had the privilege of participating, as did many of you, in the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. It was an extraordinary gathering of women from 189 nations -- women of different colors, different cultures and different faiths; from small villages and urban centers -- who had come together from every corner of the globe to discuss our common concerns and our common future. At

the conference and the forum on nongovernmental organizations in Hairou -- I listened to women giving voice to the voiceless; strength to the powerless; hope to those marginalized in their homes and communities.

While we spoke different languages, and came from different places, we shared a universal belief: that women's rights are human rights, that human rights are women's rights.

What the Beijing conference made undeniably clear, and what we all know from experience and history, is that development and progress depends on women having equal access to life's basic tools of opportunity: health care; education; credit; jobs; legally enforceable rights; and full participation in the political, social and economic life of our countries.

The Beijing Platform for Action - adopted by all 189 participating nations -- including the U.S. and China - provided the impetus for governments to make these opportunities and rights available to women. And the extraordinary potential and energy of women unleashed at that conference has begun to change lives. Governments are held to their commitments, and grassroots reform is igniting in every corner of the globe.

During the time I've been in China, I've had the chance to see that potential and energy first hand. To hear the vital voices of your women. To see the flowering of independent groups and organizations, and to observed tangible results of efforts to empower women in communities across your country.

Last Saturday in Beijing, I participated in a spirited, lively and informed discussion with women leaders about the challenges and opportunities that women are facing in China.

Although there were only eight of us sitting around a table, I felt like I was hearing the voices of millions of Chinese women committed to improving their lives.

I listened to the publisher of a magazine for rural women speak of improving conditions for poor rural women through expanded economic opportunities. She told the story of a disabled woman who was made to feel like a burden by her husband. But, through a micro credit program, she got a small loan - and set up her own bean curd shop. As she began to make money, the relationship with her husband improved. And she also gained self respect -- and earned a position of respect in her village.

I listened to educators talk about new efforts to educate women, and change traditional attitudes about women and girls. Participants told me about programs aimed at keeping rural girls in schools, and convincing dropouts to return to school; and showed me brochures used to educate women and girls about their rights and opportunities.

On Monday, I met with women lawyers and professors running the Women's Law Center at Beijing University -[CHECK] which offers free legal counseling to women, educates women about their basic rights, and litigates significant cases with wider legal implications for the society.

One of their clients ^P(to me) she wanted to leave her abusive

husband-- but didn't know what her legal rights were. She sought the help of the Center - and finally obtained a divorce. But she and her daughter are still living with her ex-husband, unable to get housing on her own, and still has not received child support.

This story, and many others, underscored for me that while laws protecting women's rights in China are quite comprehensive, they are frequently not enforced - as is too often the case around the world. But I have confidence that steps toward better implementation are being made. When I asked for a show of hands of those in the audience who were studying to become lawyers - all the hands that shot up were young women's. The extraordinary growth in the number of lawyers in China -- including women lawyers - will further strengthen the rule of law that necessary for expanding and enforcing women's rights.

And yesterday here in Shanghai, I visited a woman's retraining center - where women who have borne the brunt of China's economic reforms - are struggling to learn new skills and prepare themselves for a more competitive job market. I was struck by how supportive they were of each other in the face of daunting challenges.

One of the great privileges of my position is to have the opportunity to travel all over the world and speak to women and girls. I find that no matter what nation they live in - women face the same challenges, and dream the same dreams. We all hope for the day when no woman is a victim of domestic abuse and other forms of violence. No woman is the target of economic

discrimination. No woman is denied the basic rights of health care and education.

Even as we enter this new millennium--with all of its possibilities for humankind - too many women around the world remain on the outskirts of opportunity, and their daughters remain undervalued in their societies. And while too many women continue to suffer, we can - and will -- learn from each other, as we strive to secure our fundamental rights and freedoms, and attain the goals set forth by the All China Women's Federation: Self Respect, self confidence, self reliance and self improvement.

So it is with great pleasure that today I am announcing five new China/America exchange programs that will bring Chinese women to the United States next year to share ideas and experiences with their American counterparts. These exchanges will embrace Chinese and American women leaders at all levels of society, including lawyers, business representatives, local government officials, and youth leaders. And I know they will deepen the understanding and ties of friendship that continue to grow between our two countries.

As some of you may know, I am particularly lucky on this trip to have not only my daughter but my mother with me. We have - as the saying goes - "three generations under one roof." And I think about how many changes the three of us have experienced in our lifetimes. My mother was born before women had gained the right to vote in the United States. And 30 years ago, when I

entered law school - there were very few women sitting beside me in the lecture halls. Today, women in those law classes are in the majority. And already in her life, my daughter has greater freedoms and opportunities and choices than I could ever have imagined at her age.

Yet as much progress as is being made on women's behalf - here in China and around the world--deeply imbedded barriers remain. Because for every woman who needs more information, we know there are not enough books; For every woman who needs her legal rights protected, we know there are not enough legal clinics. For every woman who seeks an education, there are not enough families who are able or willing to pay the tuition; and for every girl who today dreams of a world of unlimited possibilities, there remain yesterday's attitudes that hold her back.

We all must work harder to ensure that girls have equity of opportunity. But we must also value and respect our daughters in our hearts, and in our homes - so that they have the strength and confidence to move forward - for their families and for their communities. I recently read about a young Chinese girl who said: "I have a father, but I lost his love the day I was born." Every daughter deserves the same love, support and opportunities afforded to her brother and father.

And no mother should ever be ashamed -- or blamed -- for bearing a girl.

Since I've been here, I keep hearing the expression "Women

hold up half the sky." And I've seen firsthand the enormous reservoirs of talent, and the boundless potential that exist within the women of China.

But women can't hold up half the sky - if they make up the vast majority of those who can't read or write;

Women can't hold up half the sky - if girls are still pulled out of school early, and robbed of the education that they need to thrive in the 21st century;

Women can't hold up half the sky - if they are denied the loans and credit they need to lift themselves and their families up from poverty;

Women can't hold up half the sky - if they are denied basic legal rights and services,

Women can't hold up half the sky - if they continue to be victims of violence and abuse in their own homes, or are kidnapped or sold into marriage;

Women can't hold up half the sky - if they are denied the freedom to plan their own families.

Women can only hold up half the sky when their feet are planted firmly on the soil of freedom and equal justice.

These international rights of humankind are guaranteed to both men and women in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights -- adopted 50 years ago by nations around the globe -- by my country and yours. It states "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." The Platform for Action adopted by the UN Conference in Beijing three years ago lays out a powerful agenda for the empowerment of women - based on those

principles of universal rights. Economic reforms here have lifted millions of Chinese out of poverty--an extraordinary accomplishment. But economic and social progress must go hand in hand with the strengthening of other freedoms. The yearning to be treated with dignity, to be able to choose one's own religion, and to speak freely, to participate fully in the life of one's community - is deeply rooted in the human spirit. And must not be denied.

All of you here today are playing a role in the great transformation of China we can see all around us. Based on my own experience in America, I am aware of how hard progress can be, and how sometimes it feels that you take two steps forward - and one step back.

Almost eighty years ago, the voices of the young Chinese intellectuals of the May 4th movement argued passionately that women must gain social, economic and political equality if China was to survive and prosper in the 20th century. That was in 1919.

That message is even more compelling in 1998, as China enters the 21st century. It is clear as we stand here together at the dawn of a new century, and a new millennium, that no country will be successful if it leaves half its population behind. No country can reach its full potential until all of its citizens - men and women; boys and girls -- have the freedom and the resources to reach theirs.

It is only when we create a world where every citizen enjoys fundamental freedoms and every child is valued and given equal opportunities - then, and only then, will we be able to say to the world with honesty: yes, women can hold up half the sky.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
at the Official Opening of the Shanghai Children's Medical Center
Shanghai, China

Shanghai, China

Monday, June 30, 1998

SENATOR ROCKEFELLER: When President and Mrs. Clinton came to China, we know it was their desire to open up a discussion so that possibilities for all people be as broad and as optimistic as possible for the future. There is no more important, I think, way for my country or for your country to make sure of its future than to make sure that children receive the health care that they need, when they need it.

Vice Mayor Zuo and others have put together, in Shanghai, a remarkable system wherein a child, no matter what that child's medical problem might be, can receive that health care when they need it. Shanghai has special challenges because there are so many people who are moving to Shanghai and the population is growing and health care is sometimes the most complicated service to deliver to citizens.

The United States has so much to learn from Shanghai, Vice Mayor Zuo, because universal health care and the right of people to have the health care, particularly when they are young and when they are developing, is an essential human right. Fortunately, both in Shanghai and in the United States through the Vice Mayor, Project Hope, Bill Walsh, so many doctors and nurses working together, and in our country through the ferocious and determined leadership of President Clinton and particularly Mrs. Clinton, we can all have a real "Project Hope" for good health care for our children when they need it so they can have the future that they truly deserve and need.

Thank you.

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you Madame Vice Mayor, thank you Dr. Chen, thank all of you for gathering here today for this celebration of the opening of this magnificent children's hospital. You have heard from Senator Rockefeller, and I want to introduce the other members of the United States Congress who have accompanied the President on this trip to China. We have Senator Akaka from Hawaii, Congressman Markey from Massachusetts, Congressman Hamilton [applause], Congressman Hamilton is from Indiana, Congressman Dingle from Michigan and Senator Baucus from Montana.

As Senator Rockefeller said, we have come to China to learn more and to discuss more about the future relations between the United States and China; and one example of our partnership is in the area of health care, as this children's medical center so well exemplifies. This medical center is the result of an extraordinary public-private collaboration between our two countries, the city of Shanghai, Project Hope, the Shanghai Second Medical University, and USAID's American Schools and Hospitals Abroad Program, as well as the generous contribution of many Chinese, American and other international businesses, foundations and individuals. I was given a tour by Dr. Chen and Dr. Jonas, from the Boston Medical Children's Center, of an area that will treat children with cardiac problems. And Dr. Chen and Bill Walsh, the President and CEO of Project Hope who is with us today, showed me

some of the recently installed equipment that will be used that is state-of-the-art in terms of diagnosing children's medical problems. And I am pleased that USAID's American Schools and Hospitals Abroad Program is providing training grants for the medical center because it is essential that this center help to train physicians, nurses and technicians from throughout Shanghai, but even perhaps throughout all of China.

Now I have been told that there are more pre-school children in China than the entire population of the United States. I don't know if that is true, but certainly if they are as beautiful and bright and intelligent as the children that I have already met on my visit in Xian, and Beijing and now Shanghai, this country has a very bright future indeed. And certainly the relationships between our two countries and our two peoples has no more important objective than improving the future for the children of both of our countries. And the United States both in our public capacity through our government, and more importantly, in private ways, through private business, foundations and other exchanges, wishes to be a good partner to build that kind of future for the children of both our countries.

So I hope we will continue exchanging physicians and nurses and technicians and experts, and I have seen when I walked in that we also will be exchanging great yellow birds, such as "Da Niao" and his cousins from Sesame Street, Big Bird. You know I often speak with my husband about how the work that he does on behalf of our country will be judged today and tomorrow, and we often speak that perhaps the most important question that can be asked about any work that is done in the government, business, academics, or anywhere in society, is this question: "Is it good for the children?" And certainly those of you who have helped to build this beautiful and important children's medical center will be able to answer that question with a very strong "yes" - it *is* good for the children. And I hope that the result of this visit that my husband has made to China will enable both of our countries, both our governments and our people to say in the years to come that we have made decisions that are good for our children.

Thank you very much.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Remarks at the Shanghai No. 3 Girls School
Shanghai, China

Shanghai, China

Monday, June 30, 1998

Thank you very much for your warm welcome and the invitation to visit your school. I have already been with your principal and the Vice Mayor in some of the classrooms to see some of the art work that all of you do and to talk about music with some of the students and even to see some of the students on the Internet. So, I have a bit of an idea about the wide variety of activities and interests that you pursue after you have done your studies.

I wanted to come here to be able to see for myself what is happening in the lives of young women here in Shanghai, and particularly young women such as yourselves, who attend such a difficult and demanding school. Because I agree with your principal that it is essential that as many young people as possible be given the very best available education. And that is particularly true for young women.

When I was in the classroom with some of your classmates, talking about music, one young woman asked me what I thought about young women here in China, because she knew that I had traveled in many places around the world, and when I travel, I try to make time for meetings with women and particularly to visit with young people. Because, although we have seen many, many advances in the world, in terms of opportunities for women and girls, there is no argument that women and girls in most of the world still are not given equal opportunities to pursue education, to pursue their dreams, to make choices for their own lives, and I believe strongly that it is in every country's interest – my country, your country, every country around the world that we do everything we can to make sure young girls are treated equally and given opportunities so that each young girl can make the best choices for her life. So I wanted to come to this school to have a chance to learn more about the lives of young women here in Shanghai and particularly young women such as yourselves who have entered into this school's curriculum with all of its demands because of interests that you have that you are pursuing, because I would like to be able to make clear to everyone that the opportunities that are available in a school such as this or in the best schools in my country for young girls should be available to all young girls everywhere. I also want to say just a word about the important visit that my husband is making to your country. Because when my husband decided to come to China, he wanted not only to meet with government officials in Beijing, but, as much as possible, to see people and talk to them about what is on their minds. He was just on a radio program where listeners called in and asked him questions, and earlier this morning he and I met with citizens of Shanghai in a discussion at your beautiful new library. In both of those instances and in the other occasions that we have had in a village outside Xi'an, in Beijing, here in Shanghai, we have been struck by the great changes that have occurred in China in the last several years, and by the way, the many ways that people's lives have improved. And we've had an opportunity to talk with and learn about these changes from older people, people who are doing all kinds of work to help build a very strong economy and to make China the kind of country you wish it to be in the next century.

But we haven't had as much opportunity to speak to young people until the President was able to speak at Peking University to a crowd of students and faculty and they were then able to ask him questions. Today, I would like also to give you the opportunity to ask me

questions and I may have a few questions to ask in return. Because we hope through this visit of the President and all of us who are traveling with him, that we will learn more about what is happening in China in the lives of people of all ages, and through our visit be able to communicate that back to Americans so that Americans will know more about what is happening with the Chinese people and, through opportunities such as this, we hope that the Chinese people will learn more about how Americans see the world and what we think about the future. So in a moment I will welcome your questions, because I would like the opportunity to hear what is on your minds. I think that one of the great results that we hope will come from this visit that my husband is making is that more people in both of our countries will understand more about the other country, and that we will see how much we do have in common, how many of the same issues we face, and where we have differences, that we will discuss those differences and understand ways that we can work together. So it is a great honor for me to be here to be part of this visit that the President is making, but it is a special pleasure for me to be here in this school. Because I know how hard you work, how competitive this school is, how difficult the curriculum is, and I admire you for your commitment to your studies and your understanding about how critical it is that education will open doors to you in the future. So I congratulate you on your hard work. I'm very pleased to see such a beautiful school building and grounds, but I'm especially appreciative of the chance to talk with those of you who are students here. So with that, Madame Principal, what I would like to do is to hear from the students and have an opportunity to answer their questions. [Applause]

STUDENT: Mrs. Clinton, I'd like to ask a question. You may have already heard something about Shanghai in the United States. Now you have seen Shanghai with your own eyes and is it the same as you thought before, and what impressed you most during your visit to China? Thank you.

