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Madeleine K. Albright
U.S. Permanent Representative
to the United Nations

Thursday, September 19, 1996

The
Edmund S. Muskie
Distinguished
Public Service
Award

The Center for National Policy
Presents
to
Madeleine K. Albright
the
Edmund S. Muskie Distinguished Public Service Award

Madeleine K. Albright was appointed U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations by President Clinton in January, 1993. She is also a member of the President's Cabinet and the National Security Council.

An Ambassador to the United Nations, she has served the American people with distinction. Her forceful presentation of U.S. national interests to the public at home and abroad, and her effective representation of U.S. policy objectives within the U.N. Security Council, have been acclaimed around the globe.

A native of Czechoslovakia, she holds a Ph.D. from Columbia University's Department of Public Law and Government, was an Adjunct Fellow in Soviet and Eastern European Affairs at Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies from 1981 to 1990, and also was Research Professor of International Affairs and Director of the Women in Foreign Service Program at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service from 1982 to 1993.

Ambassador Albright's association with the late Edmund S. Muskie included service as his Chief Legislative Assistant when he was a member of the U.S. Senate. She was a staff member of the National Security Council and White House from 1978 to 1981, which included the period during which Ed Muskie served as U.S. Secretary of State, and she also worked with him from 1989 to 1992, when she was President of the Center for National Policy and he was Chairman of the CNP Board of Directors.

Throughout her entire professional career, Ambassador Albright has demonstrated the same high degree of commitment to the ideals of public service that were so characteristic of Ed Muskie, her friend and mentor. With great respect and affection, the Center for National Policy presents to her the first annual *Edmund S. Muskie Distinguished Public Service Award*.

A tribute to
MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT

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REMARKS
Madeleine K. Albright

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Palo Alto, California)

For Immediate Release

May 1, 1998

As Prepared for Delivery

**REMARKS BY SAMUEL R. BERGER
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS**

**THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

MAY 1, 1998

"The Price of American Leadership"

Some Congressional actions bear upon our nation's most immediate needs. Others touch off broader debates about how we view the world and our country's role within it. In the weeks ahead, Congress faces a choice on an issue that does both. It can send the message that there still is a strong bipartisan foundation for an active U.S. role in the world -- as it did last night with the overwhelming vote to admit Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic to NATO.

It can reaffirm our vision of an America committed to its obligations, confident in its power, courageously leading the world. Or that vision can begin to blur -- a victim of complacency and of fear.

In the emergency supplemental that passed yesterday, Congress left out two critical parts of the President's original request -- satisfaction of our long overdue debt to the United Nations; and payment of our share of support to the International Monetary Fund. Each constitutes a necessary investment in our national security -- and each will pay off, many times over.

But these two items are only the more visible tip of a profound debate that must concern all Americans -- whether we will remain engaged abroad and maintain our leadership in the world, or turn our back and retreat within our national borders.

The outcome is by no means certain. Americans, willing to assume global responsibility when their safety is at stake, are equally prone to turn inward once that safety appears to have been assured.

World War I, World War II, the Cold War -- in each instance, an existential threat to our vital interests and our fundamental values constituted a clarion call to action. And in each instance, we responded brilliantly.

In the wake of the Cold War, we are not presented with a single, overriding threat. Instead, we face a range of threats – dangerous, but diffuse. Some believe the time therefore has come once again to “tend to our own business.” The argument presents itself in different shades, but at its core is the perception of the world essentially as a burden – as something to be dealt with only if necessary, ignored whenever possible.

This view is premised on the belief that the foundations of our wealth and security are exclusively home-grown, that there is little to gain from foreign engagement and much to surrender – in resources expended, sovereignty diluted, jobs or even lives lost.

That view, in my judgment, suffers from two basic fallacies – first, that we can isolate ourselves from the world, and second that we should. Globalization – the process of accelerating economic, technological, cultural and political integration – is not a choice. It is a growing fact.

It is bringing citizens from all continents closer together – allowing them to share ideas, goods and information at the tap of a keyboard.

It is a fact that will proceed inexorably, with or without our approval. It is a fact that we ignore at our peril. Our workers and businesses will suffer if foreign markets either collapse or lock us out; terrorists and drug traffickers ignore national boundaries even if we don't; and the highest domestic environmental standards won't protect us if we can't get others on board, for their carelessness threatens us as much as our own.

In short, our citizens have a direct stake in the prosperity and stability of other nations -- in their open markets, in their ability to combat international crime, in their clean waters and clean air.

Let's be clear: the alternative to engagement is not withdrawal from the world; that is an impossibility. The alternative is a passive submission to powerful forces of change – all the more ironic at a time when our capacity to shape them is as great as it has ever been.

In short, we cannot isolate ourselves from the world. But just as important, we should not want to. Of course, military strength remains a pre-requisite of American power. Without American power, American security is vulnerable, American interests are at risk, and American diplomacy is undercut. Yet more than ever before, our strength also grows out of our involvement in the world. Our engagement not only can fend off an existential threat – it reduces the likelihood of such a threat emerging in the first place. That's what the international community is doing in Iraq, seeking to disarm Saddam Hussein before he threatens the region again.

And our engagement not only protects our safety – it enhances our prosperity. That's what our aggressive trade policy has achieved -- opening markets to American products and services throughout the world.

The bottom line is this: our nation's economic performance is unrivaled, our military might is unmatched, our political influence is unsurpassed, very much because of – not in spite of – our engagement in the world.

We have moved from a zero-sum game in which the Soviet Union's gain was our loss to a logic of interdependence in which our interests often are served by the strength of former adversaries -- not by their weakness; in which our prosperity is advanced by the vitality of our economic partners -- not by their frailty.

The strategy put in motion by President Clinton flows from this fundamental understanding.

We seek to create and strengthen a broad system of international arrangements built around our core values and interests -- democracy, open markets, free enterprise, peace and stability.

Our military alliances, global arms control regimes, market opening trade agreements, support for economic and political reform in emerging nations, partnership with a democratic Russia, strategic dialogue with China, involvement in regional disputes like the Middle East or Irish peace processes, efforts to reach out to and expand trade with Latin America and Africa -- all grow out of this logic. These arrangements may take the form of international institutions, multilateral treaties, or even bilateral agreements, but in each instance the objectives are the same:

First, to promote American interests and values by entangling nations in a web of mutually reinforcing arrangements that maximize both the benefits of compliance and the costs of transgression. Membership in an expanded NATO requires adherence to basic democratic principles: the rule of law and civilian control of the military.

Joining the WTO requires tearing down trade barriers, reducing tariffs, eliminating quotas. Benefiting from IMF loans entails dismantling protected and subsidized sectors that have created domestic sanctuaries impenetrable by foreign competitors.

Continued participation in the Organization of American States involves adherence to democratic principles of government.

Our second objective is to leverage our power and influence, wherever possible, through the multiplier of collective action. Our contributions to international institutions add up to only a fraction of their total resources -- for example, every dollar we provide to the IMF is matched by \$5 provided by others.

Yet our contributions enable us to lead these critical institutions and put us in a position to accomplish goals that make a difference for all Americans.

United Nations forces keep the peace in areas vital to our interests, from the Balkans to the Persian Gulf, from Haiti to the Middle East. The International Atomic Energy Agency protects our citizens from the dangers of nuclear proliferation. The World Health Organization defends us from the spread of infectious disease. This is a small sample of the goals that we either could not pursue alone or would have to pursue alone - but more expensively and far less effectively.

Our third objective is to preserve America's role as a balance wheel for stability.

No other nation has the muscle, the diplomatic skill, or the trust to mediate disputes, nudge opposing sides to the negotiating table or, when appropriate, help enforce the terms of an agreement. Israelis and Palestinians finalize their agreement on the White House lawn. Bosnians huddle at Dayton. Haiti's dictators yield to our military threat. The parties in Northern Ireland look to America for help in their courageous quest.

Not all roads lead to Washington, nor should they.

But when important American interests and values are at stake, we need the ability and stature to be a decisive impetus for peace and security – whether through diplomacy, economic incentives or force.

Our nation faces a profoundly important choice. We can continue on the course charted by the President, working with others to seize the opportunities of the global era while seeking to avoid its perils, maintaining our strength to act on our own when we must, or we can seek refuge in an illusory withdrawal.

We can seek to steer change to our advantage -- or be engulfed by it.

This choice presents itself starkly in the decisions on whether to grant the President fast track authority to negotiate trade agreements or to fully fund our international affairs budget.

And it presents itself starkly in the two specific requests now before the Congress – to pay our share of support to the IMF and to pay our overdue UN bills.

Nowhere is globalization more apparent, nor its effects more direct, than in the economy. Trade is twice as important in our domestic economy now as it was when I entered the work force. It has fueled one-third of the sustained growth we have enjoyed these past five years. Today, exports support 12 million American jobs that pay on average 15 percent more than others. An economic downturn among our trading partners can have serious consequences for our workers, our farmers, our businesses, our stockholders. Conversely, by shoring up our partners, encouraging structural reform, tearing down trade barriers, we boost our own economic fortunes.

The IMF plays a central role in steering the global economy in the right direction. The Fund works with countries at risk to shape effective reform programs that strengthen financial systems, increase market access, improve transparency, and reduce corruption and overly incestuous relations between banks, governments and industry. In times of crisis, as we experienced in Mexico or Russia and now are experiencing in Asia, the IMF provides critical assistance that can restore financial stability. And it takes the heat for the tough decisions that governments need to make – and sometimes want to blame on others.

All of this is in America's fundamental interest – and can be preserved if we agree to pool our contribution with that of other IMF members.

*Shoring up
economy*

Think for a moment about the cost of not having a strong and effective IMF. The countries in Asia are our customers – if they can't buy, we can't sell. They are our competitors – if their currencies depreciate, they undercut the competitiveness of our own goods. And they are our security partners – their instability could bring crisis to a region where we have both critical national security interests and 100,000 U.S. troops to protect them.

More generally, by undermining the IMF we weaken the only multilateral institution capable of inducing the reforms that will make recovery self-sustaining.

In sum, even if the IMF were to cost us something, it would be well worth the deal. But in fact, because the IMF acts as a sort of international credit union, our contribution to the Fund has not cost the American taxpayer a single cent.

What we have been able to achieve economically through the IMF, we have been able to achieve on so many other fronts through the United Nations.

The benefits to the American people are tangible, measured in efforts to prevent the diversion of nuclear materials, increase the safety of nuclear plants, and promote the safe disposal of nuclear waste, humanitarian programs that reflect our deepest values, like caring for refugees, vaccinating children, sheltering the needy, international standards that make the skies safer for travelers and food safer for consumers. All this – and more -- comes at an annual price tag of roughly \$4 per American – about the price of a happy meal at McDonald's, and a fraction of what it would have cost us to achieve these goals on our own.