FIRST LADY: Well, it will be quite some time before I digest everything that I have seen and heard and learned in the few days we have been here. But one image that will forever stay in my mind is what I saw in Shanghai last night as my husband and I drove in from the airport. I don't know if those of you who live here everyday have gotten used to the skyline and the extraordinary beauty of the city and the variety of the architecture that one sees, but it is a stunning and impressive sight to come to Shanghai for the first time especially at night as we did yesterday. I had been told that there is more construction occurring in Shanghai than in any place in the world, and that of all those great big giant cranes that tower over your skyline, I'd been told that 20% of all the giant cranes in the world are in Shanghai. I believe that based on what I have seen. So my first, initial impression was one of a vibrant, vivid, growing, exciting city. And then today, during the day, as we've been able to drive along the streets, as we went to the new library and toured it with your Mayor; as I went to the very impressive new children's medical center with the Vice Mayor, and toured that; as I visited a center for the retraining of women who have lost their jobs because of the economic transformation occurring here; as I went to a wonderful restaurant in an old historic section of Shanghai - everything that I have seen in just the very short time I have been here has been impressive to me. Because I have seen a place that is dynamic and is growing and is oriented toward the future, and I think that that is the kind of place that will be prepared for the challenges and changes of the next century. You know, in the world in which we live today, there is no certainty other than change because when you look around we see how much is changing all of the time. And for a city or a country or a person to be able to be prosperous and successful in the next century, I believe you must be flexible and adaptable to the

changes that will occur, and it appears to me that Shanghai is well prepared for that kind of century, so I was very impressed by what I have seen so far. [Applause]

STUDENT: Hello, Mrs. Clinton. My mother has read the book you wrote entitled "It Takes a Village." It's about education. She wanted me to ask you, as a mother, what do you think is the most important to teach your daughter? And what kind of a person do you expect your daughter to be? Thank you.

FIRST LADY: That's a very important question for all of us, because there isn't any more important job in the world than taking care of and preparing the next generation. You can have many, many jobs. You can be a physician like the Vice Mayor, or a principal like your principal, or a lawyer like I am, but I think the most important task is how you raise your children, or other children on whom you have an influence. And certainly you have a special responsibility when it comes to education. So I would answer your mother in two ways. I think there are certain values that you must teach your child that have nothing to do with book learning, values that are the kind of person your child will become, because you can be a very well-educated person, a very successful person, a very rich person in material wealth, but not be a person of value, not be a person of character, so many of the lessons that you must teach when your child is young have to do with the kind of person your child will be: will your child be kind, will your child be empathetic, in other words, sensitive to the needs and wants of other people? Will your child be confident, and able to face whatever challenges and disappointments will come in your life because all of us face those? So those are the kinds of things you must teach a child that don't have anything to do with what you learn in school, but the kind of person you will become. And then I think you have an obligation to instill in your child a love of learning, a love of education and that starts at a very early age. I was speaking with your classmates in the music discussion about how we now know the brain develops in the first three years of life. If you have a baby from the very beginning of that baby's life, and you speak to that baby, you read to that baby, you sing to that baby, you are not only building a warm relationship with your baby, you are actually building more brain cells in your baby's brain, and therefore, better preparing your baby for the kind of learning that you do here in school. And I think once a child is born, you have an obligation to help instill in that child a love of learning and to build a strong, positive attitude toward education, and then once a child goes to school, you must work with the teachers, you must help the child with homework, you must encourage the child. Now many parents do that, but some parents either don't know how to do that, or cannot do that, so it's important that other adults try to help children learn to love learning so that they can help the family and help the child be successful. And that is what my husband and I have tried to do with our daughter, both in the kind of learning about life, and then the learning in the education and schooling that she has had, and it is something that we believe in very strongly, that is very important to every child, boy or girl. And that is one of the arguments that I made in my book which your mother read. And would you thank your mother for reading my book. I appreciate that very much. [Applause] Thank you.

STUDENT: You have mentioned something about girls' schools. Since we are all girls' school students, we'd like very much to know what do you think are the advantages of a girls' school. Thank you.

FIRST LADY: I went to a girls' college. I did not go to a girls' school, I went to a very large high school with boys and girls, but then when I reached university age, I went to Wellesley College, outside of Boston, Massachusetts, which is a well-known women's

college, a girls' college in our country. And I am very happy that I did that. I found the atmosphere very conducive to learning, and I think it also true in the younger years as well. Here in your school, I met the young woman who is the leader of your school, the chair of your school. As young women, you have all the responsibilities in the school. You are the ones who have to make the decisions, you are the ones who are the student leaders, and I believe that instills in young women a sense of confidence about what they are able to do when they go out into the world. So I think that girls' schools are a very good opportunity for many young women, and I believe that they should be available as an option for young women if that is what they choose. Now my own daughter did not want to go to a girls' college and did not want to go to a girls' school. She had a different attitude and a different experience. So she went to a co-educational high school, and now she is at Stanford University, which is a large co-educational university. So she made a different choice, despite my encouragement of her to look at my own college. So I think it's an individual matter. Some young women are very successful in co-educational settings, and others like many of you, are very successful in this setting. I believe there should be a choice so that young women can decide what they think is best for them, so I'm very much in favor of having available girls' schools like this, and even girls' colleges like the one I attended. Thank you. [Applause]

STUDENT: Mrs. Clinton, we're all very interested to know if you will run for President, and do you think American people will have a woman President someday in the near future? Thank you.

FIRST LADY: Well, I will not run for President, but I do hope that a woman will run and be elected President sometime in the early part of the next century. I hope that I am still alive when we have a woman President, so that if I agree with her politically I can vote for her. Now if I do not agree with her politically, I will not vote for her, even if she is a woman, but I will be very proud that she is running for the President. And I think that it is important that we do everything we can to create opportunities for women in our political systems, so that I hope sometime in the next century, there will be a meeting between the woman president of the United States and the woman president of China. [Laughter; applause]

STUDENT: Thank you, very much.

FIRST LADY: Perhaps one of you will be in that position and I will be glad to read about that when that occurs.

STUDENT: Hello, Mrs. Clinton. I would like to ask what do the American students know about China? For example, Chinese characters, Chinese paintings, Chinese customs, and Chinese culture.

FIRST LADY: I don't know that the average student, the typical American student, knows very much and that is one of the reasons my husband wanted to make this trip, so that through our American media we could show to more Americans, particularly young Americans, more about Chinese culture and Chinese life so that more Americans would have a better understanding of China. I have met with a number of students, American students, who are studying here in China and they are very enthusiastic about what they are learning. In fact, the daughter of our American Ambassador is studying Chinese and has been studying Chinese for two years now, and loves Chinese culture, the Chinese language. So I am hoping that we will have more exchanges with more American students coming here to China to

study and more Chinese students going to America so that more American students can have first-hand relationships and friendships with young people from China, because I think it is very important that we understand each other better, and that we appreciate each other more. And I think as one of the panelists in our panel discussion this morning said, a woman novelist from Shanghai, it's important that we have more access to the books that are published here, that they be translated into English, that we have more exhibitions of art, that there be more exchanges of artists and musicians coming between our two countries, because everything we do to present the history, the culture, the ideas of China to America, I am convinced will enable more Americans to understand more about the choices that China is making and the kind of future that you are building so I hope that we will [inaudible]

The question you asked, let me answer by saying many more Americans do know more. Now of course, we have many Chinese-Americans living in the United States and they have been extraordinarily successful contributors to the building of the United States. So that many people in our country know Chinese-Americans and that is one way to further our understanding but I would like to see some of the other things happen that I just mentioned. Thank you. [Applause]

STUDENT: [Inaudible]

FIRST LADY: Yes to both. I like Chinese food very much and I've had some excellent Chinese food since we have been here. I just came from a very delicious lunch, and I learned many years ago to use chopsticks because even as a student I used to go and eat a lot of Chinese food, so I feel very much at home eating Chinese food. I'm not an expert with chopsticks, but I can get most of the food into my mouth. [Applause] Thank you.

STUDENT: [Inaudible]

FIRST LADY: You know, I am very aware of the generation gap, and I assume many of you are as well because every generation does things differently from their parents, and although those of us who are parents are sometimes surprised by those differences, that is what we did to our parents so that it is part of how people change over time, and yet, I think it is also very important, as I understand from my friends who are Chinese-Americans that the family in China always stresses the importance of the continuing relationship from generation to generation and the value that one can obtain from honoring those who are older. So although there will always be a generation gap, it can either be a small gap which is natural as people change over time because for example, I am not by any means an expert on the computer, my daughter can do really anything on a computer. That is a big gap between the two of us, but I hope that there is not very much of a gap in how we can talk to each other and how we can support each other and that is much more important. So there are things – there will be differences that I will not understand about her generation, but the important things about supporting the family and supporting each other and guiding each other I hope will remain the same no matter what the differences might be in the life that you will lead in the future. So it is always hard for parents to see their children grow up, and it is especially hard I think for parents to see daughters grow up and leave. And when my daughter left to go to Stanford which is all the way across the country from Washington, she would not have gotten any farther without falling into the Pacific Ocean, it was very hard on her father and me. But at the same time, we were very proud that she was so independent and able to take of herself, and confident about her ability to do her studies so far from home. So it was what we call in English, a "mixed blessing." We're blessed to have a child who could do that, but we were

sorry to have her leave home and be so far away. So that I think is the tension that you always find and I understand your parents' questions, because sometimes it is very hard being a parent and seeing a child you want to be educated and make choices for herself begin to do that, as I'm sure some of you already are. So I hope that if my family and your family are able to keep a strong family bond, even though there is, I believe, inevitably a generation gap between the generations, but understand, especially in today's fast-changing world, how confusing it must be for your parents or parents like my husband and me to see changes that we would never have dreamt of when we were your age. So be gentle about bold hopes, about the changes that you are living through and will be making in the next century. Thank you. [Applause]

STUDENT: [Inaudible]

FIRST LADY: You're right. We've had in the last months very tragic instances of young boys obtaining guns and going through schools and shooting their classmates, even some of their teachers. It has been very disturbing to Americans, very troubling because of the violence that these young men have used. Both my husband and I have spoken about this and we're both very concerned because we think that there are a number of reasons why these young boys, some as young as 11, between about the ages of 11 and 18, would turn to violence and be able to act out their anger and their rage, their feelings that they had inside of them. One of the reasons we believe is that there is a lot of violence in the media in the United States. The average child growing up in the United States watching our television will see something like 20,000 murders on television by the time they're 18 years old. Now for most young people like my daughter and her friends who come from strong families, that come from families that talk to them, this exposure to violence doesn't lead them to violence. But for other young people, for whatever reason, who don't have that same support or who are not given the help that they need as a young person, an exposure to violence begins to wear away at their own sense of reality and also gives them ideas that this is a natural way to solve one's problems and so we are concerned about the amount and level of violence on our television, in our movies, in our music that our children are exposed to. But that, of course, is not the only reason that we have had the problems we've had. Another issue is that there are many, many guns in America. And these young boys have these guns from their own families. In one case, the young boys stole the guns from a grandfather who liked to hunt with the guns and they took them from the grandfather without his knowing and used them. In another instance, the boy had his own gun which he had been given because he wanted very much to have a gun which he said he would use for target practice or for hunting. And my husband has very many concerns about having young people, particularly children, have access to guns, and he has advocated that there be locks on guns that children would not be able to open without an adult who handed him the key or the combination so that even if a child took a gun from his father or his grandfather, he would not be able to use it. Because with so many guns around what would be ordinary schoolboy arguments or fights, the kinds of arguments I would see on the playground when I was a little girl growing up where boys would push each other or they would yell at each other or they would call each other names, maybe even have a fight with each other, if you have access to a gun, what is an ordinary schoolboy fight becomes a potential deadly tragedy because every young boy I know – I have two younger brothers – at some point has some kind of argument or fight with some other boy – that seems to be part of what boys do when they grow up, you know, pushing or shoving or yelling at each other. We expect that, and that passes. But if that boy while he's still angry at his classmate, while he is still disappointed, can go and get a gun instead of using his fists or using his mouth to yell, then you can see how that could lead to a tragedy.

And finally, we think that there is a real problem with the identification of some of our children who need some kind of psychological help or counseling. If a young boy is acting up – I say “boy” because that’s who has committed these crimes, young boys – if a young boy is acting up, threatening people, causing trouble in school, if the school takes its usual step and expels the boy, sends the boy home, that may not be enough, because that’s what happened in the last case. The boy was disruptive, he brought a gun to school, and the school immediately sent him home. He was not supposed to be in school with a gun. But we think more needs to be done. You know that boy should have been probably arrested, he should have been given some kind of psychological evaluation, something should have been done to try to intervene to prevent the tragedy. So we are going to be doing a lot of hard work about this issue in our country in the weeks ahead. My husband and I will have several meetings with experts about this, we’ll look for ways that we can persuade parents to eliminate some of the television violence in their houses. In fact, the President passed a law a few years ago that requires all American television starting next year to have a microchip installed in the television so that parents can program the microchip so that young children cannot turn on the programs that the parents disagree with, that they think are not right for the child to watch. So we hope through a variety of ways we’re going to be able to limit the circumstances in which a child can translate whatever terrible feelings are inside into such a tragedy as the ones we have seen. It is a problem that we are taking very seriously and working very hard on to try to find some solutions for and I hope that we will be successful so that we don’t have any more of these very tragic, violent incidents like the ones we’ve had. Thank you. [Applause]

Now let me thank all of you. Those were excellent questions. I think we should applaud the questioners. Those were excellent questions. [Applause]

I also want to thank the band, I saw the band as I came in and I want to thank those who are behind me, the musical ensemble. And I want to thank all of the teachers and the staff of the school and the students particularly, for this kind invitation. And I hope that we have all learned something and that I certainly have seen first-hand the quality of the students here at this school and I wish all of you a very successful break in school. I understand you’re coming up on a vacation time. And I learned from your chair, the student leader, that some of you will be taking exams in July, and I wish you much success on your exams. Thank you very much. [Applause]

[Remarks outside the building]

Thank you. You have been so patient. I’m sorry that there was not enough room to fit all of you in the auditorium and I thank you so much for being here to greet me and then waiting here so patiently. I am very pleased that I’ve had a chance to visit your school. You have made me feel very welcome and I know that all of you are working very hard, that your studies are demanding, but that you also have time for many activities, sporting, athletic activities, artistic activities and the like, and inside, one of the young women, one of your classmates asked me about girls’ schools, and I said I am very much in favor of there being girls’ schools so that young women like yourselves can choose to attend such a fine school as this. And I want to congratulate you for a making a choice that will be very demanding, that will really push you to excel and I wish all of you much success in your studies, and whatever you choose to do in the future. Because I believe that investing in a girl’s education is one of the best investments any family or country can make. So I am delighted to see what a good

investment this school has with all of you. Thank you for letting me come to see you. Thank you very much.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Address at the Shanghai Library
Shanghai, China
July 1, 1998

It's a great pleasure to be in Shanghai, the gateway to China, the vibrant center of China's economic transformation, and the wellspring of great intellectual, political, and creative leadership. I am also pleased to be speaking here--at the Shanghai library--which my husband and I visited yesterday. I understand it is one of the largest municipal libraries in the world; with vast resources--from ancient Chinese texts to the latest CD-Roms--that embrace both the past and the future of this great nation.

My husband and I have only been in China a few days--yet in that short time, we've glimpsed both China's rich history and promising future. We've visited some of your ancient sites-- from the Terra Cotta warriors to the steps of the Great Wall. And marveled at Shanghai's ultramodern architecture. But we understand that this country's greatest treasures are its people - men and women like yourselves, who are seizing the opportunities for progress, and helping to transform your society for the better.

When I first came to China three years ago, I had the privilege of participating, as did many of you, in the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. It was an extraordinary gathering of women from 189 nations--women of different colors, different cultures, and different faiths; from small villages and urban centers--who had come together from every corner of the globe to discuss our common concerns and our common future. At the conference and the forum of nongovernmental organizations in Hairou, I listened to women giving voice to the

voiceless; strength to the powerless; hope to those marginalized.

While we spoke different languages, and came from different places, we shared a universal belief: that women's rights are human rights and that human rights are women's rights.

What the Beijing conference made undeniably clear, and what we all know from experience and history, is that development and progress depend on women having equal access to life's basic tools of opportunity: health care; education; credit; jobs; legally enforceable rights; and full participation in the political, social and economic life of our countries.

The Beijing Platform for Action provided a framework and the impetus for governments to make these tools of opportunity and rights available to women. And the extraordinary potential and energy of women unleashed at that conference has begun to transform lives and societies. Governments are being held to their commitments, and grassroots action is igniting reform in every corner of the globe.

I have seen the changes occurring first hand, from Senegal to South Africa, from America to Australia, and from Chile to China.

During the time I've been in China, I've had the privilege to meet women and men who are working together to ensure that women are not left behind in the 21st century. I have heard the vital voices of your girls and women, and seen the flowering of independent organizations committed to transforming rhetoric into action to achieve tangible results toward the empowerment of women across your country.

Last Saturday in Beijing, I participated in a spirited, lively and informative discussion with women leaders about the challenges and opportunities facing women in China. Although there were only eight of us sitting around the table, I felt as though I were hearing the voices of millions of Chinese women committed to improving their lives.

I listened to the publisher of a magazine for rural women speak of improving conditions for poor rural women through expanded economic opportunities. She told the story of a disabled woman who was made to feel like a burden to her husband. But, through a micro credit program, she got a small loan and set up her own bean curd shop. As she began to make money, the relationship with her husband improved. And she also gained self-confidence, and earned a position of respect in her village.

University professors talked about new efforts to educate women, and change traditional attitudes about women and girls. Participants told me about programs aimed at keeping girls in school, and convincing dropouts to return to school. They showed me illustrated pamphlets used to inform women and girls about their political and legal rights.

On Monday, I met with women lawyers and professors running the Center for Women's Law Studies and Legal Services at Beijing University, which offers free legal counseling to women; arbitrates, mediates, and litigates significant cases with wider legal implications for society; and recommends changes in policies that affect women.

One of the Center's clients told me she had wanted to leave her abusive husband--but didn't know what her legal rights were. She sought the help of the Center, and finally obtained a divorce and an

award for child support. But she and her daughter are still living with her ex-husband, because her apartment was assigned to him by his work unit, and she is unable to get housing on her own. The Center is pursuing ways for her to obtain housing, and collect the support to which she is entitled.

Another client explained how she and the women she worked with in a factory were denied their pay, and are suing the factory's manager for their back wages--which he still refuses to pay.

These stories and many others, underscored for me that while laws protecting women's rights in China, as in many other countries, are often quite comprehensive on paper, they are frequently not enforced. Throughout the world, I hear the same complaint--without the rule of law, which includes open access to the legal system and judicial orders that individuals can enforce, laws can be a cruel hoax on women. But based on what I have I have learned here, steps toward better implementation are being made in China. When I asked for a show of hands at the Center of those in the audience who were studying to become lawyers--all the hands that shot up were young women's. The extraordinary growth in the number of lawyers in China--including women lawyers--will further strengthen the rule of law that is necessary for expanding and enforcing women's rights.

And yesterday here in the Library, my husband and I talked with more people in Shanghai who are defining China's future. I also visited a retraining center where women, who have lost their jobs because of China's economic reforms, are learning new skills to prepare themselves for a more competitive job market. I was struck by how supportive they were of each other in the face of daunting challenges. I especially noticed the emphasis that the teachers

placed on changing a woman's attitude about herself, so that in addition to skills, she could work for "self respect, self confidence, self reliance, and self improvement."

And I visited a beautiful new children's medical center, with state of the art technology--and met with the bright, articulate students at the Shanghai Number 3 Girls School: two snapshots of the new China.

My experiences here in China this past week have convinced me how important personal exchanges are between our two countries. So it is with great pleasure that today I am announcing five new China/America exchange programs that will bring Chinese women to the United States next year to share ideas and experiences with their American counterparts. These exchanges, sponsored by USIS, will embrace Chinese and American women leaders at all levels of society, including lawyers, business representatives, local government officials, and youth leaders. And I know they will deepen the understanding and ties of friendship that continue to grow between our two countries.

They will also enable American and Chinese women like us, with education and position, to learn from each other about how we can continue to work toward social change that benefits all women.

One of the great privileges of my position is to travel on behalf of my country. Wherever I go, I speak with women and girls. I find that no matter what nation we live in, we face the same challenges, and dream the same dreams. We all hope for the day when no woman is a victim of domestic abuse and other forms of violence. When no woman is the victim of economic discrimination. When no woman is denied the basic rights of health care and education.

Yet we know, even as we enter this new millennium--with all of its possibilities for humankind--that too many women around the world remain on the outskirts of opportunity, and their daughters remain undervalued in their societies.

For as much as progress is being made on women's behalf-- here in China and around the world--deeply imbedded barriers remain. Because for every woman who needs more information, we know there are not enough books, let alone Internet access; for every woman who needs her legal rights protected, we know there are not enough legal clinics. For every woman who seeks an education, there are not enough families who are able or willing to pay the fees; and for every girl who today dreams of a world of unlimited possibilities, there remain yesterday's attitudes that hold her back.

As some of you may know, I am particularly lucky on this trip to have not only my daughter but my mother with me. We have, as the saying goes, "three generations under one roof." And I think about how many changes the three of us have experienced in our lifetimes. My mother was born before women had gained the right to vote in the United States. And 30 years ago, when I entered law school, there were very few women sitting beside me in the lecture halls. Today, women in those law classes are in the majority. And already in her life, my daughter has greater freedoms and opportunities and choices than I could ever have imagined at her age.

We all must work harder to ensure that all girls have the ability and right to make their own choices. That starts with valuing and respecting our daughters in our hearts and in our homes--so that they develop the strength and confidence to move forward--for

themselves, their families and their countries.

Since I've been here, I have heard the expression "Women hold up half the sky." And I've seen firsthand the enormous reservoirs of talent, and the boundless potential that exist within the women of China to shoulder this burden.

This is also an image that applies to women everywhere. In my own country, for example, many women feel they are holding up more than half the sky, as they struggle to balance family and work demands, with little help from government or business with their child care needs. So each of us in our different social and economic settings, should ask ourselves what needs to be done to equip and support women to hold up their half of the sky. Some answers seem obvious to me:

Women can't hold up half the sky--if as girls they are not loved and valued by their parents, and given the same opportunities as their brothers to fulfill their potential;

Women can't hold up half the sky--if they make up the vast majority of those who can't read or write;

Women can't hold up half the sky--if girls are still pulled out of school early, and robbed of the education that they need to thrive in the 21st century;

Women can't hold up half the sky--if they are denied the jobs, loans and credit they need to lift themselves and their families up from poverty;

Women can't hold up half the sky--if they are deprived of basic legal rights and services;

Women can't hold up half the sky--if they are victims of violence and abuse in their own homes, or are kidnapped or sold into marriage;

Women can't hold up half the sky - if they are denied the freedom to plan their own families.

Women can only hold up half the sky when their feet are planted firmly on the soil of freedom and equal justice.

The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights--adopted 50 years ago by my country and yours--states "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." The Platform for Action adopted by the UN Conference in Beijing three years ago lays out a powerful agenda for the empowerment of women based on those principles of universal rights. Economic reforms here have lifted millions of Chinese out of poverty--an extraordinary accomplishment. But economic and social progress must go hand in hand with the strengthening of other freedoms. The yearning to be treated with dignity, to be able to choose one's own religion, to speak freely, to participate fully in the life of one's community -- knows no national boundary, but is deeply rooted in the human spirit.

All of you here today are playing a role in the great transformation of China we can see all around us. Based on my own experience in America, I am aware of how hard progress can be, and how sometimes it feels that you take two steps forward - and one step back.

One hundred and fifty years ago this month, at Seneca Falls, New York, a small band of women and a few men adopted a declaration of sentiments that called for women's equal rights. We have made tremendous progress since then, but the work is never finished. For every law the United States passed - from voting rights to equal pay for equal work - we have had to work hard not only to enforce it, but also to change the underlying social and cultural attitudes that undermine its meaning. (As late as the 1980s, I met women in America who said they did not vote in elections because their husbands did.)

Almost eighty years ago, in 1919, the voices of the young Chinese intellectuals of the May 4th movement argued passionately that women must gain social, economic and political equality if China was to survive and prosper in the 20th century. That message is even more compelling in 1998, as China enters the 21st century. As we stand at the brink of a new century, no country will be successful in the years ahead if it leaves half its population behind. No country can reach its full potential until all of its citizens - men and women; boys and girls -- have the freedom and the resources to reach theirs.

Only when we create a world where every citizen enjoys fundamental freedoms and every child is valued and given equal opportunities - then, and only then, will we be able to say with honesty: yes, women hold up half the sky.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

**A Dialogue with Chinese Women:
Progress and Challenges in a Transforming Society**

Held at the Beijing International Club Hotel

Beijing, China

Saturday, June 27, 1998

For the public campaign stressing that it is as good to have a girl as a boy and the importance of valuing our daughters which is something that the President and I are very, very supportive of since, of course, we have a daughter and think that daughters are as important as sons and that girls are as important as boys.

So today I want to listen, ask questions, and learn from the distinguished women on this panel. I have reviewed their resumes; I have studied information about the work they are doing, both in urban and rural areas on behalf of women, and, as I said when I was here in Beijing three years ago, I believe that women throughout the world in every country -- urban and rural -- have very much in common in terms of the issues and the problems that we face. And that we learn much from each other, and we can strengthen each other as we all work to achieve opportunities and rights and responsibilities for women and girls. So I am delighted to be here and thank all of you for coming, and I particularly thank the panelists for taking time out of their busy schedules to be here with me to explain what they are doing and to discuss with me how we can all make more progress on behalf of women here in China and women in my own country and women throughout the world. So with that, I would love to start the discussion and hear from these very impressive women as to what they are doing and the issues on their minds.

Chinese Dialogue from panelist:

Well I want to thank the panelists, I think we should all give them a round of applause. I have been in discussions like this all over the world because when I travel alone or when I travel with my husband, I always seek out women to discuss with me what is happening in their societies, because I do believe that so much of the challenges and opportunities that women face today are similar. They may be different in degree or intensity but every problem that I have heard about today, from the panelists, I've heard about in every country including my own to some degree or another. And because I have been in so many of these discussions, I have learned so much from women like those whom we have heard from today, but I don't think I have ever been a more lively, energetic, informed, exciting discussion as the one I've heard from today with these women. I think that says a great deal about the work that each of you is doing, but also how you represent millions of other women who are worried about poverty, who are worried about education, who are worried about health care, who are worried about the status of women and who are looking for solutions. And the solutions that we have talked about today,

and that you are putting into action are ones that will make a difference in the lives of millions and millions of women and will make a difference in your entire society.

I was very pleased yesterday when my husband and I visited a small village outside of Xian to meet both men and women who talked to us about the changes in their lives in the last years, talking about the opportunities that they face and they were taking advantage of. And I was very struck by what I heard in that rural village was very similar to what I use to hear, with my husband, in our rural state of Arkansas, in the United States. And that many of the solutions that we are talking about here are ones that we have also worked on in the United States -- expanding legal rights for women, changing the judicial system to be more sensitive and aware of women's needs, expanding education to girls and women, persuading families, particularly families of minority cultures to educate their daughters, working very hard to increase the number of women who go, not only to primary education, but like the example the professor gave, of women who go on to university because their families sell donkeys or borrow or do whatever is necessary to educate their daughters.

I have also been very struck by how health care is a basic human right and educating women about their bodies, about the health care system, about their opportunities to seek and obtain health care, about reproductive health care is a basic human right for every women in the world. And more work needs to be done about that. I was also very impressed to hear the work you are doing both to create economic opportunity through micro credit and to assist women who need retraining because of the economic changes that are going on in your country. Micro credit has been proven in so many different countries in both rural and urban areas to give women economic opportunity and access to credit that they would not otherwise have.

You know in my own country we are using micro credit to help poor women, particularly women who are coming off welfare because we have changed our welfare system, to start small businesses for themselves. So this is not only a very good strategy for rural China, but also urban China and rural and urban America, and many other countries in every continent that I have visited.

So what I have heard today, the voices that I have heard, are very exciting to me, because I remember so well when I was here in Beijing at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, in 1995, there were so many different women from over 180 countries, but we agreed on a platform for action. China signed it, the United States signed and we are seeing results from following that platform for action. What you have told me today are all specific steps and strategies designed to increase the opportunities, the rights and responsibilities for women. I think it is clear as we look at the 21st Century that no society will be successful that does not empower women, that does not educate girls as well as boys, that does not keep girls healthy, that does not provide economic opportunity for women, that does not enforce the laws for the political and civil and legal rights of all people, but particularly for women, and each of you has described very

eloquently what is happening that will achieve that kind of opportunity for women in the next century.

Our moderator said that there is the old Chinese saying that women hold up half the sky. I have always like that saying. But of course women cannot hold up their half of the sky if they are not educated, if they are not healthy, if they don't have their rights, if they cannot enforce their own personal goals and aspirations, if they are not respected by the men in their lives and by their larger society. I particularly liked the saying that you are using as part of your campaign, "Self respect, self confidence, self reliance and self improvement," now those are goals for women everywhere in the world. But you have very clearly illustrated this morning how much progress is being made in helping women lift up their own voices. Because of course, each of us here on this panel are very lucky because our families respected us, our parents wanted us educated, we have remained healthy so that we could peruse our own dreams of being a professor or starting a publication or translating many books and running projects, but I think that makes it even more important that women like us use our voices to speak up on behalf of the millions of women throughout the world whose voices are silenced. They are not listened, to they are not respected, they are not encouraged, they are not given their rights, and they cannot hold up their half of their sky. So what I want to thank you for is very clearly explaining this morning all of the work that you are doing to create change in the lives of individual women which are sometimes the hardest changes to make. Sometimes the most difficult challenge is to persuade an individual women to have hope, to feel that she is worthy, to go to school, to protect her daughter, and yet you are also through these efforts that you have described, I think, changing the lives and attitudes of women and men. And that will change the society in which you live. Now I don't think any of us who have worked on these issues as long as each of us has is in any way unaware of how hard the challenge is.

There is a great deal of work. Because for every women who does not have her legal rights, there is not a legal center. For every women who needs the information in your publication and in your books, they do not always get it. For every women who should go to Beijing University because she is intelligent and motivated she may not have a family to sell a donkey to send her. So there is much work to be done and I think that there is a lot we have in common that we can work on together that will up-hold the value of each girl and will create an environment in which even more girls and women can participate in panels such as you with your education, your eloquence, your passion, your advocacy and that will do a great deal to create the conditions, not only in China, but throughout the world that will enable us to proudly enable us to proudly hold up our half of the sky in the next century, so thank you very much for what you said, but thank you more for what you are doing on behalf of girls and women.

Thank you.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT BEIJING MEDICAL UNIVERSITY
JUNE 27, 1998
(AS DELIVERED)

I am honored to be here at this very renowned university. Beijing Medical University is, I was told, the largest medical university in the world. I am delighted to be here. Thank you for that kind introduction Dr. Zhang. Thank you Dr. Berry from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, thank you Dr. Li Zhu and all of you who are here today with us to witness the signing of a new agreement to expand US/China cooperation in the areas of medical and scientific research.

It is very important that we continue the cooperation that has existed between this great university and the Centers for Disease Control for a number of years, and that today we reaffirm our joint commitment to tackle the neuro-birth defect that robs too many children of their health and their lives. I was pleased to meet the young mother and her baby girl because I know, as a mother of a girl, how important it is that we cherish every child. And, I know this young mother understands the benefits of taking folic acid during the early months of pregnancy. This is a message and a lesson that is being transmitted to millions of women around the world. Because we have seen all too often how Spina Bifida and other neural tubular defects affect hundreds of thousands of pregnancies around the world and over fifty thousand here in China alone. We know -- and thanks to the research you have done here -- that we can do much to prevent this leading cause of death of infants in the first weeks of life, and to prevent the defects that many children endure. If we take this research that we have done, and be sure that we spread the message as you are doing, then women will be more aware of what they themselves can do to prevent defects and deaths.

It is also significant that you are discovering that there may be another benefit of folic acid, namely, a marked decrease in congenital heart defects in newborns. We look forward to working together to learn more about this possible new research. Today the CDC and the Beijing Medical University come together again to announce a new and expanded tradework for collaboration that will build on the progress we have already made together. The signing of this Declaration of Understanding calls for collaboration on prevention of birth defects, disabilities, and health risks resulting from environmental factors such as exposure to lead, radiation, and water pollution.