Some say that the UN is badly in need of reform and that we should not pay our dues until that occurs. It is. Working with Congress, we have helped the UN achieve more reform over the past half decade than in the 45 years that preceded it.

Last year, we developed a three-year plan with broad bipartisan support to encourage continued reform while finally paying our debts. Unfortunately, last fall and then again this week, a small group of representatives chose to link passage of this plan to unrelated legislation on international family planning.

As a result, we risk the single best chance to put our UN debts behind us -- and to put the UN on the right path for the 21st century.

Again, do not think only in terms of the cost of paying our debt to the UN -- think in terms of the cost of not paying it. It will harm collective efforts to deal with emerging threats that cut across borders – from terrorists to organized criminals, drug traffickers, and environmental damage.

It will be a body blow to our international credibility, hobbling our diplomats in ways large and small, undermining our central message that nations need to live up to their commitments. And, by next January, it may even lead to the loss of our voting rights in the UN General Assembly – an institution born on our soil out of the vision of Americans like Roosevelt, Truman and Acheson.

Beyond these fundamental interests, there also is a basic moral principle: America pays its debts. We should pay the UN what we owe.

By acting now to support the IMF and pay our dues to the United Nations, Congress can reassert its determination to preserve America's leadership in the world. It can send the message that our nation is confident; it will master the forces of globalization – not be mastered by them. And we can continue to build on the past five years' list of accomplishments – in Haiti, Bosnia, Russia, China and elsewhere.]

Will the United States survive and thrive if Congress chooses the alternative course? Of course. Our people are far too resilient and far too resolute for it to be otherwise.

But we risk awaking to a different America in a different world. And neither America nor the world will be able to figure out how we frittered away so rich an inheritance, how we renounced so commanding a position, how we squandered such bountiful opportunities.

So let's not weaken our own hand. Let's make the wise investment in American leadership that will help keep our nation at the pinnacle of our power as we enter the 21st century.

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**Hillary Rodham Clinton
First Lady of the United States**

**at the Annual Meeting of the World Economic Forum
Davos, Switzerland
February 2, 1998**

(Begin transcript)

PROFESSOR KLAUS SCHWAB: Dear Madam First Lady, dear Mrs. Hillary Clinton, it is with purpose that I address you in those two forms, because we welcome you here not only as the representative of a country which is the greatest power in the world, but we welcome you as a personality who in her own right has won high recognition for the causes you stand for as a relentless advocate for those who are disadvantaged and who need to be integrated into our efforts to improve the state of the world.

We have launched here, in Davos, a comprehensive initiative Trustees 21, to take on the challenges in the transition of human kind into the 21st Century. We are eager to hear from you. How you see the individual and collective priorities for our common future. Ladies and Gentlemen, let's welcome again Mrs. Clinton, a most remarkable, a most courageous woman of our times.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Good evening, thank you very much Professor Schwab, and thank all of you for the invitation to address this forum. I appreciated greatly the opportunity to come and be part of these sessions, and to speak with you about the priorities for the 21st Century, as seen perhaps from a slightly different perspective from the one that brings many of you here to this conference.

After having looked at the program, and seen some of the sessions, I think it is probably more appropriate to refer to this gathering as the World Economic, Political and Social Forum, because certainly in the discussions that I have been privileged to hear about and to hear directly, it has struck me that there is a very strong awareness of how interdependent the economic, political and social spheres of life happen to be. It is something that I think we need to pay even closer attention to. Certainly when one thinks about the economy, whether it is the economy of a business, of a nation state, or of our entire globe, one talks a great deal about the importance of and the significance of the free market. And I believe that as we end this century, any doubt about the effectiveness of organizing our economy along the lines of a free market, have finally been put to rest. That is one of the major accomplishments, perhaps, of this past century. That we now understand that the greatest capacity to create employment, income, wealth and investment is derived from a free market.

At the same time, I hope we have also recognized as we end this century, that we need effective, functioning, competent governments. Governments that are neither oppressive, nor too strong and authoritarian, nor on the other hand, so weak that they can neither deliver goods and services for the public good to their citizenry or play the kind of partnership role that they should in connection with a vital free market.

But if that's all we were to speak about, the economy on the one hand, and government on the other, we would be leaving out one of the most important aspects of what we should turn our attention to as we move into this new century, that is society, civil society, because between the marketplace and the government, is what exists that makes life worth living. It is the stuff of life. It is the family, it is the religious belief and spirituality that guide us. It is the voluntary association of which we are a member. It is the art and culture that makes our spirits soar.

I think as we look at the end of this century and the beginning of the next, it behooves all of us, no matter what our perspective or experience, to think hard about how we create conditions in which the economy, governments and the civil society all flourish. Think of it, if you will, as a three-legged stool. We are not stable if we are only on one leg, no matter how strong the economy might be, no matter how strong a government might be. We are also not stable if we rest merely on two legs of the stool. Rather

we need to see the independence and connection among the economy, the government and the civil society. And more than that, I think we need to recognize the ways in which each of those spheres of influence are affected by the other. I know there has been a great deal of useful conversation here about what needs to be done to help manage crises such as the Asian crisis, how to better provide technical assistance for banking supervision and the regulation of markets in many countries around the world, even suggestions as to what could be done to create more of a global regulator atmosphere along the lines perhaps of a new Bretton Woods.

These are all very important conversations. And I hope that the economic and political leaders gathered here will certainly follow up on them through the various entities that exist, and perhaps some that are yet to be born, so that we can address these very important problems that are posed by the state of the economy today. We have also heard how important it is for governments to work with the economies of their countries and regions and globally, and how significant it is to find the right balance between regulation that permits real competition to flourish and that which stifles entrepreneurship. So there is much for governments also to ponder coming out of this conference. How can they do a better job to unleash the energies of their people to provide environments in which businesses can flourish? How do they become more transparent? How do they stand against corruption? How do they create the instruments that are needed for governments today to provide the kind of support for the economy at the same time that they provide the sort of capacity for their people to be able to thrive in this new economic environment? I will leave it to others, many of whom have addressed you, to speak about how we can do more to make sure that our markets do what they should do, and to make sure that our governments do likewise.

But what I want to address is this third leg of the stool. A leg of the stool that I think is too often given short shrift in such conversations as those that take place here, or perhaps marginalized as being something less than important to the significant business of governing and creating economic opportunity.

Our founders in the American republic at the end of the eighteenth century left us with some very good advice that they enshrined in our founding documents and which we have over our centuries of development attempted to adapt to modern conditions. They warned us about unaccountable power, they warned us about creating checks and balances, and they set up a system that they thought would create a balance of power. I think that is what we have to see in creating such a balance among our economic interests, our governmental and political activities and the civil society. One without the other will create an imbalance.

I have been privileged to travel over the past several years to many of the new democracies around the world, particularly in the former Soviet Union. I have seen what has happened to people whose spirits have been crushed, whose economies have been driven into the ground, whose governments were authoritarian, as they attempt to rebuild a sense of potential and opportunity for themselves. It is very clear if one visits these countries that economic opportunity will certainly provide jobs and income but not necessarily long-term stability or governments that understand their duties to their citizens. It is also clear that stable governments, as important as they are, may not bring about those conditions that are essential to creating long-term social stability.

So in my travels I have focused on this third leg of the stool, the civil society, and I have seen many changes within the last several years, as governments and economic interests understand that there must be created within society, the work ethic for capitalism to thrive and continue, a sense of citizenship for governments to be stable and succeed one another peacefully. And so how do we nurture this civil society? Why is it in the interest of business leaders, such as many of you, to worry about whether in the countries in which you do business there is an effort being made to create these civil society functions and institutions? Why should you care whether women are given the opportunity to go to school, or have health care, or vote? Why should you worry whether or not children are being taught basic lessons about democracy or not? Well, I would argue again that it is in your long term interests to do so: to have conditions in the countries in which you do business supportive over the medium and long term of what we mean by a free market, and to have governments that understand their appropriate roles.

So I would urge that as we look towards the end of this century, as many of you work on the important

issues of helping to perfect the imperfect mechanism of a free market, worrying about the many inherent problems that have been pointed out, that lead often to instability, particularly in financial markets today. Those of you who are directly involved in helping governments in Asia and elsewhere understand why it is imperative that they reform themselves, that you also think about what we can do to strengthen civil society. How do we create conditions for families to be strong in an age where family values and where the kinds of ideas one would wish to pass on to one's children face very stiff competition from the consumer culture, from propaganda, and from a media that stresses short term gratification. How do we support religious freedom, making it clear that we will honor the spiritual beliefs and journeys of people different from ourselves? How do we work together to create conditions in which tribal and ethnic and racial and other differences among people can be controlled and kept in check. And how can we create opportunities for common enterprises that go beyond the differences that too often divide us? How do we nurture non-governmental organizations in societies have no history of voluntary or charitable activity? How do we create associations that stand between the marketplace and the government, but give people an opportunity to exercise their own skills to become good citizens?

All of these are questions that are being addressed in various ways by many organizations around the world. I have stood in barrios in Latin America and in villages in Asia and Africa where I have seen the effects of micro-enterprise on the capacity of women to make an income for themselves, and not only to make an income, but to feel empowered so that they can become citizens of their village and of their country, so that they can begin to understand not only how a market works, but how a society and a political democracy work as well. I have watched creative projects all over the world that have taken the very poorest of the poor, and empowered them to learn about what it means to live in a democracy. And I have talked with students on every continent about their hopes and aspirations that they will be able to navigate what to them seems like a very difficult journey into the next century. And they have asked for help and guidance, whether it is mentoring or internships or opportunities to work with businesses and government, so they can learn from adults about what works and what they can follow in their own lives and careers.

There are many large problems that confront us as a world. It is impossible to think of any corporation, no matter how large, or any government, no matter how powerful, addressing these alone. Whether we like it or not, we are more interdependent today than we have ever been. I believe that interdependence is a good development. And it should be respected by governments and businesses alike. Because through it we can meet mutual challenges of environmental degradation or security threats, and we can also work together to help build up strong, functioning markets, governments and civil societies.

I would just end these remarks by reminding us tonight that there isn't any perfect human institution. There is no perfect market except in the abstract theories of economists. There is no perfect government except in the dreams of political leaders. And there is no perfect society. We have to work with human beings as we find them. And we have learned a lot about what works. And the lesson of the global economy will certainly be that those who ignore the lessons that we have learned about effective functioning markets and political and governmental leadership will pay a steep price. That may be a necessary part of the learning curve. But as we go into the 21st Century, if we can keep in mind the balance of power among these three spheres that effect all of our lives, and if we can look for ways to work cooperatively together, then I think the doomsayers and the pessimists will be proven wrong. I wouldn't want to be more optimistic than conditions warrant, but I think based on the conversations that I've heard coming out of this conference, from people in a position to affect economic and governmental action, there is every reason to believe that there is a new awareness growing among the decision makers around the world about the steps that must be taken in order to ensure stability and sustained growth. I'll only ask that in that calculus, we remember the billions of men, women and children who are effectively without a voice, often without a vote, and that we understand that our long-term success, either economically or governmentally, will ultimately depend upon whether we empower them as well, to take their rightful places in forums around the world where they plan their own futures. Thank you very much.