This is one of the most significant areas for medical research that we should be pursuing throughout the world. We are learning more in my own country about the environmental causes of various diseases, particularly in infants and in children. We are learning in great steps how different children are from adults. If one thinks about it, they are not little adults. They actually breathe in more air, they roll around in the dirt, they are exposed to more of the environment than adults are. So it is critical that we learn more about the environmental effects that do affect women during pregnancy, and babies, and children. We are very excited about this collaboration.

As we witness the signing of the Declaration, I hope that we redouble our efforts to be partners and collaborators on behalf of women, children, men -- everyone who sees the expertise that comes from a great university such as this -- through the doctors that you train and the research that you do so that we can better promote the health of all of our people.

This unique partnership goes beyond making positive changes to public health practices in the United States, China and around the world; it also strengthens goodwill and scientific collaboration between our two countries. I want to commend all of you here at Beijing Medical University, and I also commend the CDC, for all the hard work that has brought us to this point, and I wish to commend you on your future collaboration. By working together we will make progress and perhaps, in the twenty-first century, our grandchildren will have to look in history books, not medical books, to learn about diseases like Spina Bifida. We have that progress within our grasp if we work together, if we make the necessary research breakthroughs, and then we take the knowledge that arises out of great universities such as this and disseminate it to women like the young women we see throughout your country, my country and the world -- paying particular attention to rural women and poor women whether in rural or urban areas. If we do that, we will all see great progress in improving public health in the years to come and that will mean we will see more happy mothers and babies like the one we saw today. Thank you very much.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
ARTICLE FOR HARPER'S BAZAAR
JULY 1998

There's an expression in China that "women hold up half the sky." I thought of that powerful image often as I accompanied the President on his historic trip to China a few months ago, and met with women from all walks of life, struggling to improve their lives and expand their freedoms. Their achievements -- some of which astonish even the women themselves -- are helping to shape that country's future, as it undergoes perhaps the greatest period of change in its history.

One of the women I met in China was Xie Lihua. She's in her forties now -- but as a teenager she was a passionate young revolutionary, and a member of her local Red Guard committee. Today, she's turned her energies to helping some of China's poorest women lift themselves and their families out of poverty. **When banks refused to offer some of these women credit -- Xie pooled some of her own money -- from an international prize she had received for her work with rural women -- along with a donation from Bing Xin, one of China's most famous writers. The loans are then parceled out to women -- along with advice about how to start up a new business.** In explaining how these small micro-credit loans are helping rural women gain greater economic independence, she says: "If I give you an apple, you will eat it once. If I give you a seed, you can grow your own tree."

Xie told me about how her micro-credit program helped a disabled woman in a small rural village to open her own bean curd shop. Her husband had always viewed her as a burden, but with the money she earned with her new business, she was able to help him with expenses for their small farm -- gaining respect not only within her own family but throughout the village. During our 10-day trip, I was to hear many such stories of the challenges facing women in China today -- and their efforts to overcome them.

The President went to China to strengthen the ties between our two nations, and to make progress on critical issues like non proliferation of missiles and human rights. To make significant progress on these and other complex problems, the President said, "our two nations

will be far better off working together than apart.” We also wanted to see for ourselves the dramatic changes sweeping this vast country, and to help the Chinese people learn more about who we were, and our hopes for a more open and democratic future in China. While I accompanied the President on many official and informal occasions, I also had my own schedule of events and meetings. And nowhere did I learn more about the challenges and the possibilities facing China today than in my conversations with Chinese women.

One of the most pleasurable parts of the trip for me was having the delightful company of both my mother and my daughter, Chelsea. There’s a Chinese expression about the value of having “three generations under one roof,” and being able to share some of these experiences with them made this an especially meaningful trip for me. During our lifetimes, the three of us have witnessed such dramatic changes in our own country -- particularly in the area of expanded women’s rights. So I treasured hearing their impressions of China, as it begins to open up new opportunities for its citizens -- including women.

I had first visited China three years ago, as honorary chair of the US delegation to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. And I remember how moved I was to look out at that extraordinary gathering of women of different races, cultures, and beliefs who had come together from every corner of the globe to discuss common concerns, and build a common future. In my address in Beijing, I 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.” The Platform for Action produced at the conference emphasized that the progress of a country depends on women having equal access to life’s basic tools of opportunity -- like health care, education, credit, and jobs. And that no nation can move forward until all its citizens are able to participate fully in the political, social and economic life of their countries.

Everywhere I went in China, I heard echoes of that UN Conference, as I met women from all walks of life determined to improve the lives of themselves and their families, and to expand the circle of human dignity -- often against formidable odds. I met Xie at a forum of Chinese women leaders in Beijing, hosted by the All China Women’s Federation, what we would

call the government's women's bureau. It was an experience I will never forget. We'd been told that this kind of open dialogue "had never been done before" -- and we were concerned that the women who did come might feel intimidated, and wouldn't speak out. How wrong we were. I don't think I have ever met advocates more excited about the progress that women are making - or more vocal about the hard work that remains to be done to ensure women's basic human rights.

From these courageous women, I learned about the high rate of illiteracy among women in China -- particularly those living in rural areas. Many can't even write their names. Xie and others now publish a magazine called "Rural Women Knowing All" -- which is designed specifically to reach those who can't read. It uses colorful pictures to inform women about jobs, health care services, and basic legal rights. A university professor told me about programs she's involved in to keep girls in school, and to convince those who have dropped out to return to class.

I also learned at that forum -- much to my surprise -- that Our Bodies, Ourselves -- one of the most popular health advice books ever written in America -- had just been translated and published in China. That such basic information about women's health had been so scarce up until now underscored for me how far China still needs to go in educating its citizens -- particularly its women. But the fact that such a book is now available is also a sign of progress.

No matter where I went, women spoke to me about the need to ensure women and girls were provided greater educational opportunities. China is a country that has traditionally placed a premium on education, and it has set a goal to eliminate illiteracy among young people by the year 2000. Yet even as educational reforms are helping to meet the more competitive times -- girls are dropping out of school at an alarming rate. Many parents, feeling the pressure of tough economic times, are taking their children -- especially their daughters -- out of school to work in factories or on the farms.

But the high drop out rate -- and an alarming rise in women's suicides -- reflect another, more troubling reality in China: that girls and women have been traditionally less valued. As a **result of rigid implementation of a strict and intrusive family planning policy -- the goal of which is to ^{has been} limit families to one child -- some in China still practice female infanticide, and there's a significant incidence of abandonment of girls and sex-selective abortions. These ^{and a resurgen} brutal practices continue -- even though official government policy prohibits them. There ^{of the} is also an alarming rise in the incidence of girls and women being forcibly sold into ^{of female} marriage -- explained in part by the skewed birth ratios that result in far fewer women ^{infanticide.} than men living in some rural areas. According to press reports, China's own official news agency reported that between 1991 and 1996, police rescued 88,000 women and children from slave traffickers. The situation has spurred the government's All China Women's Federation to launch a campaign entitled: "Girls are Just as Valuable as Boys."**

So I was particularly pleased to visit an all girl's school in Shanghai -- which has a rigorous academic curriculum and highly competitive sports program -- clearly challenging these future leaders to excel. These smart young women asked me all kinds of questions -- from whether I had mastered the skill of eating with chop sticks [sort of] to what kind of music I like [provoking a symphonic response!] One student told me her mother had just finished reading my book, It Takes A Village -- and wanted to know what I thought were the most important lessons a mother could teach her daughter. Once again, I was reminded that no matter what country we live in, or what language we speak, we share a fierce determination to create for our children a better world.

These young women are growing up in a country undergoing a profound transition, as it moves from a centrally controlled economy toward a free market economy, and as Chinese citizens gain a level of freedom in their personal lives unimaginable even a few years ago. Today, citizens enjoy greater flexibility to travel within and outside of China, to buy their own homes, to choose a job, or attend a better school.

The President and I saw some of these changes firsthand on the first stop of our trip. We were welcomed to Xian, China's ancient capital, in a beautiful ceremony at the fort on the outskirts of the city. The next day, we explored an excavation site where over 2,000 years ago, thousands of life-sized Terra Cotta warriors had been buried with China's first emperor. But we saw another kind of history being made when we visited the village of Xiahe -- just a few miles away. It's one of the half million villages around China which now elects its own village committee leaders. **And many of those elected at this sub-government level are non-party candidates.** This is the first tentative step -- but a critical one -- towards building a more open, democratic society, from the bottom up.

The repression of political freedoms and human rights, however, continues. Our trip was marred by the arrest of Chinese citizens who used our arrival to test the political system, by attempting to register a political party. Chinese dissidents have also been arrested and jailed since our return, and the issue of serious and widespread human rights violations -- including in Tibet -- continue to be a major impediment to the relationship between our two countries reaching its full potential.

China is also struggling with profound economic changes. Since 1978, it has experienced perhaps the fastest rate of economic growth in human history. Millions of Chinese citizens have risen out of poverty, an extraordinary accomplishment. Yet others -- particularly uneducated women -- have been left behind.

One reason for these disparities is that while the Chinese economy has been growing -- the government's closing of inefficient and money losing state enterprises has dramatically pushed up the unemployment rate. And all too often, women are bearing the brunt -- far more likely to lose their jobs and their benefits, be forced into early retirement, or be the victims of job discrimination -- and less likely to benefit from retraining programs.

In a small building on a side street in Shanghai, I climbed up four flights of stairs to visit a women's job-retraining center -- established to address some of these growing problems.

There, I watched women learning new trades such as tailoring and flower arranging. This is also the site of China's first women's hot line, where volunteers field questions ranging from how to find a job to what to do to control unruly children to how to get out of an abusive marriage. I was impressed with how these women were reaching out to each other in these difficult times -- and how their questions mirrored concerns of women the world over.

One of the biggest surprises on the trip was discovering the extent to which women's rights have been written into Chinese law. **In 1992, for example, the People's Congress passed a law on the "Protection of Rights and Interests of Women," that prohibits discrimination against women in areas like employment, property, and education. Included in those rights is self determination in marriage, equal pay for equal work, and the equal allotment of housing and welfare benefits. But as I've learned in my travels around the world, what's on paper is often not put into practice.** I learned about some of those legal protections -- and the difficulty of enforcing them -- at the Center for Women's Law Studies and Legal Services at Beijing University, which I visited with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. The Center, supported by the Ford Foundation, is located in a simple building at the outskirts of the University. The work of the Center takes place in just a few cramped rooms, but the impact it's having on the lives of Chinese women reaches far beyond its walls. The Center takes on a wide range of cases -- from family planning to job discrimination to rape. And they've won more than half their cases. But there are major hurdles to overcome. There's still rampant discrimination against women in China, and the justice system remains deeply flawed.

One woman told us about her efforts to get out of an abusive marriage. She was a frail, soft-spoken woman, but her voice didn't waver as she spoke about how the Center had helped her to obtain a divorce and an award for child support. "I came to the Center," she said simply, "and I got justice." But she and her daughter are still living with her ex-husband -- because their apartment had been assigned to him by his work unit -- and she is **still** unable to get housing on her own. I applauded with everyone else when she said she was raising her daughter to be a lawyer.

Another client spoke about how she and the other women she worked with in a factory had been denied their pay -- and that the Center had launched a class-action suit against the factory's manager for back wages. They won the suit -- but the manager still refuses to pay.

These stories and many others underscored for me that while laws protecting women's rights in China, as in many other countries, are often quite comprehensive on paper, they are frequently not enforced. And that without the rule of law, which includes open access to the legal system and judicial orders that individuals can enforce -- laws can be a cruel hoax -- especially for women.

But based on the kinds of legal reforms that are being carried out, and the legal precedents being set, I am hopeful that greater progress can be made toward implementation of these laws. I was further heartened when I asked for a show of hands of those in the audience who were studying to become lawyers. All the hands that shot up were young women's.

Although many in America believe our country has too many lawyers, China has too few. Even President Jiang told me China had to produce more lawyers -- and fewer engineers -- to promote better legal representation and enforcement. In fact, there is a dramatic rise in the number of lawyers in China today -- including women -- which will further strengthen the rule of law that is so critical to expanding and enforcing human rights.

Women's rights was the main topic of an address I made in Shanghai. I spoke about how impressed I was with the progress that women were making in China today, in areas like the rule of law, and micro-credit loans, and literacy -- particularly in the rural areas. But I also spoke about the very tough work that remains ahead to ensure that women in China are not left behind in the 21st Century. "Women can't hold up half the sky," I said, "if they make up the vast majority of those who can't read or write; if they are still pulled out of school early; if they are denied the jobs they need to lift themselves and their families up from poverty; if they are denied the freedom to plan their own families." I underscored how "no country can reach its full potential until all of its citizens -- men and women; boys and girls -- have the freedom and the

resources to reach theirs.”

One of the missions of the President’s trip to China was to strengthen the ties between the people of the United States and China. So I was pleased to attend the signing of an important joint medical collaboration between the Centers for Disease Control in the United States and the Peking Medical University. For years, our two countries have worked together to reduce the occurrence of neural tube birth defects -- including spina bifida -- in Chinese babies. Unfortunately, such defects occur more frequently in China than in any other country in the world. Yet we know that women taking folic acid before they become pregnant can reduce those defects by at least 50 percent.

That day in Beijing, I met a woman who had lost her first child to the deadly ravages of spina bifida. In her arms, she was holding her healthy, squirming daughter -- thanks to the 3-year program between CDC and Peking University aimed at giving thousands of women like her a regular dose of folic acid. The new agreement being signed will expand this already successful collaboration to prevent birth defects, disabilities and health defects resulting from environmental factors, including exposure to lead, radiation and water pollution.

Our countries are working together in other areas as well. In Shanghai, I was pleased to announce five new China/America exchange programs that will bring Chinese women to the United States next year to share ideas and experiences with their American counterparts. The programs will be sponsored by the United States Information Service, and will embrace Chinese and American leaders at all levels -- including lawyers, educators, environmentalists, business representatives, local government officials, and youth leaders. These exchanges, I said at the time, “will enable American and Chinese women to learn from each other about how we can continue to work toward social change that benefits all women.”

Secretary of State Albright joined me for a final roundtable discussion with women in Hong Kong -- on the last day of our trip. This was a high-powered group of women lawyers, doctors, and political leaders, who held positions of power and authority still unknown in the rest

of China. I felt the forum was, in a sense, a quick snapshot of what China would look like if it continues to open up -- both economically and politically -- in the years ahead. Anson Chan -- Hong Kong's second highest ranking official -- spoke about what it was like to be a woman in such a high position of authority in Chinese society. Other women leaders discussed the challenges of providing housing for a growing population, and the steps that are being taken to secure civil liberties and fundamental human freedoms. I had to laugh when the conversation turned to a familiar topic -- the need for women to find time to exercise, as they struggle to balance the demands of work and family.

That night, as the President and I joined Chelsea and my mother on the plane for the long, 17-hour trip home, we shared a few stories before we drifted off to sleep. The stark beauty of Guilin -- where rugged mountains dipped dramatically into China's Li River. The sights and smells of Beijing's dirt market, where we bought porcelain jars and Chinese scrolls. The wilting heat -- but also the awe -- as we walked the Great Wall, and saw it curve its way over the crests of China's hills, as far as the eye can see.

We also talked about the many images of China as it begins -- however cautiously -- to push open the doors of opportunity and allow greater freedom for its people. The President and I attended a church service Sunday morning in Beijing -- filled to bursting with worshipers. Yet the government still supervises religious worship, and requires each church to register. Some churches refuse to do so -- out of fear of government control. And while some are left alone, others have been closed down, their religious leaders arrested. But I was heartened by my visit with Secretary of State Albright to an old synagogue in Shanghai, now renovated as a museum, but again having a Torah. Judaism is not among the five religions recognized by the state -- and there's no agreement by the authorities in Shanghai to let this beautiful old building be used again as a place of worship. But as I watched Rabbi Arthur Schneier from New York place a Torah in the synagogue's tabernacle for the first time in decades, I felt I was witnessing at least a symbolic step forward not only for the small Jewish community that remains in that city -- but,

hopefully, for other religious communities as well.

Perhaps the most dramatic example of China loosening up its restrictions on freedom of expression was the frank and open exchange that took place between the President and the students at Beijing University. The President spoke to them about how the right "to be treated with dignity; the right to express one's opinions, to choose one's own leaders, to associate freely with others, and to worship or not freely, however one chooses" -- are the "birthrights of people everywhere." And that such freedoms can only strengthen China's stability and progress. That speech, and the subsequent free-wheeling question and answer period, were broadcast live on Chinese television. An unprecedented event. And once again, I felt I was witnessing an historic moment, as China presses forward -- however tentatively -- toward a more open society.

As Air Force One returned to Andrews Air Force Base in the early morning of America's Independence Day -- I thought about the courageous women I had met in China and in countries around the world, struggling, often against great odds -- to expand the circle of human rights, and to ensure that every citizen -- women and men, boys and girls -- can live in dignity and hope. Like citizens everywhere, the women of China seek to participate fully in the political, social, and economic life of their country -- and to say honestly that yes, they do "hold up half the sky." They face formidable challenges ahead. But it is profoundly in our interest, and in the interest of all nations, that we help them succeed.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
HONG KONG WOMEN'S ROUNDTABLE
HONG KONG, CHINA
JULY 3, 1998

- Thank you, Secretary Albright, for being here, and for that kind introduction. It is a great pleasure to be in Hong Kong with my husband, and to see firsthand the extraordinary changes taking place here and throughout China. I am also very pleased to have this opportunity to meet with such an extraordinary group of women – who have made such impressive contributions – both inside and outside of government – in forging a new Hong Kong. [I had the pleasure of meeting Anson Chan only a few weeks ago in Washington, D.C.]
- One of the great privileges of my position is having the opportunity to travel around the world, and to listen to the voices and experiences of women: women like yourselves who are playing such active roles in the political life of this city, and who are working to protect fundamental human rights, and expand opportunities -- for women and for all citizens.
- I have been in China only a short time – yet I've been overwhelmed by the intelligence and vitality and openness of the women I've spoken with – rural entrepreneurs; educators, lawyers, publishers, women's advocates. But no matter what country I'm in, I'm always struck by how women share the same concerns; face the same challenges; and need the same tools of ~~opportunity~~ equal access to education; jobs; credit; and fundamental human rights. I look forward to continuing that conversation here this morning, with all of you.
- Some of you have blazed the trail of equal opportunity legislation – and are working to strengthen the rule of law;
- Others have worked tirelessly to make reversion a success – speaking out for Hong Kong's autonomy; for China upholding its commitments under the 1944 Joint Declaration – and the 1990 Basic Law; for preserving Hong Kong's civil liberties and fundamental freedoms.
- Some of you are leaders in the media – which is such a powerful tool for building and protecting democracy.

- Others are passionate advocates in areas like the environment (pollution is a major problem in Hong Kong).
- And everyone here is concerned with how to improve education (most kids grades 1-6 attend half sessions in school – because of overcrowding); how to expand housing (50% of people here live in extremely cramped public housing); and how to ensure progress in this period of transition.
- I'm looking forward to hearing each one of you talk about these and other challenges facing Hong Kong today – and the solutions you are seeking to meet those challenges. Because it is only by learning from each other -- particularly in this time of both great uncertainty and possibility – that we will be able to ensure that no one is left behind as we move forward into the 21st century.
- I know that a number of you have studied at American universities. And I hope you agree that those kinds of experiences are invaluable to deepening the friendship and understanding between our two countries. Just a few days ago, in Shanghai, I was very pleased to announce the creation of five new exchange programs between American and Chinese women – sponsored by USIS -- which will bring 50 Chinese women leaders to the United States next year.
- Before we begin this morning's discussion – there is one more question that I hope we can explore today: and that is: what are the conditions here in Hong Kong that have enabled so many women to gain such prominent places of leadership? What makes you such powerful role models throughout Asia? What lessons can we draw from your experiences, so that more women across China – and around the world, can be empowered? There's such a wealth of knowledge in this room. Let's ~~start~~ sharing it.
- [The First Lady Opens up the discussion.]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. bio	re: Betty Tung [partial (1 page)	n.d.	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Christine Macy
OA/Box Number: 17205

FOLDER TITLE:

China 1998/ HRC Speeches/ Harper's Article

2013-0936-S

rc1340

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

Roundtable Participants

BETTY TUNG

Mrs. Tung is the wife of Chief Executive Tung of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) of the People's Republic of China. She was born and raised in Hong Kong. She attended Boston University's School of Nursing in 1955. She lived in New Jersey for over 12 years

(b)(6)

[002]

(b)(6) She has three children, at least two of whom are American citizens. Mrs. Tung is president of the Hong Kong Red Cross and the Hong Kong Community Chest. She has an interest in Japan and speaks Japanese. According to the Consulate, she is not likely to be an active participant in the discussion.

ANSON CHAN

Chan is Chief Secretary for Administration, HKSAR's second-highest ranking official ~~and~~ Hong Kong's top civil servant. She is the first ethnic Chinese and the first woman to oversee Hong Kong's civil service of approximately 200,000. She was a staunch supporter of Governor Chris Patten's democratic reforms and was, in fact, his publicly announced choice for Chief Executive. She is a popular, widely respected figure; Chief ~~Executive~~ Tung's 1996 decision to keep her on as Hong Kong's top civil servant boosted confidence in the reversion.

Chan joined the British civil service in 1962 at a time when discrimination against women was rampant. As she rose through the ranks she lobbied successfully for equal opportunities and benefits for ~~women~~ and, in the 1970s--as chair of the Association of Senior Female Government Officers--she persuaded the government to equalize fringe benefits for male and female workers.

She is a staunch supporter ~~and~~ Hong Kong's autonomy and spoke out earlier this year ~~when~~ ~~representations~~ were made in Beijing about the content of ~~broadcasts~~ on the public radio station, Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK). Chan argued forcefully that such comments were "inappropriate" and defended freedom of speech. She ~~has~~ also played a behind-the-scenes role on the Adaptation of Laws Bill, which exempts certain PRC entities from HKSAR law, arguing that exemptions be kept to a minimum. In general, Chan is a staunch supporter of rule of law, human rights, civil liberties and Hong Kong autonomy; ~~she~~ is, however, cautious about the rapid promotion of democracy. Some describe her as very comfortable "being a ~~man~~." She consistently leads Hong Kong approval polls, ahead of Martin Lee and C.H. Tung. Chan was born in ~~Shanghai~~ in 1940 and earned her B.A. in literature at the University of Hong Kong. Her father was a well-known Nationalist general and her mother is a noted artist and calligrapher.

CHRISTINE LOH (LOW)

Loh is the founder and leader of the Citizen's Party, a pro-democracy group with a strong environmental interest. Although the Citizen's Party is tiny (only 100 members), Loh is a very influential figure in Hong Kong. She was a member of the pre-reversion legislature, where she established herself as an effective advocate on behalf of democracy, the environment, and gay, minority, and women's rights. She headed a campaign to change laws in the New Territories that prevented women from inheriting property. Recently, she has focused on environmental issues, strongly opposing further filling in of the harbor. She has also pushed the U.S. to enter into a cooperative program to protect the Pearl River Delta. Loh is a strong advocate of civil education and argues that political parties in Hong Kong have to be strengthened. Loh studied law at the University of Hull in Britain and made a fortune as a commodity trader before she was thirty. She is a popular Hong Kong figure and is viewed as highly articulate and committed. She won a tight race for the Legislature on Hong Kong island in May. Loh will likely be a particularly lively participant in the roundtable discussion.

DENISE YUE (YEW)

Yue is a protégé of Anson Chan's and is considered by many to be her most likely successor. She is currently Secretary of the Treasury, a post she has held since April 1998. Previously, she was Secretary for Trade and Industry of Hong Kong from 1995 to 1998. She is known for her in-depth expertise on trade matters and her tough negotiating skills. She is considered a staunch defender of Hong Kong's autonomy, especially as an independent trade and financial center. According to reports, she repeatedly asks that other countries treat Hong Kong as a reliable and autonomous trade partner. She holds a B.A. from the University of Hong Kong and a M.A. in public administration from Harvard. She is a strong, highly articulate personality.

ANNA WU

Wu, a ~~lawyer~~, is head of the Hong Kong Consumer Council. ~~She was~~ an appointed member of the pre-reversion Legislative ~~Council~~ from 1992 to 1995. Wu is one of the prominent ~~rights~~ rights activists in Hong Kong. She has called for ~~the~~ establishment of an independent Human Rights Commission to ~~oversee~~ oversee the implementation of the Bill of Rights, ~~extending~~ extending the Convention of the Elimination of Discrimination ~~Against Women~~ Against Women to Hong Kong, and ending discrimination against homosexuals, minorities and women. Wu's tireless efforts to fight discriminatory practices contributed significantly to the establishment of the Equal Opportunities Commission in 1996. She is a graduate of the University of ~~Hong Kong~~ Hong Kong. She is married to Frank Ching, of the Far Eastern Economic Review. She will likely be among the ~~most likely~~ of the roundtable participants.

CHEUNG (Cheung) MAN-YEE

Cheung is the Director of Broadcasting, Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK). She is known for being tough and independent. When suggestions were made in Beijing to limit the scope of opinions voiced on RTHK and, essentially, turn it into a government mouthpiece, she fearlessly (and publicly) fought back. Since she became director of the radio station has been revolutionary. According to the Consulate, it is now "the NPR of Hong Kong." Controversial figures are regularly invited on the program. Cheung, by all accounts, is an animated and lively personality. She is a native Hong Konger and received her B.A. from the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

FANNY CHEUNG Mui-ching

Cheung is chair of the Equal Opportunities Commission. She is the former dean and professor of psychiatry at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. She received her B.A. from the University of California at Berkeley and her Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota. She is the vice-president of the New Life Psychiatric Rehabilitation Association and a member of the Queen Elizabeth Foundation for the Mentally Handicapped.

LENA CHI (CHEE) Hui-ling

Chi is the deputy law officer and newly ~~member~~ ~~head~~ of the Mutual Legal Assistance Unit of the Justice ~~Department~~. A barrister-at-law, Chi started her civil service ~~member~~ in October 1974 as student physiotherapist in the ~~Legal~~ Department. She was promoted to Crown Counsel in ~~1986~~ and Deputy Principal Crown Counsel in charge of the ~~Legislation~~ and Treaties Unit in August 1994. She is ~~considered~~ a strong personality and a brilliant lawyer.

Biographies of Proposed First Lady Roundtable Participants

* **Audrey Eu:** Eu was elected chairman of the Bar Association -- the professional group representing Hong Kong's barristers -- in January 1997. She pledged that the association would continue its stand for the rule of law through the reversion and beyond. Maintaining close working connections with pro-democracy lawyers both locally and abroad, Eu enjoys great respect in the legal profession for her meticulous judgment, open-mindedness and liberal outlook. She strongly criticized the government's decision to rush through the Provisional Legislature the controversial adaptation of laws bill, which exempts Chinese state organs from some Hong Kong laws, arguing that the move would seriously undermine both local confidence and the rule of law. Eu is in her second consecutive one-year term heading the Bar Association.

Rosanna Wong: Wong, 46, Housing Authority Chief, and member of the executive council, dynamic graduate of the University of California at Davis, rides herd on one of Hong Kong's largest departments and stands out amidst much pressure as a spokesman for the government's housing policy. Active supporter of many charities including Mother's Choice. Honored three times by the British government for her innovative policies and civic achievements. Long-time director of the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups.

SAFirstLadyEuWong bios
7/01/98 1730

* These I added at last minute.
May not appear.



07:54:05 PM

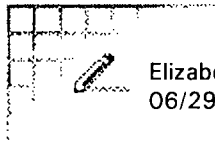
Record Type: Record

To: Christine N. Macy/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: 6-27-98 Press Availability with Presidents Clinton and Jiang

----- Forwarded by Michael A. O'Mary/OPD/EOP on 07/06/98 01:52 PM -----



Elizabeth R. Newman
06/29/98 03:16:25 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: 6-27-98 Press Availability with Presidents Clinton and Jiang

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Beijing, People's Republic of China)

For Immediate Release

June 27, 1998

PRESS AVAILABILITY BY PRESIDENT CLINTON
AND PRESIDENT JIANG

Western Hall of the Great Hall of the People
Beijing, People's Republic of China

12:05 P.M. (L)

PRESIDENT JIANG: Ladies and gentlemen, just now I've held official talks with President Clinton. The two sides have held an extensive and in-depth exchange of views on China-U.S. relations and the major international and regional issues. The talks were positive, constructive, and productive.

The successful exchange of visits between the two heads of state of China and the United States marks a new stage of growth

for China-U.S. relations. This not only serves the common interests of China and the United States, but also will be of important significance to promoting peace, stability, and prosperity in the Asia Pacific and the world at large.

Peace and the development are the main themes of contemporary times. In the new historical conditions, the common interests between China and the United States are increasing, not decreasing. The foundation for cooperation between the two countries is reenforcing, not weakening.

Both sides believe that China and the United States, as the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, should continue to work together to promote peace and security in the world and the Asia Pacific in particular, to ease and eliminate all kinds of tensions and to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, to strengthen the efforts in protecting the environment, combatting international crime, drug trafficking, and international terrorism. Our two sides have agreed to further step up cooperation and the dialogue between the two countries on major international issues.

China-U.S. relations are improving and growing. The cooperation between the two sides in many areas has made important progress. President Clinton and I have decided that China and the United States will not target the strategic nuclear weapons under their respective control at each other. This demonstrates to the entire world that China and the United States are partners, not adversaries.

I hereby wish to reiterate that since the very first day when China came into possession of nuclear weapons, China has undertaken not to be the first to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances.

President Clinton and I have reached a broad range of agreements and consensus on further increasing exchanges in cooperation between China and the United States in all areas in our bilateral relations. We have agreed to take positive steps to promote the growth of the mutually beneficial economic cooperation and trade between China and the United States and to expand the exchanges and the cooperation between the two countries in the energy, environment, scientific, educational, cultural, health, legal, and the military fields; and also to enhance the people-to-people exchanges and friendship.

We have also agreed to enhance the consultations and the cooperation between China and the United States on the issues of disarmament, arms control, and non-proliferation. And we have issued joint statements on the BWC protocol on the question of

the antipersonnel land mines and on the question of South Asia.

The Taiwan question is the most important and the most sensitive issue at the core of China-U.S. relations. We hope that the U.S. side will adhere to the principles set forth in the three China-U.S. joint communiques and the joint China-U.S. statement, as well as the relevant commitments it has made in the interest of a smooth growth of China-U.S. relations.

The improvement and the growth of China-U.S. relations have not come by easily. It is the result of the concerted efforts of the governments and people of our two countries. So we should all the more treasure this good result.

As China and the United States have different social systems, ideologies, values, and culture traditions, we have some difference of views on certain issues. However, they should not become the obstacles in the way of the growth of China-U.S. relations. The world is a colorful one. The development parts of the countries in the world should be chosen by the people of the countries concerned.

China and the United States should view and handle the bilateral relations from a long-term and strategic perspective. We should promote the growth of China-U.S. relations in the spirit of mutual respect, equality, mutual benefit, seeking common ground while putting aside differences, and developing cooperation. I believe that through the concerted efforts of both sides, we will make constant progress in the direction of building a constructive, strategic partnership between China and the United States oriented towards the 21st century.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Thank you, Mr. President. And I also thank the Chinese people for their warm welcome to me, to my family, and to our delegation.

Over the past five years, President Jiang and I have met seven times. Mr. President, your leadership is helping us to transform our nations' relationship for the future. Clearly, a stable, open, prosperous China, shouldering its responsibilities for a safer world is good for America. Nothing makes that point better than today's agreement not to target our nuclear missiles at each other. We also agreed to do more to shore up stability in Asia, on the Korean Peninsula, and the Indian subcontinent.