SCHWAB: Mrs. Hillary Clinton, you have reminded us of our obligations, of our obligations toward society. As the First Lady, you have pursued an incredible active agenda to promote the social progress. Now, looking at the future, and I may ask you a very personal question, what is your personal priority for the remainder of the 21st Century in this respect.

CLINTON: You mean what will I do for the next three years?

SCHWAB: What will you in your own work put emphasis on?

CLINTON: I think I will continue to emphasize the issues that I have tried to speak out about, worked on, and addressed in my writing, and that is the need to invest in the future of children around the world. I don't know how many Americans in the audience heard Larry Summers say yesterday as it was reported to me that a child in Shanghai has a better chance of living to the age of five than a child born in New York City. But I hope if you did hear it, it caused some pause among you.

Of course it is not only in our own country where we have not done all we should to provide the opportunities for health and education and well-being for our children. It is certainly a problem that affects most if not all the nations of the world. And I believe it is the best investment we can make in long-term stability to provide opportunities for education, and healthcare, to work on thorny issues like family planning and environmental degradation that affect the well-being of children, and to do all we can to provide the best possible beginning for as many children as we can reach, and that is what I will continue to work on and speak out about.

SCHWAB: In this context, you have hear in front of you many of the CEOs of leading American companies, and you have been a proponent of moving toward the program of universal health coverage. The program to date has met mixed success, and generally little enthusiasm from the business community. So my question would be, why should the business community have this program as a priority? What would you tell the business leaders here in this respect?

CLINTON: Well I think your characterization of it meeting with mixed success was too kind. I still believe that economically, politically, socially, and morally, the United States would be better off if it provided universal health care coverage for all of its citizens.

I think the economic arguments will again come to the fore. There was a pullback in the cost of health insurance to the major providers of it in our country, which our employers during the last several years ... but that apparently is about to turn around, and the cost of insurance will once again begin to rise. There has been, since 1993, an increase in the number of uninsured Americans, and an increase in the number of underinsured Americans. I believe that should pose a question for all of us as to whether or not we think it is appropriate for our country, as rich and powerful as it is, to be denying access to the kind of preventive and chronic health care coverage that many people miss out on .

It is true that most people will be taken in by an emergency room, perhaps not the first one they visit, if they are not insured, but perhaps the second or third one if they are lucky enough to still be around by the time they arrive. And that if that were the only assessment we would make, we would say, well eventually everyone gets care. But we are paying a very big price for those who do not get timely or preventive care.

In addition, there is another problem, which is that there are many functions of the American medical system which have helped us to attain the high level of quality that it currently enjoys, which can never be profitable. There is no way for most research to be profitable. There is no way for the education and training of young physicians or nurses to be profitable. And there is no way for charity care to be profitable. And those functions are primarily performed in our country by our great medical schools and medical centers. Because they cannot turn a profit on performing those functions which are performed to the benefit of our entire system, they are at great financial risk. They are being forced into mergers, and they are finding themselves in a position of having to cut back on those functions. That is like eating the seed corn of the American health care system, in my view.

So there are a number of problems in my view, and I think that there is an ideological opposition among many in the American business community to the American government being any part of providing universal care. But of course we provide universal care to our citizens over the age of 65 through Medicare. And we provide it at the cheapest overhead and administrative cost of any insurance program in the United States. I daresay if you went back and you talked to your benefits people or your CFOs,

and you asked them what percentage of the health care dollar you were spending on your employees, that went to administration and overhead and profit, compared with the two cents out of the dollar that goes to Medicare, you would have to ask yourself, is this an ideological opposition that no longer makes economic sense, or shall I hang on to it while I find my capacity to provide health insurance for my employees further diminished, thereby creating more instability in the system. So I hope that we will continue to address these issues in the future.

SCHWAB: Under your husband's leadership, the US has emerged as a world leader in technology, finance, military power. What are the domestic key factors and priorities that you believe are required to maintain this leadership in the long run.

CLINTON: Well, I think my husband very well outlined those priorities in his State of the Union last Tuesday evening. He was able to address the remaining issues that he believes should be at the forefront of the American political debate, both domestically and internationally. And I think that if one were to look at them they would fall roughly into the categories that he has already outlined and has been speaking about for many years.

The first is to provide conditions that offer economic opportunity to as many of our people as possibly can be reached, and that has been I think very effectively accomplished during my husband's administration. We are very lucky, I believe, in having a president who understands not only politics, but economics, and has a very experienced, seasoned team, which is able to implement that policy. And the result is that we have, as you all know, reversed some rather disturbing trends that we saw in the late eighties and early nineties and emerged very strong economically.

But it is certainly clear that we have not by any means finished the job that has begun, and the President spoke about providing better educational opportunities, so that we have more of our people trained so that they can take the jobs that are available in the global economy. He has continued to press for more trade agreements and opening markets because he believes that America can compete and do very well internationally and he will continue to press that argument in the future. He has also spoken about trying to make it possible to put a floor, a social safety net, under some of our people, who are poorly educated, who are left out of the global economy through increasing the minimum wage again, and he has also talked about providing economic support for social security, child care, which is a very big issue in our country, with so many women working, and single women who are the sole support of their families, and our two parent families.

So I think he has outlined a very clear agenda for trying to provide more opportunity. At the same time, he has asked for more responsibility. Probably the clearest example of what that responsibility means is our continuing effort to reform our welfare system, to move people from welfare to work. He has also advocated strongly that Americans must be prepared to take their responsibility as citizens seriously and has advocated campaign finance reform so that our electoral system can have the confidence of the people, which it should.

Finally, he sees very clearly the role of the United States in building a community within our country and being part of building a community around the world. He has put on the table a race initiative to address the still unfinished business of race in the United States. It is controversial. It is challenging many people to think hard about what they believe. But it is very important if we are to try to create, among our very diverse population, a sense of common destiny and shared purpose.

He has also tried to help the American people understand why the United States must remain engaged around the world. And here I would also address the American business leaders in this audience. It is imperative that those of you who understand the global economy, who visit and do business in many countries, share your knowledge of what you see occurring around the world with members of Congress, with leaders of your community, with anyone who you can reach, because we cannot build a public consensus for American engagement if the American business community is not a strong supporter of that engagement. And I would just ask that you think hard about what you can do to try to have your voices heard. One quick example, during the last session of Congress, when the President's plan for the United States to pay its debts to the United Nations, and to replenish our commitment to the IMF, came before the House of Representatives, it was not voted on because of a debate over whether or not the

United States should continue to give family planning aid around the world to any organization that had anything however remotely to do with abortion. It was voted down. There was a coalition among people who believe the United States should not be engaged in the world, as well as those who are against abortion. There was a deafening silence from the American business community. I saw no press conferences. I saw no ads in newspapers. I saw no signed joint statements saying "we know what faces the United States around the world and we understand how important it is for America to lead and be engaged and we therefore raise our voices on behalf of American support for the United Nations, IMF and other multilateral institutions."

So I think the President has outlined a very clear agenda for where we go in the future. But it is not just the President's agenda. It has to be adopted and promoted by any who believe all or part of it in order for it to come to pass.

SCHWAB: In the same context, the fast-track trade legislation is very much at the top of the priorities of your husbands administration. What can you say also to the business community here to give the active and effective support for this legislative measure?

CLINTON: Well, I would probably just echo what I already said, at the risk of being repetitive. There was a very effective business effort in the United States on behalf of NAFTA. There was a very limited and ineffective effort on behalf of fast track. I don't know all the reasons for that. Some of them suggested, but I have no basis for any first-hand knowledge or any analysis that I find convincing. The bottom line is, however, that no one in Congress felt any particular pressure, or demand, by any business interest about giving the President the authority that other presidents have had to negotiate trade agreements.

Now again, I have to conclude that either American business doesn't care about opening markets around the world -- but I find that very hard to believe -- or they feel that their involvement in politics is something that they wish to minimize or steer clear of and don't want to become participants in any effort to pass such legislation, or some other reason that I have yet to understand. But the effect was the same. For whatever reason, the fact that the American business community made a very limited effort on behalf of the fast track, left the field completely clear to the rather unusual alliance between the right of the Republican party which is isolationist, anti-American engagement, quite critical and not supportive of the United Nations, IMF or any multilateral group, and the left of the Democratic party that believes that trade authority, and trade agreements are not in the interests of American workers. So that alliance carried the day. Now when the President comes back to the Congress with a request for fast track authority I hope that American business voices will be heard.

Having said that, I would add that there does need to be sensitivity to worker and environmental concerns in trade agreements going forward in the future. Certainly if they are going to be agreements that are negotiated with the United States government and require the consent of the United States Congress. So I think that there may be some good reason for business to engage early with labor and with political leadership in Congress and the Administration to try to hammer out a consensus about the kind of fast track authority and the sort of agreements that we want our President to be negotiating. But certainly that will not happen in the absence of some very stated and obvious business concern.

SCHWAB: I have here a question from the floor. What do you think about the impact of American culture on the civil societies of the rest of the world, especially with regard to language, publicity, media, and the right of difference for all cultures of the world?

CLINTON: Well, I think that is a very important question. If I may, let me just start by talking about something which I think I know a little bit more about which I think is the impact of American culture on America, and then expanding that beyond our borders.

American culture is America's biggest export. We export our fashions, our music, our movies. We export our technology, which comes, as you know, with a bias towards English. That is our biggest export, if one were try to add up all of our GDP that could be attributed directly or indirectly to culture. And on the whole I think it has been a positive development for my own country, that we have the kind of culture and cultural institutions and the messages that are conveyed from them.

I remember so well during the tumult of the years of the Velvet Revolution in the Czech Republic or the fall of the Berlin Wall, hearing story after story about how influential and important American culture was behind the Iron Curtain in giving people a sense of freedom and human potential and the idea that there was a bigger World out there. So I think on balance, American culture and its effects have been positive both in my country and elsewhere.

Having said that, I have long worried and continue to worry and am becoming more worried, not only about the messages of American culture, but the medium in which they are delivered. Let me explain. There is no doubt that we are creating a consumer-driven culture that promotes values and ethics that undermine both capitalism and democracy. In fact, I think you could argue that the kind of work ethic, postponement of gratification, and other attributes that are historically associated with capitalism, are being undermined by consumer capitalism. And I think you could also argue that the same relentless pressure for instant, simultaneous judgment and for people judging themselves based on their consumer materialistic attributes, is also turning people away from being citizens into being consumers. I think these are two very troubling trends.