I reaffirmed our longstanding one China policy to President Jiang and urged the pursuit of cross-strait discussions recently resumed as the best path to a peaceful resolution. In a similar vein, I urged President Jiang to assume a dialogue with the Dalai Lama in return for the recognition that Tibet is a part of China

and in recognition of the unique cultural and religious heritage of that region.

I welcome the progress we made today in non-proliferation, including China's decision to actively study joining the Missile Technology Control Regime, our joint commitment not to provide assistance to ballistic missile programs in South Asia, and President Jiang's statement last week that China will not sell missiles to Iran.

We also welcome the steps China recently has taken to tighten nuclear export controls, to strengthen controls on the export of chemicals that can be turned into weapons, and to work jointly with us to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention.

As the President said, we are also working together against international crime, drug trafficking, alien smuggling, stepping up our scientific cooperation, which already has produced remarkable breakthroughs in areas including the fight against birth defects like spina bifida. We're helping to eradicate polio and working to predict and to mitigate natural disasters. And perhaps most important over the long run, we are committed to working together on clean energy to preserve our natural environment, a matter of urgent concern to both our nations.

I am also very pleased by our cooperation on rule of law programs, from training lawyers and judges to providing legal assistance to the poor.

President Jiang and I agree on the importance of China's entry into the World Trade Organization. I regret we did not make more progress on this front, and we must recommit ourselves to achieving that goal on strong terms. We agree that we need to work together to avoid another round of destabilizing currency devaluations in the region and to restore economic growth.

As you can see, we are working together in many areas of cooperation. We have developed a relationship of openness and candor. When we differ, as we do from time to time, we speak openly and honestly in an effort to understand our differences and, if possible, to work toward a common approach to resolving them.

It is well known that the principal area of our difference in recent years has been over human rights questions. America recognizes and applauds China's economic and social transformation, which has expanded the rights of its citizens by lifting hundreds of millions from poverty, providing them greater access to information, giving them village elections, greater freedom to travel and to choose their own jobs, and better education for their children.

As I said again to President Jiang, we Americans also firmly believe that individual rights, including the freedom of speech, association, and religion are very important, not only to those who exercise them, but also to nations whose success in the 21st century depends upon widespread individual knowledge, creativity, free exchange, and enterprise.

Therefore, we welcome China's decision to sign the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the recent release of several prominent political dissidents, the recent visit China graciously accorded American religious leaders, and the resumption of a human rights dialogue between China and the United States.

Earlier this morning, during my official welcome, I could hear and see the many echoes of China's past and the call of its promising future, for Tiananmen Square is an historical place. There, 100 years ago, China's quest for constitutional government was born. There, in 1919, young people rallied against foreign occupation and launched a powerful movement for China's political and cultural renewal. There, in 1976, public mourning for Zhou Enlai led to the Cultural Revolution's end and the beginning of your remarkable transformation. And there, nine years ago, Chinese citizens of all ages raised their voices for democracy.

For all of our agreements, we still disagree about the meaning of what happened then. I believe, and the American people believe, that the use of force and the tragic loss of life was wrong. I believe, and the American people believe, that freedom of speech, association, and religion are, as recognized by U.N. Charter, the right of people everywhere and should be protected by their governments.

It was to advance these rights that our Founding Fathers in our Declaration of Independence pledged our lives, our fortunes, our sacred honor. Fifty years ago, the U.N. recognized these rights as the basic freedoms of people everywhere.

The question for us now is how shall we deal with such disagreements and still succeed in the important work of deepening our friendship and our sense of mutual respect.

First, we Americans must acknowledge the painful moments in our own history when fundamental human rights were denied. We must say that we know, still, we have to continue our work to advance the dignity and freedom and equality of our own people. And, second, we must understand and respect the enormous challenges China has faced in trying to move forward against great odds with a clear memory of the setbacks suffered in past

periods of instability.

Finally, it is important that whatever our disagreements over past action, China and the United States must go forward on the right side of history for the future sake of the world. The forces of history have brought us to a new age of human possibility, but our dreams can only be recognized by nations whose citizens are both responsible and free.

Mr. President, that is the future America seeks to build with China, in partnership and honest friendship.

Tomorrow, Hillary and I will visit the Great Wall. The wall's builders knew they were building a permanent monument, even if they were unable to see it finished in their lifetimes. Likewise, we know we are building a friendship that will serve our descendants well, even if we, ourselves, will not see its full development across the next century and into the new millennium. Our friendship may never be perfect -- no friendship is. But I hope it will last forever.

PRESIDENT JIANG: Now President Clinton and I are prepared to answer your questions, and now I'd like to give the first question to President Clinton.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Which one -- Chinese journalists, one of you? In the back there, yes? Yes, go ahead.

Q: Thank you. I'm a correspondent with Phoenix TV of Hong Kong. In the recent Asian financial crisis, the Chinese government has pledged to maintain the value of RMB Asian currency and, thus, making positive contribution to stabilizing the situation in Asia. And this has attracted positive reaction from the international community and from the U.S. government. However, yesterday, the exchange rate between Japanese yen and the U.S. dollar dropped again to a low of 143 yen against one dollar, and which was closed at 141 yen against one dollar. So, what specific common measures are the Chinese and the U.S. government prepared to take to stabilize the financial situation in Asia and the world?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, let me agree with you. I think that China has shown great statesmanship and strength in making a strong contribution to the stability not only of the Chinese people and their economy, but the entire region, by maintaining the value of its currency.

The United States, as you know, has worked hard to try to support the stability of the Japanese yen and to help growth resume in Japan. I think that what we have agreed to do is to continue to do whatever we can to promote stability and to

support policies within Japan that will restore confidence in the economy, get investment going again, and get growth going.

The key here, I believe, is for the plans to reform the financial institutions in Japan and take other steps that will get growth going and get investments going in Japan to be made. I think that, ultimately, President Jiang and I would give anything to be able to just wave a wand and have all of this go away. We are not the only actors in this drama, and a lot of this must be done by the Japanese government and the Japanese people. We can be supportive, but they have to make the right decisions.

Q: My question to President Jiang and also to President Clinton is, we know that there were four dissidents in Xian who were arrested earlier and three were released, and one of them is still under detainment. And I would like to know if you talked about the issue. And what about the rest of the 2,000 dissidents who are being reported as still under imprisonment right now in China? Can both of you elaborate on that? Thank you.

PRESIDENT JIANG: In our talks just now, President Clinton raised this issue. We adopt an attitude of extending very warm welcome to the visit to China by President Clinton.

As for the matter you raised, I think you are referring to the incident in Xian, and I think in China there is no question that there is no restriction whatsoever on the coverage and interview by the reporters and the correspondents within the scope of law. But as for some activities that have been detrimental or have prejudiced the security, then the local authorities should take measures to deal with them, and it is also understandable.

As for the question you raised, actually, I do not have very detailed information in this regard. But as for the latter part of your question concerning 2,000 dissidents, I think in China we have our laws. And in China's constitution, it is clearly stipulated that the Chinese citizens have the freedom of speech, but any law-breaking activities must be dealt with according to law. I think this is true in any country of rule of law. And I think China's judicial departments will deal with the matter according to law.

Q: I want to ask that I believe that the vast majority of the correspondents and the reporters are willing to promote the friendship between China and the United States through President Clinton's visit to China this time. However, before President Clinton's visit, I read some reports from some media and newspapers saying -- alleging China had been involved in

so-called political contributions in the United States. I really think it very absurd and ridiculous, and I think they are sheer fabrications. China can never do such a thing and China never interferes in other country's internal affairs.

PRESIDENT JIANG: Actually, at the talks this morning, President Clinton also asked me of this question. And I told him that after hearing of such an allegation we conducted very earnest investigation into the matter. And the results of the investigation shows that there was never such a thing.

Recently, in my meetings with many foreign visitors and visiting leaders of other countries, I often said to them that as countries in the world have different social systems and values, it is something that should be allowed that they may have different understandings about one fact. And this actually, itself, is a representation and the manifestation of democracy.

However, what is important is that the fact itself should not be distorted.

I'm sorry I've taken up too much of the time, and I now invite President Clinton to say a few words.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Well, we did discuss the questions you raised. And, of course, I made my views known about the recent detentions yesterday. On the larger question you raised, I actually made a couple of specific and practical suggestions about how we might take our dialogue farther there.

There are some people who are incarcerated now for offensives no longer on the books in China, reflecting real progress in present Chinese practice, and the Chinese, in my view -- we should acknowledge that. But the question then arises is there some way that these people might be released? Is there some procedure through which we could move? There are some people imprisoned for non-violent activities in June of '89. Is there something that could be done there?

There are some other practical things we discussed, which I think it would be premature to ask the Chinese government to make a statement on now because we just have had these discussions. But I want to say to all of you that the atmosphere -- whatever your position on these issues is, and particularly if you agree with me, I think you should at least appreciate the fact that we now have an atmosphere in which it is possible for us to be open and honest and in great detail about this; and that there are legitimate and honest differences in the way we look at this. But I believe that we are making progress, and I believe that we will make more.

I remember the things that I specified in my statement about that. You can see that neither one of us are shy about being strong about how we believe about this. And I think that we have them in the public debate now, we have them in the private discussions, and we just have to keep pushing forward in trying to work through it.

Q: President Jiang spoke of China's position against the first use of nuclear weapons and the policy of the United States does not agree. Was this discussed in the context of negotiations on the detargeting agreement? And what are the U.S. concessions in order to obtain the detargeting agreement?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Well, the short answer to your question and the accurate one is, no, but I don't want it to be a misleading answer. That is, you well understand that our position on that issue is a product of decades of experience in a former time. We have not changed our position, nor are we prepared to do so on that.

But this was a mutual decision we made because we both felt that, number one, if we detargeted, we would completely eliminate the prospect ever of any kind of accidental launch; and, number two, we would take one more step in showing mutual confidence and trust in one another; and, number three, it would be a helpful signal as a counterweight to the recent nuclear tests in India and Pakistan. And so we agreed that it was in both our interests to do this on its own terms.

PRESIDENT JIANG: I would like to make a brief explanation. As I stated just now, President Clinton and I decided that China and the United States would not target the strategic nuclear weapons under their respective control at each other. Full stop -- that's a full stop. And then this demonstrates to the entire world that China and the United States are partners, not adversaries. Full stop again. (Laughter.) And then I said, I hereby reiterate that since the very first day that China came into possession of nuclear weapons, China has undertaken not to be the first to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances. Full stop. That's my view. That's our view.

Q: My question is to President Jiang. At his opening statement, President Clinton expressed appreciation of the achievements made by the Chinese government in respecting human rights. At the same time, he also said that China and the United States also had difference of views over this matter. So my question is, what is the position of the Chinese government on the human rights issue?

PRESIDENT JIANG: China and the United States have differences of views and also have common ground on the human rights issue. More than 2,000 years ago, a great thinker of China's Han Dynasty, Dong Zhongshu, once said, "Of all the living things nurtured between heaven and the Earth, the most valuable is human beings." So the Chinese nation always respects and maintains the dignity and rights of the people. Today the Chinese government solemnly commits itself to the promotion and the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The United States is the most developed country in the world, with a per capita GDP approaching \$30,000 U.S. dollars, while China is a developing country with a population of 1.2 billion, with a per capita GDP of less than \$700 U.S. dollars. As the two countries differ in social system, ideology, historical tradition and cultural background, the two countries have different means and ways in realizing human rights and fundamental freedoms. So it's nothing strange that we may have some difference of views over some issues.

China stresses that the top priority should be given to the right to subsistence and the right to development. Meanwhile, efforts should be made to strengthen democracy and the legal system building, and to protect the economic, social, cultural, civil and the political rights of the people.

I listened very carefully to what President Clinton said just now, and I noticed that he made mention of the political disturbances happened in Tiananmen in 1989 and he also told the history of Tiananmen and told of the things that happened in Tiananmen.

With regard to the political disturbances in 1989, the Chinese people have long drawn a historical conclusion. During my visit to the United States last year and also on many international occasions, I have stated our position that with regard to the political disturbances in 1989, had the Chinese government not taken the resolute measures, then we could not have enjoyed the stability that we are enjoying today.

China is a socialist country in which its people are masters of the nation. The Chinese people can elect their own representatives to the people's congresses through direct or indirect means, and they can fully express their views and exercise their political rights. In the two decades since the reform and opening up program was started, the National People's Congress of China has adopted more than 320 laws and acts; thus, constantly strengthening the legal protection of the democracy, fundamental freedoms, and the various rights enjoyed by the Chinese people. Over the past two decades, another 200 million

people in China were lifted out of poverty.

No country's human rights situation is perfect. Since the founding of new China, the fundamental changes and the tremendous achievements that have been achieved, that have been scored in the human rights conditions in China are for all to see.

I'd like to know whether President Clinton will have anything more to add.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I would like to add a comment. First of all, I think this debate and discussion today has been a healthy thing and a good thing. Secondly, I think to understand the priority that each country attaches to its own interpretation of this issue of human rights, you have to understand something of our history.

The Chinese who are here understand better than I the price paid over time at various moments in history for disruption and upheaval in China, so there is an understandable desire to have stability in the country. Every country wants stability.

Our country was founded by people who felt they were abused by royal powers -- by people in power, and they wanted to protect their personal liberties by putting limits on government. And they understood -- they understood clearly -- that any system, because human beings are imperfect, any system can be abused.

So the question for all societies going forward into the 21st century is, which is the better gamble? If you have a lot of personal freedom, some people may abuse it. But if you are so afraid of personal freedom because of the abuse that you limit people's freedom too much, then you pay, I believe, an even greater price in a world where the whole economy is based on ideas and information and exchange and debate, and children everywhere dreaming dreams and feeling they can live their dreams out.

So I am trying to have a dialogue here that will enable both of us to move forward so that the Chinese people will get the best possible result. I believe stability in the 21st century will require high levels of freedom.

PRESIDENT JIANG: I'm sorry, I have to take up an additional five minutes. (Laughter.) So I'd like to say a few words on Dalai Lama. President Clinton is also interested in this question, in Dalai Lama. Actually, since the Dalai Lama left in 1959, earthshaking changes have taken place in Tibet.

First, the system of bureaucracy has forever become bygone.

Though it is unfortunate that the disappearance of this bureaucracy was much later than the demise of bureaucracy in Europe before Renaissance. And the more than one million serfs under the rule of the Dalai Lama were liberated. In 1990 when I was in Tibet I went to visit the liberated serfs. And now the system of national autonomy is in practice in Tibet and the people there, they have their Tibetan autonomous region government.

Since I came to work in the central government I have urged the rest of the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions to assist Tibet in its development -- even including those provinces that are not very developed, such as Qinghai Province. So altogether, nearly 8 billion RMB-yuan financial resources were raised and already 62 projects have been completed in Tibet.

As for the freedom of religious belief, there is fierce* stipulations in our constitution for the protection of religious belief and this also includes in Tibet. And we have also spent a lot of money in renovating the lamasis and temples in Tibet. And we have spent \$100 million RMB-yuan and one ton of gold in renovating the Budala Palace.

Just now President Clinton also mentioned the Tibetan issue and the dialogue with the Dalai Lama. Actually, as long as the Dalai Lama can publicly make the statement and a commitment that Tibet is an inalienable part of China and he must also recognize Taiwan as a province of China, then the door to dialogue and negotiation is open. Actually, we are having several channels of communications with the Dalai Lama. So I hope the Dalai Lama will make positive response in this regard.

Finally, I want to emphasize that according to China's constitution, the freedom of religious belief in Tibet, and also throughout China, is protected. But as the President of the People's Republic of China and as a communist member, a member of the communist party, I myself am an atheist. But this will by no means affect my respect for the religious freedom in Tibet.

But still, I have a question. That is, during my visit to the United States last year, and also during my previous visits to other European countries, I found that although the education in science and technology have developed to a very high level, and people are now enjoying modern civilization, but still quite a number of them have a belief in Lamaism. So this is a question that I'm still studying and still looking into. I want to find out the reason why.

I think President Clinton is a strong defender of the

American interests and I am a strong defender of the Chinese interests. But despite that, we still can have very friendly exchanges of views and discussions. And I think that is democracy. And I want to stress that, actually, there are a lot of areas in which we can learn from each other.

If you agree, we will finish this. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: I agree, but I have -- you have to let me say one thing about the Dalai Lama. (Laughter.)

First, I agree that Tibet is a part of China, an autonomous region of China. And I can understand why the acknowledgement of that would be a precondition of dialogue with the Dalai Lama. But I also believe that there are many, many Tibetans who still revere the Dalai Lama and view him as their spiritual leader.

President Jiang pointed out that he has a few followers of Tibetan Buddhism, even in the United States and Europe. But most of his followers have not given up their own religious faith. He has followers who are Christians -- supporters -- excuse me -- not followers, supporters -- who are Christians, who are Jews, who are Muslims, who believe in the unity of God and who believe he is a holy man.

But, for us, the question is not fundamentally religious; it is political. That is, we believe that other people should have the right to fully practice their religious beliefs, and that if he, in good faith, presents himself on those terms, it is a legitimate thing for China to engage him in dialogue.

And let me say something that will perhaps be unpopular with everyone. I have spent time with the Dalai Lama. I believe him to be an honest man, and I believe if he had a conversation with President Jiang, they would like each other very much. (Laughter and applause.)

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

1:15 P.M. (L)

Message Sent To: _____

Key Points
First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Shanghai Women's Education and Training Center
June 30, 1998

- The government has launched a major drive to re-structure China's state-owned enterprises. Approximately 70% of the country's more than 100,000 government-owned companies lose money and losses are growing steadily.
- Women have borne the brunt of this restructuring, in part because they often work in peripheral services at the state-owned enterprises as cafeteria workers or janitorial staff.
- The unemployment rates for women will continue to grow over the next few years. It is estimated that 20 million additional workers will be laid-off by the year 2000.
- Shanghai is at the forefront of Chinese efforts to retrain female workers laid off as a result of the economic reforms.
- In Shanghai, where the textile industry was cut sharply, the Municipal Labor Bureau reported that as of the end of 1996 58% of laid-off workers were women.
- Older women were hardest hit--69% of laid-off workers were between the ages of 35 and 45.
- There is blatant discrimination against women on the basis of age and appearance. This discrimination is open--job ads often note age and appearance requirements.
- The Shanghai Women's Education and Training Center was established in 1993. It quickly realized that women's

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

lack of self-esteem was as much a barrier to reemployment as lack of education.

- The Women's Hotline at the Center was set-up in recognition of the serious depression and sense of helplessness that overwhelms women when they lose their jobs. It was the first hotline in China.
- The Center's focus on the psychological component of joblessness is reflected in its emphasis on "four strengthenings" -- strengthening self-respect, self-reliance, self-empowerment, and self-confidence.
- Since 1993, the school has trained 5000 women, 3000 of whom were laid off workers. The school has a success rate of 75% in placing graduates. Job placement is done by inviting companies to come to the school to interview prospective employees in an event similar to a job fair.

For Women's Law Center Remarks:

Paragraph 3: Omit last sentence and perhaps add the following:

It is not enough that rights exist on paper. To be meaningful those rights must be implemented in the real world. And they must be implemented equally.

Paragraph 4--9: Need better transition. Substitute the following paragraphs for your paragraphs 4-9.

We do not live up to those ideals perfectly in the United States, but we work hard to try to achieve them. For us, the rule of law is an article of faith. And our experience teaches that a strong legal system benefits all. It protects ordinary citizens by enabling them to enforce their rights; it assures government accountability by insisting that "no person is above the law"; it encourages investment and growth by providing predictable rules of the game; it promotes stability by giving people a stake in the system; and it strengthens the fight against crime.

We in the United States are aware of the efforts of China to strengthen your legal system and to better promote the rule of law. We believe that this is one of the most important developments in China today, and we want to do what we can to support these developments and to enhance our understanding of them. That is why President Clinton and President Jiang agreed Saturday to launch a broad range of cooperative projects in the legal field:

We will be expanding cooperation on legal education, which determines the future character of any legal profession. We will be expanding judicial exchanges and initiating judicial training seminars, to enhance the professionalism of the judiciary. We will translate important important American law books and articles from English to Chinese.

We will hold an important Symposium on the Legal Protection of Human Rights in November, addressing issues including international human rights covenants, criminal law rights, and the legal protection of religious freedom, among others.

We will undertake cooperative efforts on administrative law, which governs the way bureaucracies deal with ordinary citizens and businesses. We will cooperate in the training of arbitrators. We will undertake exchanges, seminars and symposia

on various aspects of commercial law and commercial regulation, since both countries recognize that providing predictable rules of the game and prudent legal regulatory policies in the commercial field is vitally important to promote steady economic growth and investment.

And most relevant to the work of your wonderful Center, we have agreed to undertake cooperative activities concerning legal aid for the poor, beginning with a wide-ranging Symposium in Beijing later this year.

And these are only our initial projects. So you see this is a very broad and important new initiative between the U.S. and China. And I should add that in all of these projects, **non-**governmental entities on the U.S. side will be very actively involved, bringing their expertise and enthusiasm to all the efforts on our side. For example, the American Bar Association, the main professional organization of lawyers in our country and completely independent of our government, will undertake an extensive program of legal cooperation with Chinese entities.

I hope that these projects will have a positive ... [pick up with our paragraph 10, leaving out the phrase "some of" in the first line]

S Concluding Remarks at First Lady's Beida Legal Event

Thank you so much, Professor Zhu and Professor Guo, Center staff [and clients], and Beijing University, for hosting this very interesting discussion.

It has highlighted two things: the strides that Chinese society is making in turning the rule of law from promise to reality; and the determination of Chinese citizens like you to gain for everyone the fullest protection under law.

The work of this Center is innovative and courageous. The programs you have launched benefit women, the poor and disadvantaged throughout China by making the protections and benefits of law more widely available. [I am sure that American organizations with similar aims could learn from you -- and I hope they will have the opportunity to do just that.]

Your efforts spotlight exactly we mean when we talk about the rule of law. It applies to citizens, and protects them; it applies to businesses, and encourages investment and growth; and it applies to government, and gives legitimacy and authority to law enforcement.

The United States wants to do what we can to encourage both China's citizens and its government to continue progress on these issues. That is why President Clinton and President Jiang agreed Saturday to begin a number of specific projects on key legal subjects:

-- We are expanding cooperation on legal education, to include the training of lawyers and judges; developing legal teaching materials; holding meetings between deans of American and Chinese law schools, and a visit to China by U.S. Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy. Also, the professional organization of lawyers in our country, the non-governmental American Bar Association, will develop a major program with Chinese associations.

-- We will hold conferences in the next twelve months on the protection of human rights in law; on administrative law; and on legal aid to the poor, inspired by the work of centers like yours. In all those areas, we hope those meetings will spark further cooperation, and further progress.

-- And we will be working closely together on issues of commercial law -- commercial disputes, securities regulation,

Not enough that
right with
the people
must
any good
legal system
must seek to
know that
imperfect &
that right
is unclear
& all.

- later
hand

electronic commerce. Just as the work you do here protects the rights of vulnerable individuals, ~~(a strong and fair commercial code protects the rights of vulnerable businesses)~~ whether small entrepreneurs or foreign corporations.

I hope that ~~some of~~ these projects will have a positive impact on your work, as well as the cause of legal reform throughout China. And I am certain that, when the history of legal reform in China is written, this Center and its founders will have earned a place in it -- and the gratitude of millions of Chinese people whose rights you defend.

I congratulate you again for the path-breaking work you are doing. And now let me turn to the First Lady -- one of America's leading lawyers and advocates -- for the last word.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Address at the Shanghai Library
Shanghai, China
July 1, 1998

It's a great pleasure to be in Shanghai, the gateway to China, the vibrant center of China's economic transformation, and the wellspring of great intellectual, political, and creative leadership. I am also pleased to be speaking here--at the Shanghai library--which my husband and I visited yesterday. I understand it is one of the largest municipal libraries in the world; with vast resources--from ancient Chinese texts to the latest CD-Roms--that embrace both the past and the future of this great nation.

My husband and I have only been in China a few days--yet in that short time, we've glimpsed both China's rich history and promising future. We've visited some of your ancient sites-- from the Terra Cotta warriors to the steps of the Great Wall. And marveled at Shanghai's ultramodern architecture. But we understand that this country's greatest treasures are its people - men and women like yourselves, who are seizing the opportunities for progress, and helping to transform your society for the better.

When I first came to China three years ago, I had the privilege of participating, as did many of you, in the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. It was an extraordinary gathering of women from 189 nations--women of different colors, different cultures, and different faiths; from small villages and urban centers--who had come together from every corner of the globe to discuss our common concerns and our common future. At the conference and the forum of nongovernmental organizations in Hairou, I listened to women giving voice to the

voiceless; strength to the powerless; hope to those marginalized.

While we spoke different languages, and came from different places, we shared a universal belief: that women's rights are human rights and that human rights are women's rights.

What the Beijing conference made undeniably clear, and what we all know from experience and history, is that development and progress depend on women having equal access to life's basic tools of opportunity: health care; education; credit; jobs; legally enforceable rights; and full participation in the political, social and economic life of our countries.

The Beijing Platform for Action provided a framework and the impetus for governments to make these tools of opportunity and rights available to women. And the extraordinary potential and energy of women unleashed at that conference has begun to transform lives and societies. Governments are being held to their commitments, and grassroots action is igniting reform in every corner of the globe.

I have seen the changes occurring first hand, from Senegal to South Africa, from America to Australia, and from Chile to China.

During the time I've been in China, I've had the privilege to meet women and men who are working together to ensure that women are not left behind in the 21st century. I have heard the vital voices of your girls and women, and seen the flowering of independent organizations committed to transforming rhetoric into action to achieve tangible results toward the empowerment of women across your country.

Last Saturday in Beijing, I participated in a spirited, lively and informative discussion with women leaders about the challenges and opportunities facing women in China. Although there were only eight of us sitting around the table, I felt as though I were hearing the voices of millions of Chinese women committed to improving their lives.

I listened to the publisher of a magazine for rural women speak of improving conditions for poor rural women through expanded economic opportunities. She told the story of a disabled woman who was made to feel like a burden to her husband. But, through a micro credit program, she got a small loan and set up her own bean curd shop. As she began to make money, the relationship with her husband improved. And she also gained self-confidence, and earned a position of respect in her village.

University professors talked about new efforts to educate women, and change traditional attitudes about women and girls. Participants told me about programs aimed at keeping girls in school, and convincing dropouts to return to school. They showed me illustrated pamphlets used to inform women and girls about their political and legal rights.

On Monday, I met with women lawyers and professors running the Center for Women's Law Studies and Legal Services at Beijing University, which offers free legal counseling to women; arbitrates, mediates, and litigates significant cases with wider legal implications for society; and recommends changes in policies that affect women.

One of the Center's clients told me she had wanted to leave her abusive husband--but didn't know what her legal rights were. She sought the help of the Center, and finally obtained a divorce and an

award for child support. But she and her daughter are still living with her ex-husband, because her apartment was assigned to him by his work unit, and she is unable to get housing on her own. The Center is pursuing ways for her to obtain housing, and collect the support to which she is entitled.

Another client explained how she and the women she worked with in a factory were denied their pay, and are suing the factory's manager for their back wages--which he still refuses to pay.

These stories and many others, underscored for me that while laws protecting women's rights in China, as in many other countries, are often quite comprehensive on paper, they are frequently not enforced. Throughout the world, I hear the same complaint--without the rule of law, which includes open access to the legal system and judicial orders that individuals can enforce, laws can be a cruel hoax on women. But based on what I have I have learned here, steps toward better implementation are being made in China. When I asked for a show of hands at the Center of those in the audience who were studying to become lawyers--all the hands that shot up were young women's. The extraordinary growth in the number of lawyers in China--including women lawyers--will further strengthen the rule of law that is necessary for expanding and enforcing women's rights.

And yesterday here in the Library, my husband and I talked with more people in Shanghai who are defining China's future. I also visited a retraining center where women, who have lost their jobs because of China's economic reforms, are learning new skills to prepare themselves for a more competitive job market. I was struck by how supportive they were of each other in the face of daunting challenges. I especially noticed the emphasis that the teachers

placed on changing a woman's attitude about herself, so that in addition to skills, she could work for "self respect, self confidence, self reliance, and self improvement."

And I visited a beautiful new children's medical center, with state of the art technology--and met with the bright, articulate students at the Shanghai Number 3 Girls School: two snapshots of the new China.

My experiences here in China this past week have convinced me how important personal exchanges are between our two countries. So it is with great pleasure that today I am announcing five new China/America exchange programs that will bring Chinese women to the United States next year to share ideas and experiences with their American counterparts. These exchanges, sponsored by USIS, will embrace Chinese and American women leaders at all levels of society, including lawyers, business representatives, local government officials, and youth leaders. And I know they will deepen the understanding and ties of friendship that continue to grow between our two countries.

They will also enable American and Chinese women like us, with education and position, to learn from each other about how we can continue to work toward social change that benefits all women.

One of the great privileges of my position is to travel on behalf of my country. Wherever I go, I speak with women and girls. I find that no matter what nation we live in, we face the same challenges, and dream the same dreams. We all hope for the day when no woman is a victim of domestic abuse and other forms of violence. When no woman is the victim of economic discrimination. When no woman is denied the basic rights of health care and education.

Yet we know, even as we enter this new millennium--with all of its possibilities for humankind--that too many women around the world remain on the outskirts of opportunity, and their daughters remain undervalued in their societies.

For as much as progress is being made on women's behalf-- here in China and around the world--deeply imbedded barriers remain. Because for every woman who needs more information, we know there are not enough books, let alone Internet access; for every woman who needs her legal rights protected, we know there are not enough legal clinics. For every woman who seeks an education, there are not enough families who are able or willing to pay the fees; and for every girl who today dreams of a world of unlimited possibilities, there remain yesterday's attitudes that hold her back.

As some of you may know, I am particularly lucky on this trip to have not only my daughter but my mother with me. We have, as the saying goes, "three generations under one roof." And I think about how many changes the three of us have experienced in our lifetimes. My mother was born before women had gained the right to vote in the United States. And 30 years ago, when I entered law school, there were very few women sitting beside me in the lecture halls. Today, women in those law classes are in the majority. And already in her life, my daughter has greater freedoms and opportunities and choices than I could ever have imagined at her age.

We all must work harder to ensure that all girls have the ability and right to make their own choices. That starts with valuing and respecting our daughters in our hearts and in our homes--so that they develop the strength and confidence to move forward--for

themselves, their families and their countries.

Since I've been here, I have heard the expression "Women hold up half the sky." And I've seen firsthand the enormous reservoirs of talent, and the boundless potential that exist within the women of China to shoulder this burden.

This is also an image that applies to women everywhere. In my own country, for example, many women feel they are holding up more than half the sky, as they struggle to balance family and work demands, with little help from government or business with their child care needs. So each of us in our different social and economic settings, should ask ourselves what needs to be done to equip and support women to hold up their half of the sky. Some answers seem obvious to me:

Women can't hold up half the sky--if as girls they are not loved and valued by their parents, and given the same opportunities as their brothers to fulfill their potential;

Women can't hold up half the sky--if they make up the vast majority of those who can't read or write;

Women can't hold up half the sky--if girls are still pulled out of school early, and robbed of the education that they need to thrive in the 21st century;

Women can't hold up half the sky--if they are denied the jobs, loans and credit they need to lift themselves and their families up from poverty;

Women can't hold up half the sky--if they are deprived of basic legal rights and services;

Women can't hold up half the sky--if they are victims of violence and abuse in their own homes, or are kidnapped or sold into marriage;

Women can't hold up half the sky - if they are denied the freedom to plan their own families.

Women can only hold up half the sky when their feet are planted firmly on the soil of freedom and equal justice.