In my own country, because we have a very broad understanding of our first amendment, because we are dominated by commercial television, we have a relentless, unstoping, message of consumer, materialistic pleasure, combined with instant gratification that surely affects our children if not our adults. We combine that with the kind of programming that is popular on American television and we are beginning now to have research which demonstrates that the level of violence that our children see desensitizes them, affects how they view the world, decreases their empathy, makes them more apathetic, less likely to assess their lives in terms other than the purely materialistic. Exporting that cannot be good for any culture. And I hope that there will be ways for individual societies to cherry pick, perhaps, and try to take what is best about American culture, but mitigate against the effects of the undermining, damaging aspects of it as well. That too, is part of the role of the civil society. To mitigate against the excesses of both the market and the government. And it will be critically important for schools, for families, for religious organizations, for associations like scouting, for example, to try to help balance the messages of the materialistic culture. And I think it is one of the biggest challenges we will face in the next century, because certainly there is no stopping the information explosion. There is no turning back the clock on what will be delivered through televisions and computers into the homes of people throughout our world, but we are going to have to think very hard about our responsibility as business leaders, political leaders, parents and others in our societies, about how to mitigate against the excesses of that culture.

SCHWAB: Mrs. Clinton, I have three questions which seem to be very appropriate to conclude our session. The first question is the following. If you had three concrete wishes to be shared here with the business community, actually which you want to be seen executed by the business community, what would be those wishes. In really concrete form, what would you wish the audience to do over the next year or going away from Davos.

CLINTON: That is an impossible question, and I will do my best to answer it. I think that I would hope that going away from Davos, the leaders who have gathered here, both from business and government, will take seriously the challenges that many have issued from this and other stages to look for ways to try to make sure that our markets function effectively and we do what we can through individual businesses, nation states and globally, to ensure that that comes to pass, whether it is being part of providing technical assistance to governments and businesses that need to learn how to be transparent, how to be able to operate in a regulated environment to their benefit, and there is much work that can be and I hope is done and I hope business leaders will urge government leaders through entities like the G-8 and the IMF and others, to try to move towards some kind of consensus about how we need to address these issues that the market has presented us with.

Similarly I hope that governments will be encouraged to be as transparent, as reform-minded as possible, wherever necessary, and that business leaders will support government reform in doing so, and that we will have the kind of functioning partnership that is so necessary for the next century, between business and government throughout the world, and that we will do away with the false debate and the false choice that too often dominates our debate in America, where there is an unnecessary and I believe false

antagonism created between business and government. They need each other, they need to support each other for the kind of long-term stability that both require to function well.

And finally I hope that business and government leaders will do more to support the civil society. In your own countries, and throughout the world, wherever it is possible. There are many good ideas and programs that are working. I wish everyone of you could have been with me at a village in Bangladesh, or at a women's bank in India, or at a lending project in Africa, or in a very poor neighborhood in South America, to hear what a difference a little bit of credit makes in the lives of the poor. We now have a proven track record from institutions such as the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, that the poor, if given credit to buy another milk cow or a goat, or hire a rickshaw to go into business, are the best credit risks in the world. Most commercial banks particularly in today's environment, would die for a repayment rate of 96 to 98 percent, and that is what the poorest of the poor in these countries and in these programs have proven themselves capable of doing, at market interest rates.

Secondly, invest in opportunities for women around the world. If you look at any developing society that is making progress, there is a correlation between those societies that invest in women and those that are demonstration economic and political development and stability. In many instances women are still left out or shut out. We cannot go into this new century with half the world's population not empowered to act in their own best interests and in the best interests of their families. And that is what you will get when you invest in women. The investment will be very well taken care of, based on all we know, because it will in turn be invested in the community and in the family, and particularly in the children.

Thirdly, do not think of education, health care, and other issues as tangential or marginal. In many respects they will determine the long-term stability of the countries in which you do business, in the quality of the workforce that you employ, in the capacity of the consumers to whom you wish to sell your goods. It is in all of our interests to be more effective in investing in education and health care throughout the world, and wherever there is a particular pocket of poverty in an advanced economy, to take what we have learned about welfare reform and other strategies, and attack them through empowerment zones or tax credits or breaks for investment that can begin to provide opportunity in even the most destitute of communities.

And finally, I guess I would ask that we all be more thoughtful in looking at the world in which we live. That we work very hard to rid ourselves of preconceptions and assumptions and stereotypes. That we shelve our ideologies, whether it is of a conservative or a liberal bent. That we realize that conditions have changed, and with it must change also how we see the world, and how we interact politically, economically and socially. So not to rest on old conventions, but instead to be questioning them as well.

We have a great opportunity, as all of you know or you would not be here, to be, as Professor Schwab has titled it, trustees for the 21st Century. But we can only fulfill that responsibility if we understand that we are doing it not for ourselves but for generations to come. And so those, in a very general way, would be my three wishes.

SCHWAB: That was the best answer and the best end of such a highlight of our annual meeting. Nevertheless, nevertheless, I would take on one other question which came from the audience, and it says, don't you think it is time at the beginning of the next century for the U.S. to elect and support a strong, brilliant, woman for the job of the President?

CLINTON: Yes, and I look forward to voting for her!

(End transcript)

Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton United States Agency for International Development Girls' Education Conference

Ronald Reagan Building
Washington, D.C.

May 7, 1998

Thank you so much. It is such a great pleasure for me to be here at this conference with all of you who are committed to the education and well being of girls around the world. I am also pleased to have the first occasion to visit this new, very large building and see this auditorium in action. This is now the second largest building, second only to the Pentagon. So I think it is appropriate that while the Pentagon houses those who strive to keep us safe and secure and keep peace around the world, this building would host a conference about educating girls and building a future that we hope will be peaceful for all children. I hope that we are able to do that through the work that you are doing at this conference and that the results of this conference and what you carry away from it will enable you to be strong voices throughout the world on behalf of young women and girls.

The best description that I have ever read about why this conference is so important did not come from a think tank or a government report or a research study but instead from a college student, a young woman from New Delhi who gave me a poem she had written about why it was so important that she be the first young woman in her family ever to go on to college and have that opportunity. Here is what she wrote:

India

"Too many women in too many countries speak the same language -- of silence... There must be freedom -- if we are to speak. And yes, there must be power -- if we are to be heard."

We are here today to make sure that all children have the freedom and the power to make their voices ring as loudly as the 75 members of the World Children's Choir we heard a few minutes ago. We are here because there are already powerful voices present in this room that are making themselves heard on behalf of education for all children. I want to thank everyone who made this extraordinary event possible, particularly Brian Atwood, Margaret Lycette, Susie Clay and the entire United States Agency for International Development staff. All over the world, I have seen the fruits of the Girls and Women's Education Initiative, that was pioneered by USAID, and I have been gratified to see the work that is being done to put quality education within the grasp of every child.

I also want to thank the co-sponsors of this conference: the United Nations Children's Fund, the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank, the Delegation of the European Commission, and the Lewis T. Preston Education Fund for Girls. Thank you all.

I, too, extend a warm welcome to the First Lady of Ghana and the First Lady of Peru. I also wish to welcome all Ministers and Vice Ministers, Cabinet Officials, Parliamentarians, Ambassadors, leaders of non-governmental organizations, the media, businesses, religious organizations, and other distinguished guests from the 42 countries represented here.

As I look out at this impressive gathering, I believe that we are truly at the beginning of a great international effort to give all children access to quality primary and secondary education. As I have been privileged to travel around the world, I have met many, many citizens who are struggling to find their voices in a time of increasing democracy, information, and globalization. I've met with many families who work hard everyday just to put a roof over their children's heads and food on their tables for meals. I have visited communities, where people have banded together to create healthier, more prosperous

opportunities for all who live there. Often when I ask a very simple question, I get the same answer. I ask, "How is it that you are able to accomplish so much?" The answer usually in one way or another comes back to education. Education is recognized throughout the world, even by those who themselves have not enjoyed an education, as a powerful tool for a child, or a family, or a whole society to make progress. Education is no longer viewed as a luxury for some, but as a necessity for all. The World Bank has said repeatedly that education provides the highest rate of return of any investment in developing nations. And that is especially true of girls' educations. ★

Because we know that when we educate a girl, we improve the health of women and families. We know that a woman who has had even a single year of education has children that have a better chance of living. We know that as the years of schooling increase, the chances of the child living, and living well, increase as well.

When we educate a girl, we decrease poverty by helping women support themselves and their families. A single year of education usually correlates with an increased income of 10 to 20 percent for women later in life. In Senegal, I visited a small village where education for girls, and women's adult literacy programs, have been the first steps in helping the village understand how it could work together to create more prosperity, how it could take five hectares of barren land and turn it into an oasis of green, growing products that could not only support the village but be sold in the marketplace as well. Senegal ★

When we educate a girl today, we also help to create a leader for tomorrow, a leader within the family and the community, perhaps a teacher, an engineer, a lawyer, a doctor, a nurse, a mother of a healthy and educated child, a woman who is working hard to make her life and the lives of her family as good as they can be.

That's why at international conferences and summits in Paris, Cairo, Copenhagen, and Beijing, we have joined together to call for universal primary education. We called for ending the disparities between boys and girls that, for too long, have plagued primary and secondary schools making it very difficult for girls to attend. I want to thank all of you who have worked to make the words that appeared on the pages of the declarations from these international conferences living realities.

In developing countries, the primary school enrollment for girls has increased by 50 percent since 1960. In the poorest countries, it has more than doubled during this period. But that is not enough, we have to do more. We have to see that we support governments and NGOs in reaching out to afford access to education to as many girls as possible. I have seen such activities bearing fruit all over the world.

In Bangladesh, I visited a school run by the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, a non-governmental organization that believes that education -- especially girls' education -- is a pre-condition for economic development. Because of that belief, some of the BRAC schools have been burned by extremist groups. But the schools keep being rebuilt and families keep sending their children to attend. Bangladesh

I also saw where the Bangladesh government is attempting to provide incentives for families to keep their daughters in school. Families get food each week if they send their children, particularly their girls, to school. To help give girls the chance to go to secondary school, the government actually deposits a small amount of money in a family banking account as long as the daughters attend school.

I have seen the results of President Museveni's promise of Universal Primary Education in Uganda. I have been in classrooms that are absolutely filled with children -- 70, 75, 80 third graders -- a very big challenge to any teacher. But instead of being frustrated the teachers I have met have been proud. Proud because children are coming to school and everyone is working very hard to create the materials and train additional teachers to meet this challenge. Overwhelming pride is felt because for the first time, more girls than boys are Uganda

attending school.

There have also been results in Guatemala where the government and the Foundation for Sugar Producers teamed up to offer small scholarships to girls in rural schools because they knew that the drop-out rate between the first and second grades for girls in those schools with scholarships was only one percent compared to 30 percent nationwide. In another Guatemalan program, afternoon school sessions have been introduced to accommodate girls who must carry out domestic and agricultural work in the mornings.