The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights-- adopted 50 years ago by my country and yours--states "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity= and rights." The Platform for Action adopted by the UN Conference in Beijing three years ago lays out a powerful agenda for the empowerment of women based on those principles of universal rights. Economic reforms here have lifted millions of Chinese out of poverty--an extraordinary accomplishment. But economic and social progress must go hand in hand with the strengthening of other freedoms. The yearning to be treated with dignity, to be able to choose one's own religion, to speak freely, to participate fully in the life of one's community -- knows no national boundary, but is deeply rooted in the human spirit.

All of you here today are playing a role in the great transformation of China we can see all around us. Based on my own experience in America, I am aware of how hard progress can be, and how sometimes it feels that you take two steps forward - and one step back.

One hundred and fifty years ago this month, at Seneca Falls, New York, a small band of women and a few men adopted a declaration of sentiments that called for women's equal rights. We have made tremendous progress since then, but the work is never finished. For every law the United States passed - from voting rights to equal pay for equal work - we have had to work hard not only to enforce it, but also to change the underlying social and cultural attitudes that undermine its meaning. (As late as the 1980s, I met women in America who said they did not vote in elections because their husbands did.)

Almost eighty years ago, in 1919, the voices of the young Chinese intellectuals of the May 4th movement argued passionately that women must gain social, economic and political equality if China was to survive and prosper in the 20th century. That message is even more compelling in 1998, ~~as~~ China enters the 21st century. As we stand at the brink of a new century, no country will be successful in the years ahead if it leaves half its population behind.

No country can reach its full potential until all of its citizens - men and women; boys and girls -- have the freedom and the resources to reach theirs.

Only when we create a world where every citizen enjoys fundamental freedoms and every child is valued and given equal opportunities - then, and only then, will we be able to say with honesty: yes, women hold up half the sky.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
ARTICLE FOR HARPER'S BAZAAR
JULY 1998

There's an expression in China that "women hold up half the sky." I thought of that powerful image over and over again, as I accompanied the President on his historic trip to China a few months ago, and met with women from all walks of life, struggling to improve their lives and expand their freedoms. Their achievements -- some of which astonish even the women themselves -- are helping to shape that country's future, as it undergoes perhaps the greatest period of change in its history.

One of the women I met in China was Xie Lihua. She's in her forties now -- but as a teenager she was a passionate young revolutionary, and a member of her local Red Guard committee. Today, she's turned her energies to helping some of China's poorest women lift themselves and their families out of poverty. When banks refused to offer some of these women credit -- Xie began to provide these loans herself, and to offer advice on how women could begin their own businesses. In explaining how micro-credit is helping to transform the lives of rural women, she says: "If I give you an apple, you will eat it once. If I give you a seed, you can grow your own tree."

Xie told me about how her micro-credit program helped a disabled woman in a small rural village to open her own bean curd shop. Her husband had always viewed her as a burden, but with the money she earned with her new businesses, she was able to help him with expenses for their small farm -- gaining respect not only within her own family but throughout the village.

These were the kinds of stories of hope and struggle that I heard over and over again in China, as I joined my husband on this important trip. The President came to China to strengthen the ties between our two nations, and to make progress on critical issues like non proliferation of missiles and human rights. As he said throughout the trip, in order make progress on these and other challenges facing the world in the 21st Century, "our two nations will be far better off working together than apart." We also wanted to see for ourselves the dramatic changes that were sweeping this vast country, and to help the Chinese people learn more about who we were, and our hopes for a more peaceful and democratic future. While I accompanied the President on many official and informal occasions, I also had my own schedule of events and meetings. And nowhere did I learn more about the challenges and the possibilities facing China today than in my conversations with Chinese women.

One of the most pleasurable parts of the trip for me was having the delightful company of both my mother and my daughter, Chelsea. There's a Chinese expression about the value of having "three generations under one roof," and the fact that I was able to share some of these experiences with the two of them made this an especially meaningful trip for me. Within our lifetimes, the three of us have witnessed such dramatic changes in our own country -- particularly in the area of expanded women's rights. So I loved having the opportunity to hear their impressions of China, as it begins to open up new opportunities to its citizens -- including women.

I had first come to China three years ago, as honorary chair of the US delegation to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. And I remember how impressed I was to look out at this extraordinary gathering of women of different races, cultures, and beliefs who had come together from every corner of the globe to discuss common concerns, and a common future. As I spoke with the women at that conference and at another forum of non-governmental organizations in Huairou, it became clear that the progress and prosperity of a country depends on women having equal access to life's basic tools of opportunity -- like health care, education, credit, and jobs. And that no nation can move forward until women are able to fully participate in the political, social and economic life of their countries. In my address in Beijing, I 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."

Everywhere I went in China, I heard echoes of that Conference, as I met women from all walks of life determined to improve the lives of women and their families, and expand the circle of human dignity. I met Xie at a forum of Chinese women leaders in Beijing, organized by the All China Women's Federation, what we would call the government's women's bureau. It was an experience I will never forget. We'd been told that this kind of open dialogue among women "had never been done" before -- and we were concerned that the women who came might feel intimidated, and wouldn't speak out. How wrong we were. I don't think I have ever met advocates more excited about the progress that women are making -- or more vocal about the hard work that remains to be done to ensure women's basic human rights.

From these courageous women, I learned about the high rate of illiteracy among women in China -- particularly those living in rural areas. Many can't even write their names. Xie and others now publish a magazine called "Rural Women Knowing All" -- which is designed specifically to reach those who can't read. It uses colorful pictures to inform women about jobs, health care services, and basic legal rights. A university professor told me about other programs aimed at keeping girls in school, and convincing those who had dropped out to return to class.

I also learned at that forum -- much to my surprise -- that "Our Bodies, Ourselves" -- one of the most popular health advice books ever written in America -- had just been translated and published in China. That such fundamental information about women's health had been so scarce up until now underscored how far China still needs to go in educating its citizens -- particularly its women. But the fact that such a book is now available is also a sign of progress.

No matter where I went, women spoke to me about the importance of ensuring women and girls had greater educational opportunities. China is a country that has traditionally placed great importance on education, and it has set as its goal to eliminate illiteracy among young people by the year 2000. Yet even as educational reforms are helping to meet the more competitive times -- girls are dropping out of school at an alarming rate. Many parents, feeling the pressure of tough economic times, are taking their children -- and especially their daughters -- out of school to work in factories or on the farms.

But the high drop out rate reflects another, more subtle reality in China: that girls and women have been traditionally less valued in this society -- their education less a priority. This is

a society that still practices infanticide of girl babies and forced abortions -- although government policy prohibits such acts. And there is reportedly an alarming rise in the incidence of girls and women being sold into marriage -- explained in part by the fact that there are far fewer women than men in some rural areas. The situation has spurred the government's All China Women's Federation to launch a campaign entitled: "Girls are Just as Valuable as Boys."

So I was particularly pleased to visit an all girl's school in Shanghai -- which had a rigorous curriculum, and clearly challenged these future leaders to work hard at their studies. These smart young women asked me all kinds of questions -- from whether I had mastered the skill of eating with chop sticks [barely] to whether I would ever run for president [No]. One student got up and said her mother had just read my book, "It Takes A Village" -- and wanted to know what I thought were the most important lessons a mother could teach her daughter. And once again, I was reminded that no matter what country we live in, or what language we speak, we are bound together by our fierce determination to create for our children a better world.

These young women attending Shanghai School #3 are growing up in a country undergoing a profound transition, as the country moves from a tightly controlled system toward a free market economy, and as Chinese citizens gain a level of personal freedom unimaginable even a few years ago. Today, citizens enjoy far greater flexibility to travel within and outside of China, to buy their own homes, to choose a job, or attend a better school.

The President and I saw some of these changes firsthand on the first stop of our trip. We were welcomed to Xi-An, China's ancient capital, in an exquisitely beautiful ceremony at the historic fort on the outskirts of the city. The next day, we had the pleasure of exploring an excavation site where 2,000 years ago, thousands of life-sized Terra Cotta warriors had been buried with China's first emperor. But we saw another kind of history being made when we visited the village of Xiahe -- just a few miles away. It's one of the half million villages around China which will elect its own leaders this year. This is the first tentative step -- but a critical one -- towards creating a more open, pluralistic society. Here, in this poor dusty village, I saw the future of China -- in the spirited elementary school students whom we met, and in the eyes of their parents -- who for the first time in their lives will freely cast a ballot for their local leaders.

The economic changes taking place in China are profound as well. Since 1978, China has experienced perhaps the fastest rate of economic growth in human history. Millions of Chinese citizens have risen out of poverty, an extraordinary accomplishment. Yet others -- particularly uneducated women -- have been left behind.

One reason for these disparities is that while the Chinese economy has been growing -- the government's closing of inefficient and money losing state enterprises has pushed up the unemployment -- in some cases dramatically. All too often, women are bearing the brunt. Women are more likely to lose their jobs and their benefits, and less likely to benefit from retraining programs.

In Shanghai, I climbed up four flights of stairs to visit a women's job-retraining center -- established to address this growing problem. There, I watched women learning new trades such

as tailoring and flower arranging. This is also the site of China's first women's hot line, where volunteers field questions ranging from how to find a job to what to do to control unruly children to how to get out of an abusive marriage. I was impressed with how these women were reaching out to each other in these difficult times -- and how their questions mirrored concerns of women and mothers the world over.

One of the biggest surprises on the trip was discovering the extent to which women's rights have been written into Chinese law. I learned about some of those legal protections -- as well as the ongoing challenge to enforce them -- at the Center for Women's Law Studies and Legal Services at Beijing University, which I visited with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. The Center is supported by the Ford Foundation, and located in a simple building at the outskirts of the University. The work of the Center takes place in just a few cramped rooms, but the impact it's having on the lives of Chinese women reaches far beyond its walls. The Center takes on a wide range of cases -- from family planning to job discrimination to rape. And they've won more than half their cases.

One woman told us about her efforts to get out of an abusive marriage. She was a frail, soft-spoken woman, but her voice didn't waver as she spoke about how the Center had helped her to obtain a divorce and an award for child support. "I came to the Center," she said simply, "and I got justice." But she and her daughter are still living with her ex-husband -- because her apartment was assigned to him by his work unit -- and she was unable to get housing on her own. I applauded with everyone else in the room when she said she was raising her daughter to be a lawyer.

Another client spoke about how she and the women she worked with in a factory had been denied their pay -- and that the Center had launched a class-action suit against the factory's manager for back wages. They won the suit -- but the manager still refuses to pay.

These stories and many others underscored for me that while laws protecting women's rights in China, as in many other countries, are often quite comprehensive on paper, they are frequently not enforced. And that without the rule of law, which includes open access to the legal system and judicial orders that individuals can enforce -- laws can be a cruel hoax -- especially for women.

But based on the kinds of cases that are being won, and the legal precedents being set, I am hopeful that greater progress is being made toward implementation of these laws. I was further heartened when I asked for a show of hands of those in the audience who were studying to become lawyers. All the hands that shot up were young women's. In fact, there is a dramatic rise in the number of lawyers in China today -- including women -- which will further strengthen the rule of law that is so critical for expanding and enforcing women's rights.

Women's rights was the main topic of my address in Shanghai. I spoke about how impressed I was with the progress that women were making in China today, in areas like the rule of law, and micro-credit loans, and literacy -- particularly in the rural areas. But I also spoke about the work that remains ahead to ensure that women in China are not left behind in the 21st

Century. "Women can't hold up half the sky," I said, "if they make up the vast majority of those who can't read or write; if they are still pulled out of school early; if they are denied the jobs they need to lift themselves and their families up from poverty; if they are denied the freedom to plan their own families." I underscored how "no country can reach its full potential until all of its citizens -- men and women; boys and girls -- have the freedom and the resources to reach theirs."

One of missions of this trip to China was to strengthen the ties between the people of the United States and China. So I was very pleased to attend the signing of an important joint medical collaboration between the Centers for Disease Control in the United States and the Beijing Medical University. For years, our two countries have worked together to reduce the occurrence of neural tube birth defects -- including spina bifida -- in Chinese babies. Unfortunately, such defects occur more frequently in China than in any other country in the world. Yet we know from experience that women taking folic acid before they become pregnant can reduce those defects by at least 50 percent.

That day in Beijing, I met a woman who had lost her first child to the deadly ravages of spina bifida. In her arms, she was holding her healthy, squirming daughter -- thanks to the 3-year program between CDC and Beijing University aimed at giving thousands of women like her a regular dose of folic acid. The new agreement being signed will expand this already successful collaboration to prevent birth defects, disabilities and health defects resulting from environmental factors, including exposure to lead, radiation and water pollution.

At a time when pollution is becoming a major health hazard around the globe, I'm proud that our two countries are working together to improve the health of children not only in China, but in communities worldwide.

Our countries are working together in other areas as well. In Shanghai, I was pleased to announce five new China/America exchange programs that will bring Chinese women to the United States next year to share ideas and experiences with their American counterparts. These exchanges will be sponsored by the United States Information Service, and will embrace Chinese and American leaders at all levels -- including lawyers, business representatives, local government officials, and youth leaders. These exchanges, I said at the time, "will enable American and Chinese women to learn from each other about how we can continue to work toward social change that benefits all women."

Secretary of State Albright joined me for a final roundtable discussion with women in Hong Kong -- on the last day of our trip. This was a high-powered group of women lawyers, doctors, and political leaders, who held positions of power and authority still unknown in the rest of China. I felt the forum was, in a sense, a quick snapshot of what China would look like if it continues to open up -- both economically and politically -- in the years ahead. One of Hong Kong's most prominent women -- Ansan Chan -- who holds the number 2 spot in the government as chief Secretary for Administration -- spoke about the challenges of remaining autonomous under Hong Kong's recent reversion to China. Other women talked about what's being done to promote the fledgling consumer protection movement, and to secure greater human rights. I had

to laugh when the conversation turned to a familiar topic -- the need for women to find more time for exercise in their busy schedules, as they balance the demands of work and family.

That night, as the President and I joined Chelsea and my mother on the plane for the long, 17-hour trip home, we shared a few stories before we drifted off to sleep. The stark beauty of Guilin -- where rugged mountains dipped dramatically into China's Li River. The sights and smells of Beijing's mud market, where we bought carved Chinese boxes and small cricket cages made out of gourds. The wilting heat -- but also the awe -- as we walked the Great Wall, and saw it curve its way over the crests of China's hills, as far as the eye can see.

We also talked about the many images of China as it begins to push open the doors of opportunity and greater freedom for its people. My visit with Secretary of State Albright to a newly renovated synagogue in Shanghai demonstrated the tentative steps that China is making toward greater religious freedom. While the government still supervises religious worship, many church services, like the one the President and I attended Sunday morning in Beijing, are packed. Judaism, however, is not among the five religions recognized by the state. As I watched Rabbi Arthur Schneier from New York place the Torah in this synagogue's tabernacle for the first time in decades, I felt I was witnessing an important step forward not only for the small Jewish community that remains in that city -- but for religious freedom throughout China.

Perhaps the most dramatic sign of change that we saw in China was the extraordinarily frank and open exchange that took place between the President and the students at Beijing University. The President spoke to them about Thomas Jefferson's commitment to the universal rights of man. He said that freedom of expression, and religion, and association -- the right to be treated with dignity and to choose one's own leaders -- "are the birthrights of people everywhere," and that such freedoms can only strengthen stability and progress. That speech, and the free-wheeling question and answer period that took place afterwards, was broadcast live on Chinese television. Once again, I felt I was present at an historic moment, as China presses forward -- however tentatively -- toward a more open and pluralistic society.

As I looked back on these ten days in China, and prepared to return to my own country on the morning of America's Independence Day -- I thought about the extraordinary changes that are taking place not only in China but in nations around the world as all of us continue to struggle to expand the rights and opportunities of our citizens. As the President said to the students in Beijing -- "We want China to be successful, secure and open ... working with us for a more peaceful and prosperous future." As I thought about my experiences on this trip, my mind was filled with memories of the strong and courageous women I met, working to take their rightful place as equal partners in a new China. Like women around the world, they are seeking the fundamental rights and opportunities that will enable them to truly "hold up half the sky." It is in our interest, and in the interest of all nations, that they succeed.