Guatemala

In Malawi, the villagers were not only asked why girls are not attending school, they were asked to come up with solutions. They performed plays and skits. They waived school fees. They took responsibility for enrolling girls in school. As a result, enrollment increased from 50 to 83 percent.

Malawi

In the Community Schools Program in Egypt, the number of girls enrolled in school increased from 2,000 to 35,000 because schools were located closer to homes, making them safer and more accessible. Curricula were designed so that they were culturally appropriate and approved by village leaders. Girls were trained to be sure that they were understanding how important this gift of education was and parents were asked to become actively involved as well.

Egypt

As we look across the globe, therefore, we see success stories everywhere. Yet, right now, there are still 100 million children worldwide who are out of school, and two-thirds of them are girls. 900 million people cannot read or write, and sixty percent of them are women. Two-thirds of the children who complete less than four years of primary education are girls and countless others do not even have access to a primary school, let alone a secondary school.

Without the ability to read and write or do math, girls will be increasingly left out of the information age. Unable to compete, to increase their own incomes, or contribute to their families, they will have their own dreams and aspirations short changed.

So as you attend this conference, starting yesterday going through today, I hope you will continue to look at solutions and that you will share information about the best practices from each of your countries that have made a difference in making sure that girls are able to attend school.

I remember so well being in a small village about 40 minutes outside Lahore, Pakistan where I visited a school that had been built to give the girls in that area primary education. I sat out in the courtyard in front of the school and talked with mothers of children who attended. One mother told me about her 10 children -- 5 girls and 5 boys. Her worry was that she had sent all of her children to school, to primary school. And when her boys graduated from primary school they had gone on. They had gone to the nearest secondary school continuing their education. But when her daughters finished the village school, there were no secondary schools nearby for girls and she was not willing to send her daughters off alone to attend school far away. So, she asked me, and she asked all of the officials who were with me, if they could please have a secondary school built for girls near their village.

Pakistan

This one mother spoke, I believe, for countless millions of others -- women who know that their daughters will not live the same lives they have lived, that change is too pervasive, that they have to provide better opportunities so that their daughters will be prepared for whatever the future holds. As Brian mentioned in his remarks, a recently completed evaluation makes clear that the "second generation" of girls' education initiatives must continue to expand access to school, particularly secondary school, but we also must face up to the need to improve the quality of girls' education.

Because we've done a good job in reaching parents and telling them they should send their girls to school, we now have many, many girls and many, many boys crowding into the

schools that are already available. These schools then face the tremendous challenge of trying to train new teachers, provide basic supplies, and maintain facilities. It is very hard, even for the proudest teacher, to get around to look at the work of 75 or 80 eight year olds. Because we have so many crowded classrooms, many children get lost in that crowd and many do not even remain to finish primary education. We have to make a commitment not only to providing access to education but to providing access to quality education as well.

We cannot think of girls schooling as something we put in a little box over in a corner. It must be part of the overall educational efforts of all of our countries. We have come to recognize that we must educate both boys and girls. We have to recognize that any child who goes without education in today's world may become a burden on the larger society. Therefore, it is in our interest to be sure that they all have access to quality schooling.

We also have to look at ways of reaching families so that they know how important it is to prepare their children for school and make sure that when those children walk through a schoolhouse door they are ready to learn. We now know, from scientific research, that the brain develops at an extraordinary pace in the first three years of life. Many of the traditions that we have all followed in caring for babies, holding them, rocking them, singing to them, caressing them, we have done because it was passed on to us generation to generation as to how we should care for a small infant. We now know that those habits, those forms of attention, are not just a wonderful way to develop a bond between a parent and a child but they actually create brain cells. The more a child is appropriately stimulated, talked to, read to, sung to, that child's brain is then creating more and more connections that will enable that child, when he or she is ready for formal academic learning, to be able to read better, to be able to do mathematics better.

We have to reach parents all over the world with this new scientific information to encourage them to pay attention to their babies, encourage them to space the births of their babies so they have the time and the energy to invest in each child. By doing so, we will better prepare children for the schooling to come.

There are many organizations throughout every society that have a role to play. Certainly the family bears the primary responsibility and the extended family must support the family in educating girls. But so too should religious organizations also understand how important it is to make sure every young girl is able to live up to her God-given promise as well. The media has a role to play in disseminating information such as the importance of the scientific research about paying attention to young babies. The media also can give us good examples of girls and boys going to school, learning, being able to go out into the world better educated.

Businesses can do things such as provide scholarships, help support schools, be willing to take the initiative to stand behind the idea of educating all citizens. Not only because it is the right thing to do but because it is a way for businesses in all of our countries to have better trained and educated workers and consumers. Certainly government leaders have to do everything within their power to make it possible for us to have as many good quality schools and teachers everywhere throughout every country.

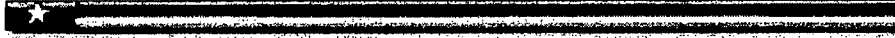
With technology we can also leap frog over some of the obstacles that would otherwise prevent schooling from being available. In South Africa, I visited a school in Soweto where there were not enough teachers, where there were many children now coming back into the school with the end of apartheid and where they were attempting to teach English to as many children as possible. They were using tape recordings and the teacher could monitor individual students. In other schools there is even an effort to try to get one television with transmissions that can bring in distant learning so that we can expand the opportunities available even though the teachers are not present. The computer, of course, is very expensive and in some of the schools I have visited there is not even electricity yet. However, if a computer can be made available you have opened the world up to students who live very far from any large city or large university and it is possible to provide access

South Africa

to the information age to those students. We have to be more creative and innovative in thinking about how to overcome the obstacles to provide for girls education.

I look forward to hearing the results of your deliberations during this conference. I am hoping that the ideas that you will discuss you can disseminate widely throughout the world. Certainly USAID and the United States government want to stand with you in helping to bring to reality our shared dream that we will see opportunities for every girl and every boy, everywhere in the world to receive a quality education that will enable them to take responsibility for their futures.

Thank you very much.



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REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
THE CENTER FOR NATIONAL POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C.
SEPTEMBER 17, 1998

I would like to thank my friend, Secretary Albright, for those kind words. It's a pleasure to be here with all of you who care so much about this country, and who have worked so hard, in both public and private life, to make it live up to its ideals. Thank you to the President of the Center for National Policy, Maureen (Mo) Steinbruner; Chair Mike Barnes and co-chair Joyce Ladner; "Mack" McClarty -- who has played such an invaluable role in shaping our policies toward Latin America; members of Congress; members of the Diplomatic corps; guests and friends of the Center. I also join all of you tonight in mourning the loss of a great friend of the Center's and all of us -- Kirk O'Donnell. His life exemplified the spirit of public service and private principle -- and we will greatly miss his humanity, his wit, and his consummate political skills.

I want to say a word about my friend, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright -- who is committed to defending the rights not just of Americans but of citizens around the world. Not only has Madeleine Albright broken many a glass ceiling -- by virtue of her own gender -- she's brokered many a peace, by virtue of her remarkable skills and tenacity. And not only has she opened many doors -- she has opened many minds. I've had the enormous pleasure of traveling and working with her over the years, and have benefitted greatly from both her wisdom -- and her friendship. Thank you, Madeleine, for all you have done.

First, I want to thank the Center, and all of you, for the great honor you have given me here tonight. Ed Muskie's life reflected a deep commitment to the principles of freedom and justice -- here at home and overseas. And he carried out his many responsibilities with great fairness, warmth, and intelligence. Whether he walked the backroads of Maine, or the corridors of power, he represented the best of America: our optimism that we can create a better future; the spirit of public service; and a deep commitment to forge bipartisan support for our national and international objectives. I know he was a respected leader and treasured friend of the Center's -- and I thank you for honoring me in his memory.

Tonight, I want to talk about a topic that was always close to Ed Muskie's heart -- the critical need to more fully engage the American people in our nation's

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foreign policy. Some of you might well be asking -- what did that film which you just saw -- where I was shown talking with women about their concerns in distant villages around the world -- have to do with our foreign policy? My answer is that efforts to advance the status of women worldwide -- whether it's raising their level of education or ensuring safe motherhood or helping women gain greater economic independence -- must never be seen as "soft issues" -- or "side issues." They are as essential to the prosperity and stability of our global community as are investments in open markets and trade. They are -- in fact -- at the core of our foreign policy objectives -- and the very progress of all nations.

Three years ago, in Beijing, I joined Secretary Albright at the 4th World UN Conference on Women. And the most powerful message that came out of that conference was that the progress of a country depends on women having equal access to life's basic tools of opportunity. 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 country.

Over the past six years, I've seen first hand how so many of America's programs overseas have helped to improve the lives of ordinary people in nations around the world -- particularly the lives of women.

From Nicaragua to Uganda, I've seen how a small loan to women villagers -- sometimes only a few dollars, can transform the lives of women and their families, and dramatically improve the resources and income of an entire community. village. One woman in Bangladesh told me about how she borrowed money to buy a milk cow -- and by selling the milk from that cow -- she bought another. And as the proud owner of two cows -- she was able to buy a rickshaw for her husband, so that he could become a taxi driver in their village. *accelerated women's status are*

In Bolivia, I met with expectant mothers at a primary health center run by an NGO with support from the government. They had created a safe place for very poor women to come and get health care. The women -- with their ruddy faces and bowler hats -- were receiving prenatal check ups and having their infants immunized. They were also learning about family planning, and how to space births so they -- and their children -- would more likely survive. *accelerated + multi lat 'c inst recog. this better life*

In Senegal, I visited a small village where education for girls, and women's adult literacy programs, had become a top priority. They saw how those efforts

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Through AID's International Disaster Assistance funds, we respond to natural and manmade disasters worldwide -- helping to suppress raging fires in

Mexico, feeding starving children in Sudan, and promoting ethnic reconciliation on Bosnia. We cannot allow Congressional cuts to jeopardize this program.

It's time to act. If we care -- as we do -- about opening foreign markets for American goods and services -- and if we want to help stabilize the financial crisis that is wrecking havoc in our world -- then Congress must fully fund the International Monetary Fund -- including the President's request for an additional \$18 billion. If we care -- as we do -- about making our country secure in the face of new post-cold war threats, then we must pay our debts to the United Nations. It's time to finally put an end to the tactics of those in Congress who would hold our contributions to the United Nations hostage, because they don't believe women should have access to family planning services. It's an outrage that the richest and most powerful country in the world is the number one debtor to the United Nations.

If we care -- as we do -- about enlarging the world's community of democracies, then we must fully fund the Foreign Operations budget -- and the many programs -- some of which I've mentioned this evening -- that give citizens the tools to improve their lives.

And if we care -- as we do -- that women around the world make up 70% of the poor and two thirds of those who can't read or write -- then we must support investments in lifelines like microcredit and education. And we must join the rest of the world and ratify the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. Despite the fact that our government signed this treaty almost two decades ago, and despite its proven track record as an effective tool to improve women's rights -- the United States stands alone among industrialized democracies in not ratifying it.

Today, I believe we have an opportunity to right our priorities -- and engage the public and Congressional support -- much like we did at the end of World War II. Back then, leaders such as Harry Truman and George Marshall had the vision to look beyond the wartime devastation and the underlying hostilities to a Europe in which regional cooperation would transcend adversarial boundaries and traditional rivalries. They believed that large-scale economic cooperation would facilitate not only postwar recovery but also long-term prosperity and international peace. And US leadership was instrumental in the creation of the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and NATO.

They understood back then that it wasn't enough to mobilize the government. They needed to lead a major campaign to educate the public, mobilize key constituencies, and persuade reluctant partners to make sure this great achievement would taken place. I've been reading about what a concerted, national effort that was -- and how leaders in government, and business, civic organizations, and religious institutions were enlisted to go from town to town -- from rotary clubs to civic groups -- to bring their message home.

And that is what we must all do today -- to convince Americans -- including members of Congress -- that our foreign policy not only improves lives and strengthens the forces of freedom overseas -- but that it directly affects the quality of life here at home -- including our jobs and our pocketbooks. But perhaps more importantly, we must demonstrate that if we are to maintain a strong, open, and democratic society here in America -- we must promote those same values and opportunities among citizens around the globe.

From what I understand from recent polls, Americans are far more interested in these issues than they are given credit for. Here's the good news: the overwhelming majority of Americans -- 86% -- believe we should be involved overseas -- and they support international efforts like the United Nations and foreign aid. Here's the bad news: That support is often overshadowed by the fear that we are doing too much -- more than our fair share. Yet when asked, many citizens believed our commitments were far greater than they actually were. As a result -- when a member of Congress votes against foreign aid -- the phones in many of the their offices remain silent. Their constituents don't call.

In other words, our work to more fully engage Americans won't be easy. And it's up to all of us -- academics; business leaders; foundations; the media; civic organizations -- to clear up the misperceptions about foreign aid -- it actually makes up 1% of our total budget -- and help make the benefits of our our investments overseas real -- and meaningful -- to the lives of ordinary citizens.

One of the ways we can do that is to show how much we learn from each other. I wish others could have joined me a few years ago, when I have visited a poor inner city neighborhood in Baltimore, Maryland, where grassroots strategies pioneered in Nairobi, Kenya, are now being used by community health workers in Baltimore to improve childhood immunization rates. And as a result, those immunization rates have soared. Thanks to an AID-sponsored effort -- "Lessons

Without borders" -- we're helping to spreading the word about effective programs overseas -- like the one in Nairobi -- to communities here at home.

I wish others could have joined me, when I visited programs in this country - including in this city -- that help women -- on the model of a lending bank in India, to acquire the same skills and the same access to credit that transformed lives many, many miles away. Today, this Administration -- through the Small Business Administration -- is making more loans than ever to women. And it's making a difference in the lives of families and communities across America.

Our leadership overseas -- and our efforts to empower citizens in their own communities -- are commitments that should matter to everyone. Yesterday ^{committed} afternoon, I met with a group of distinguished foreign policy experts -- including a ^{over} former secretary of state -- foundation heads, and experienced leaders from both inside and outside of government, to help think through how we can mobilize public support for our nation's foreign policy agenda. Suggestions ranged from creating bumper stickers that in plain language would remind us why America must lead the world -- in ten words or less -- to sustained grass roots educational campaigns. Participants stressed the importance of doing a better job of involving the business community -- which too often has not helped promote the foreign policy initiatives that ensure them stable and growing markets overseas.

One participant recommended that every member of Congress be sent a passport -- since we learned that as many as half of those who vote on these foreign appropriations bills don't have one -- and therefore haven't traveled overseas. Yet how else can they see the impact our international aid programs are having on the lives of ordinary people around the world? As I know from my own experience, traveling overseas can dramatically change the lens through which you view the world.

Clearly, we must think creatively about how to build and strengthen bipartisan support for American foreign policy -- a mission that I know Ed Muskie would have loved to join. But there is one priority I hope we can all agreed upon -- and that's how to better engage our young people in these vital issues.

They are the ones who could help build a world where we are as concerned about violence against women in their own homes as we are about outside terrorist threats; a world where we value basic freedoms of speech, and religion, and

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association as much as we treasure the benefits of the free market; a world where we recognize that by lifting up the lives of women and children in the poorest villages in the world, that we will be closer to fulfilling our own extraordinary potential -- as individuals, and as a nation.

I look forward to working with all of you to bring us closer to that day.

Thank you.

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REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
THE CENTER FOR NATIONAL POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C.
SEPTEMBER 17, 1998

Deep appreciation to my friend, Secretary Albright, for those kind words. It's a pleasure to be here with you and so many who care deeply about this country, and who have worked so hard, in both public and private life, to forge a better future. Thank you to the President of the Center for National Policy, Maureen (Mo) Steinbruner; Chair Mike Barnes and co-chair Joyce Ladner; "Mack" McClarty -- who has played such an invaluable role in our policies toward Latin America; members of Congress; members of the Diplomatic corps; members, guests, friends of the Center. I also join all of you tonight in mourning the untimely loss of a great friend of yours -- and the Center's ~~Mr~~ Kirk O'Donnell. *Acknowledge Mrs. Muskie?*
+ all 9 us

First, I want to thank you for the great honor you have given me here tonight, as the recipient of the Center's 1998 Edmund S. Muskie Distinguished Public Service Award. Ed Muskie's life reflected a deep commitment to the principles of freedom and justice -- here at home and overseas. And he carried out his many responsibilities with great fairness, warmth, and intelligence. Whether he walked the backroads of Maine, or the corridors of power, he represented the best of America: our optimism that we can create a better future; the spirit of public service; and deep commitment to forge bipartisan support for our national and international objectives. I know he was a respected leader and treasured friend of the Center's -- and I thank you for honoring me in his memory. *(Will his wife be here?)*

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I also want to say a word about my friend, and the most recent of Ed Muskie's successors -- Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. Over the last few years -- she has been a passionate advocate for human rights; for combating international trafficking in women and girls; for granting women small loans; for training women to become leaders in their communities and nations. And she's fought hard to place those concerns far higher on our international agenda. And as a result of her work -- these once peripheral issues -- thought by some to be only "women's issues" -- have in fact become more integral to our nation's foreign policy. I've had the enormous pleasure of working with her on many of these same issues -- albeit in a vastly different capacity -- and particularly since we worked together in Beijing at the UN women's conference a few years ago -- I have benefitted not only from her wisdom, but her friendship. Thank you, Madeleine, for all you have done.

Tonight, I want to underscore the critical need to more fully engage the American people's interest in foreign affairs -- and I believe that this is a particularly opportune time for all of us to undertake this mission. Recent events -- from the terrorist bombings of the US Embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, in which the lives of so many Americans and Africans were tragically lost -- to the global financial crisis -- which is affecting the pocketbooks and stock markets of people from Argentina to Japan -- are powerful examples of an ever more interconnected and interdependent world.

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But we can also see that connectedness in other world events. I've just been with the President to Ireland, to support, ~~as best we can~~, the fragile peace taking root there. And I'm convinced that the voices for peace and reconciliation that have triumphed there can -- and will -- inspire communities in other corners of the globe to work harder toward healing ancient ethnic or cultural wounds.

and opportunity
Today, more and more people understand that the peace or instability of one nation can affect the lives -- and quality of life -- of many others. Such global intertwinings prompted one theorist to ask recently, "Can a butterfly flapping its wings in Brazil cause a tornado in Texas?" Some days, one can almost imagine that answer to be yes.

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This country is now taking critical steps to regain our global economic balance -- through the IMF and other international institutions -- as we seek to support failing economies in countries like Russia -- or prevent such failures from taking place in other regions like South America. As the President said this week, we are facing the greatest economic challenge in the past 50 years -- and we must act boldly to meet that challenge. And next week, in a major address to the Council on Foreign Relations, the President will lay out the steps this country is taking to diminish the threat of terrorism here and around the world.

These policies to support free market economies, and encourage stable, democratic governments around the world have always been the foundations of our foreign policy. Yet there's growing recognition that as we move into this new post-cold war century, and the forces of globalism gain even greater momentum, we should turn even more of our attention to that place between the marketplace and the government -- what many call our "civil society" -- and ensure that too is strong and flourishing.

I have long subscribed to the belief that investments in people -- particularly women and children -- are just as essential to the prosperity and stability of our national family and global community as investment in open markets and trade. I have seen first hand, having had the privilege to travel overseas on behalf of the United States, what those investments in lifting up families, promoting human rights, strengthening the rule of law, and empowering women in their communities -- can mean in practice.

The 4th World Conf. on Women is being demonstrated
In China, as the head of the US delegation to the UN conference on Women in Beijing, I saw the power that women can unleash in their communities and in the world -- if they are given the tools of education, and health, and empowerment to do so. In my speech there -- I wanted to underscore a simple but undeniable fact: that women's rights are human rights; and that human rights are women's rights. And nations who do not elevate the rights of women and their families, and expand their opportunities to fully participate in the life of their communities -- do so at their peril.

(Central & E. Europe) - all continents?
Over the last six years, I've met women and women in cities and communities throughout Africa, and Asia, and South America -- as you saw on the wonderful film that was just shown -- who are struggling to transform their lives -- and the lives of their families and communities.

From Nicaragua to Chile to Bangladesh to Uganda, I've seen how a small loan -- sometimes only a few dollars -- can transform the lives of women and their families, and dramatically improve the resources and income of an entire village. I remember vividly speaking with a woman in Santiago, Chile, who told me that as a seamstress, she could not compete with the larger factors. Yet she knew there was a market for her work, because she had many people who had come to ask her to make something for them. With a small loan, she was able to buy a high-seed sewing machine, and replace her old, antiquated one. She said that when she got that new sewing machine, she felt like a caged bird set free. And that's a good way of describing how many of the people I have met seem to feel when given the opportunity.

In order to strengthen civil societies around the world, we must do more to open up those opportunities. And education is at the top of that list.

In Thailand, I met girls who were being sold into slavery, so their parents could eke out a bare living. But in Bangladesh, I've spoken with mothers who realized that their daughters were far better off armed with a good education, and I've seen how that government is working to provide families with the incentives/educate their daughters -- by providing food allotments to families who send their girls to school -- and by actually paying poor families -- by depositing money in their bank account-- so long as the girls attend school.

Today, the single most important investment any developing nation can make is in the education of girls and women. What we are discovering in country after country is that education is not just a means of acquiring knowledge. It also has a positive effect on women's health, nutrition, wages, and level of political participation. Yet extremist views -- so prevalent in some developing countries -- are trying to halt this progress. In Bangladesh -- some schools have been burned by extremists groups. But they keep being rebuilt -- and families keep sending their children to attend.

We must plant those roots of democracy and progress even where the ground has long lay infertile. In Hungary, and Uzbekistan, Romania, and the Czech Republic, and so many other newly independent states of Eastern Europe, I met with those nation's new leaders -- as they struggled with a new found freedom, and the realization that they -- not an encrusted, oppressive bureaucracy -- had the power to revitalize their civil society -- and follow their own destinies. In Ukraine, I saw citizens busy rebuilding that society -- by caring for their children, opening schools, restoring their places of worship, and launching a new information campaign to reach women in danger of being bought and sold as prostitutes.

In many countries, I've visited hospitals where I have seen half of the women admitted being there as a result of the consequences of self-induced abortions. But I've also visited a hospital in Salvador, Brazil, where I saw classrooms throughout the building displaying charts and diagrams of information about reproduction and family planning. And I met with the Minister of Health, who told me about what a difference it was beginning to make that USAID was supporting family planning information and services.

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That visit, and so many others I have made to health clinics in the poorest communities around the world -- underscore again and again the importance of making family planning central to our policies overseas. And we should do so not only to end the senseless suffering and death of those who try to perform their own abortions. But as a fundamental opportunity to help women take control of their own families -- and their own lives. We cannot let those in Congress and elsewhere hold us back on this critical tool of foreign policy.

Imp't of building rule of law - general prog described in

In China, I met ~~a number of~~ women lawyers who ran a women's law clinic in Beijing. *Univ.?* They were taking on cases ranging from rape to job discrimination -- giving women and men the ~~encouragement to speak up for their rights, and setting important legal precedents.~~ There is so

? much that needs to be done to open up that society -- and to secure basic, human rights for all of the Chinese people. But efforts like this clinic -- that strengthen the rule of law -- are a fundamental step in that direction. *everyday*

see that laws when enforced can bring remedies to lives

As many of you know, I just returned from ^{no} Ireland -- where I had the opportunity to meet with women who played such an extraordinary role in bringing warring factions together, raising their voices for peace and reconciliation across their land, and overcoming the forces of hatred. And there, I saw women and men beginning new businesses, and opening new schools, and promoting greater political participation at all levels of government and community -- the building blocks to ensure that their fragile peace agreement takes hold and succeeds. *coming together to get work may needed to*

Our support for these and so many similar efforts around the world reflect our belief that the future of this country and this continent are inextricably linked to the futures of countries throughout the world. And it reflects our belief that peace and prosperity can and will prevail if we work together. But most of all, it reflects our belief that the stability of the world depends on women and men being empowered in their own communities to create their own destinies, and to fulfill their greatest potential.

If we care, as we do, about opening foreign markets for American goods and services; if we care, as we do, about making our country secure in the face of new post-cold war threats ... if we care, as we do, about enlarging the world's community of democracies, then I believe we have to address the conditions and circumstances of the world's women, who after all comprise more than half of the population -- but are 70% of the poor and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write.

As long as women are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, not schooled, and subjected to violence in and out of their homes, the potential for all of us to create a stable, peaceful, and ultimately prosperous world will be never be realized.

Increasingly, the United States is making these kinds of investments -- not only in the health and security of women and families, but in other efforts to strengthen human rights, the rule of law, and expand opportunities for education, and jobs, and training. I've just spoken about some of the many benefits I've seen of those investments. But to persuade more Americans of the value of such investments, we must do more than convince them this is the right thing to do. We must also demonstrate that this is the smart thing to do as well.

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We know, for example, that a single year of education usually correlates with an increased income of 10 to 20% for women later in life. And while we're making progress in this area -- primary school enrollment for girls has increased by 50 percent since 1960 in developing countries -- we must do more. We also know that micro-credit is a powerful tool for social as well as economic progress. And that the default rate is extremely low -- about 2.2 percent -- and the repayment rate -- obviously -- is extremely high. I think if more banks understood the tenacity, the commitment, entrepreneurial spirit of people -- particularly women -- then we would go much farther to extend credit -- and promote independence.

But there are more subtle ripple effects of these efforts as well. As I've stood in barrios in Latin America and in villages in Asia and Africa, I've seen the larger effects of micro-enterprise. It's a tool that women can use not only to make an income, and gain greater economic independence. But also to feel empowered so that they can become more active citizens of their village, and their country. So that they can begin to understand not only how a market works, but how a society and political democracy can work as well.

*Don
Care
Share
Love*

We must also keep in mind that these investments are not one way streets. I have visited a poor inner city neighborhood in Baltimore, Maryland, where community health leaders are finally making progress in raising the immunization rate for youngsters -- thanks to a program called "Lessons Without borders" -- which is spreading the word about effective programs overseas to communities here at home. And I have visited a program called *our country's* *in clady* *in this* *city* ~~Mi Casa~~, in Denver, that helps many women on the model of the Grameen Bank in India, to acquire the same skills and the same access to credit that transformed lives many, many miles away. I recognize that the kind of investments that work in helping people to become more self sufficient will take time and effort. But we are finally beginning to put into action some of what we've learned. The Small Business Administration, for example, is making more loans than ever to women. And it's making a difference in the lives of families and communities across America.

Certainly these kinds of cross fertilizing lessons -- that we can learn from because we have helped to seed them elsewhere and to bring them home -- are a way of demonstrating that our national interest must take root in the values that we profess here and abroad.

Yet as important as these programs are -- not only to the health and welfare of families and communities around the globe -- but to communities back here in the United States -- many are at risk today.

Take our support for the Support East European Democracy (SEED) program -- which helps the development of market economies, democratic institutions, civil society, and social welfare reform in Central Europe. Through this program, the US has trained democratic parties in Slovakia, promoted child welfare reform in Romania, and advanced the rule of law in Macedonia, and supported the construction of schools and community centers in Bosnia. Congressional cuts threaten to decimate this program.

*What about a localizing point -
the POTUS made in
his Monday speech to IMF?*

International Disaster Assistance funds, provided by USAID, responds to both natural and manmade disasters worldwide -- supporting efforts to suppress raging fires in Mexico, help starving children in Sudan, and to promote ethnic reconciliation in Bosnia. Those programs would be jeopardized if Congress cut funding for this program.

In Africa, the US is committed to promoting democracy, human rights, trade and investment, and good governance. Programs that advance these goals, including the Great Lakes Justice Initiative, which invests in the rule of law to prevent future genocide, and Radio Democracy, which will provide a forum to discuss democratic values and the role of civil society, are threatened by Congressional cuts.

In the Ukraine, the US is assisting local authorities in efforts to prevent the illicit trade in women -- by supporting public awareness campaigns and providing new economic opportunities. This program provides hope to an estimated 800,000 women at risk -- and would be significantly curtailed should proposed cuts materialize.

What about U.S. example

As all of you know so well -- not enough Americans see the connection between these efforts to support civil society, and empower citizens in their own communities -- and the quality of life we lead here at home. According to USIA, both leaders and citizens in America place a high priority on a number of "global interests" that we share with other countries -- such as preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and improving the global environment. Yet America's leaders and the public also give relatively low priority to various humanitarian objectives. Support for what's called "global altruism" is down sharply from cold war levels, making today's climate the worst yet recorded by polls for building support for such programs abroad.

So we have our work cut out for us. As we approach a new century, and a new millennium, we are a time of unparalleled opportunity to share the growth and prosperity among nations. But we are also facing perhaps the gravest challenge to that stability and growth worldwide. A study just released by the United Nations shows that while the consumption of goods and services is rising at a phenomenal rate in both industrial and developing nations -- it's six times greater than in 1950 -- that the gap between the world's richest and poorest people continues to widen.

As James Gustave Speth, administrator of the United Nations Development program said, "Not everyone has been invited to the party." In too many countries, military expenditures are often disproportionately high -- where as investments in education and social development dismally low. The result is an explosive and ever widening chasm between the haves and the have nots; between the empowered and disenfranchised; between the educated and the illiterate. I was particularly struck by a shocking image included in the report: that Americans spend more on cosmetics -- \$8 billion annually -- and Europeans spend more on ice cream -- \$11 billion -- than it is estimated it would cost to provide basic education, water, and sanitation to the more than 2 billion people worldwide who live without schools or toilets.

At such a time of enormous disparity in injustice, it is an outrage that the richest and most powerful country in the world is the number one debtor to the United Nations. And that Congress has not fully funded the International Monetary Fund. It is also deeply troubling that among major industrialized nations, the US ranks dead last as provider of foreign assistance -- as a percentage of our GNP. Many people are under the misguided notion that we spend exorbitant sums on foreign policy -- up to 15 or 20 percent of our budget. But as we all know -- international affairs spending represents just 1% of our budget -- and that has declined 50% in real terms over the past decade.

Today, I believe we have an opportunity to ^{right on} ~~change~~ these priorities -- and engage the public's support -- much like we did at the end of World War II. Back then, leaders such as Harry Truman and George Marshall had the vision to look beyond the wartime devastation and the underlying hostilities to envision a Europe in which regional cooperation would transcend adversarial boundaries and traditional rivalries. They believed that large-scale economic cooperation would facilitate not only postwar recovery but also long-term prosperity and international peace. And US leadership was instrumental in the creation of the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and NATO.

Yet this vision enjoyed little support among the American public at the time, and had it not been for a major effort to educate the public, mobilize key constituencies, and persuade reluctant partners, this great achievement would never have taken place.

Today, we must make a similar effort to work together -- as leaders in the government, the media, the business community, and civic groups -- to convince Americans of every political persuasion that our foreign policy not only serves to improve lives and strengthen the forces of freedom overseas -- but affects the quality of life we lead here at home. We must show -- with clear explanations and vivid examples -- that if we are to maintain a strong democratic society here at home, we must exert the leadership overseas that reflects that spirit.

I look forward to the day when we are as concerned about violence against women in their own homes as we are about outside terrorist threats; that we understand that the health of a child in Bolivia or South Africa is as important as the health of the Russian ruble; that we invest as much of our resources in supporting schools, and health care clinics, and grass roots voting initiatives around the world as we invest in protecting our national security. That we treasure freedom of speech, and religion, and association as much as we treasure the benefits of the free market. That we recognize that by lifting up the lives of women in the poorest villages in the world, that we ensure greater health and prosperity for her family, her community, and her country.

As a nation, our belief in what we can accomplish together has always enabled us to triumph over what appears at first to be insurmountable challenges -- whether it was breaking down the racial barriers of hatred -- or landing an American on the moon. And over time, we have learned that our ideals of freedom and democracy cannot be divorced from the political, economic, and social cross currents swirling around us. Perhaps more than anything, we need to revitalize that sense of common purpose today.

I look forward to working with all of you here this evening, in the months and years ahead, as together, we engage more Americans in our foreign policy commitments, and move closer, as individuals, and as a nation, to realizing the ideals upon which this nation was founded.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 12, 1997

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

Dean Acheson Auditorium
The State Department

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

Not only has Madeleine Albright broken many a glass ceiling, she has brokered many a peace. Not only has she opened many doors, she has opened many minds. And since she mentioned it, I would say that in my last conversation with Mrs. Roosevelt -- (laughter) -- she told me how pleased she was that her husband had appointed the first woman to the Cabinet in United States history, and how pleased she was that my husband had appointed the first woman Secretary of State. (Applause.)

I thank Secretary Albright for her leadership, her courage and, on a personal note, her friendship. And I am delighted that she has agreed to serve as the new chair for the President's Interagency Council on Women, ably assisted on the issues by Teresa Loar and Tim Wirth and others of you here.

We all know that countless responsibilities face our new Secretary of State and all of us. Our foreign policy does not lack for challenges. We must continue to reduce weapons of mass destruction. We must realize the century's dream of a wholly united, democratic and peaceful Europe. We must work to capture new opportunities in Asia, to seize opportunities for peace in the Middle East and other areas that are strategic not only to the United States but to the entire globe. We must work with our partners in Latin America, Africa, and elsewhere to build an inclusive and expanding global economy. We must safeguard our people from the threats of terrorism, extremism, international crime, drugs, and environmental degradation.

While all of these require our attention and commitment, today I have come to advance a simple idea. That is the seamless inclusion of girls' and women's needs in American foreign policy. Despite the work they do, the families they raise, the communities they hold together, too many of the world's women, particularly in developing nations, live on the outskirts of opportunity and equality. But let me be clear: This challenge is not confined to the developing world. We still have plenty of work to do here in the United States and in other advanced economies of the world to ensure that women have a full stake in democracy. One goal in every country should be to see that all citizens, regardless of race or gender or ethnicity or religion, have a full place at their society's table.

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

Later that day I spoke at an event that helps raise funds to send single parents, primarily women, to college or vocational school. I heard stories from five women who told us what it had meant that their society, in the form of those who had raised these funds, reached out and told them that they could make something of their own lives, they could go to college, they could support themselves and their children. They had heard the message that is even still too often conveyed in America: that they weren't worth very much, that nobody really cared too much about them.

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

Those stories, as I heard them, reminded me of stories that I have heard around the world. As women in Bangladesh or India or Nicaragua or Chile stood up and told me what it meant to them to have someone believe that they, too, could make a living for their family; that the skills they had would be valued in the marketplace; that their children, especially their daughters, could have a better life. The women last night were helped to return to school. And today they are citizens of the United States in the fullest sense of that word.

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

But one may ask, well, it's fine for me to care about the women of Arkansas, but why should I or any American care about women in developing countries and around the world? Why should women, as Secretary Albright just eloquently explained, be a concern of ours and our foreign policy here in the United States? Well, what the Secretary said and what this administration believes is that if half of the world's citizens are undervalued, underpaid, undereducated, underrepresented, fed less, fed worse, not heard, put down, we cannot sustain the democratic values and the way of life we have come to cherish.

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

You in this room know better than anyone else that our world is in a time of great transformation, heralding ever more democracies, leading, we hope, to ever more peace. But the great promise of this time is not without its challenges. Global competition, the information revolution, the rapid pace of change all create pressures on every society, from governments down to families. And these pressures pose unavoidable questions for us as we approach the 21st century. How do we figure out ways to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities? How do parents raise children in the face of the influences of the mass media and consumer culture? What do we make of what seems to be a conflict in many instances between personal identity and the work available in an age of globalization and high technology? What about the roles of women in society? How will people preserve their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship? And how will nations protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others?

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

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

I have said before that at this time of challenge around the globe, we know we will continue to cope with what is often thought of as the traditional balance of power among countries. But I would also argue that we must now add to that balance of power equation, often called realpolitik, the idea that real-life politik may be just as intimately connected with whether or not democracies survive and flourish.

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

I have seen for myself on continent after continent the solutions that women are forging -- new mothers in Jogjakarta, Indonesia, who gather every week to learn about family planning and better nutrition for their children; doctors and nurses in Belarus and Ukraine who are caring for the children of Chernobyl; women from Santiago to San Diego who are working on issues as diverse as education, crime, and the environment. These issues are central to our global democratic interests. For what distinguishes democracy is fair and genuine participation in every aspect of life.

It should be too obvious to point out, but unfortunately it isn't, that giving women a stronger voice and fuller say over their futures is intimately related to the health of democracies because women are the majority in most countries and the world over.

America's credo should ring clearly: A democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms. To reach its full potential, it must include all of its citizens. Clearly, whether we succeed in strengthening democratic values around the world is of special consequence to women, who in our country and elsewhere are still striving to attain, and even define their rightful place in government, the economy, and civil society, and to claim their rightful share of personal, political, economic and civic power.

Raising the status of women and girls and investing in their potential means insuring that they have the tools of opportunity available to them. Education, health care, credit and jobs, legal protections and the right to participate fully in the political life of their countries. And that is why the United States must continue its bipartisan tradition of supporting initiatives that move our world closer to these goals.

Today, more than 600 million women worldwide are denied the opportunity of an education. Women make up two-thirds of those who can neither read nor write. Yet the single most important investment any developing nation can make is in the education of girls and women. We are discovering that in country after country the benefits of educating women go far beyond the classroom and the schoolhouse. They go to stronger families, better health, nutrition, wages, and levels of political participation.

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

Certainly, as I travel around the world and as many of you do likewise, we have seen with our own eyes that investing in girls and women helps to transform communities which in turn can transform societies. Women will not flourish and neither will democracy if they continue to be undervalued inside and outside the home.

I have had many experts in economic development around the world say to me that women's work is not part of the economies of countries, that women do not participate in the economic markets of countries. And yet I have seen with my own eyes as I've traveled through urban areas and remote rural ones that women are bearing often the bulk of the load of the work that must be done -- to plant crops, to harvest them, to make it possible for small enterprises to flourish in market stalls. So I know that women are working. Their contributions may not be counted in the gross domestic product of their societies, but they are of value. If all the women in the world tomorrow said they would not work outside the home, the economies of every country would collapse. And it is time -- (applause) -- it is time that we honored and counted the contributions that women make, both in the home and outside.

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

I want to say a special word about family planning and its importance in this larger effort. Family planning is fundamental to letting women take responsibility for themselves and their children. Right now, however, roughly 100 million women worldwide cannot get or are not using family planning services because they are poor, uneducated, or do not have access to care. Some 20 million women will seek unsafe abortions. Of these women, some may become disabled for life, some will have other health problems, but fundamentally, the rate of unsafe abortions is in itself a tragedy. High abortion rates do not represent women's equality; they represent a failure on all our parts to help women prevent unwanted pregnancies in the first place. If we really care about reducing abortions and fostering strong families, we must not back away from America's commitment to family planning efforts overseas. (Applause.)

If we really care about making women equal partners in societies the world over, we must do everything in our power to fight violence against women, whether it is a hidden crime of domestic abuse or a blatant tactic of war.

No single social investment is a panacea for women or for developing countries. Nor should every just cause of the world be America's to embrace.

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

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

Over time, America has learned that our ideals and interests cannot be divorced from the political, economic and social cross-currents swirling around us. I hope we have also learned that engagement with the world represents opportunities at home as well as obligations abroad.

Let me just give you one modest example. I spoke recently at a conference sponsored by USAID called Lessons Without Borders. At the conference, Baltimore's Mayor, Kurt Schmoke, told how government leaders from his city had gone to Africa to learn about simple, low-cost strategies used on that continent to encourage parents to immunize their children. Now similar programs are in place in Baltimore, with community clinics, a vaccination van, door-to-door visits and the resulting higher immunizations rates for children under three.

We can learn from our neighbors around the world. And many of the lessons we can learn, we will find, are lessons that have been helped to be taught by our own foreign policy engagement -- less than one percent of our budget, yet countless lives can be improved and we can improve lives here at home.

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

Africa has a remarkable story if we will only pay attention to it. It is moving toward democracy. In the last six years, the number of democracies have jumped from five to 23. Africa is growing economically, moving from suffocating state-controlled economies to open markets that can give full life and scope to human endeavor.

Last year, 30 countries reported positive economic growth. Africa is beginning to forge a new relationship with the United States -- one based not just on aid but on shared ideals, mutual responsibilities, integration into the world economy, and partnerships designed to resolve conflicts and to meet common challenges. To be sure, many of the African democracies are new and therefore fragile. Hope remains tenuous. Too much of the continent continues to be riven by disease, malnutrition, poverty, injustice, corruption, perilous conflicts and their terrible aftermath, refugee crises that trap women and children especially in lives that go from bad to worse.

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

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

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

I hope this trip will give the American people a renewed sense of the importance of our commitment to Africa. I hope it will lay out exactly why we must do our utmost to support democracy and social investment in Africa and to strengthen Africa's place in the community of nations.

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

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

There are also economic issues at stake. Right now, the United States holds only 7 percent of the African market of 600 million people. By forging stronger economic ties with Africa, we will do much to secure the prosperity of our own people as well.

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

As we look at the future for America's engagement around the world, we can see that wherever we help to seed the ground for democracy, wherever we reach out to people out of mutual respect to help them help themselves, wherever we understand clearly that in this time of interdependence and interconnection that we all have a stake in the success of the other, we will make progress together. Whether it comes to assisting and working with our friends in the new democracies in Africa, or understanding the importance of our commitment to women and girls, America's interests are at stake.

But far more importantly, America's values are at stake. If we act upon those values, we will help to lead the world into the kind of new future we envision as possible for our children and all the children around the globe.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

Yet we from America know that this is a long task before you. I want you to know that, as Americans, we celebrate your accomplishments and we want to be your partners in securing your democratic future. To that end, President Clinton has pledged an additional \$19 million through the United States Agency for International Development to assist President Mandela's teacher training initiative and \$87 million in USAID assistance this year for housing, health care, and business development initiatives.

One of the most tangible signs of our new partnership is the binational commission chaired by our Vice President and your Deputy President. Last year they signed an agreement to cooperate to fight crime. As a result, the United States is providing funding this year to assist South African law enforcement agencies with criminal justice expertise and training.

We are working together to improve the business environment by lowering taxes and tariffs so that bilateral trade can thrive, creating jobs for both the people of South Africa and the United States.

South Africans and Americans are also learning from each other, through education, medical, and cultural exchanges at colleges and universities, as well as fellowships at some of our leading scientific institutions. In addition to funding from USAID, many of these programs are supported by American corporations, foundations, and universities.

And let me deliver today another indication of our support for the work that you are doing here in this country. Today I am privileged to announce that the United States is expanding support for the campaign to eradicate polio in Africa by the year 2000. Initiated by the World Health Organization's regional office for Africa, the Kick Polio out of Africa campaign is a partnership in the truest sense. It involves national and local governments, nongovernmental organizations, businesses, bilateral donors. It is led by your President. And thanks in part to his leadership, extraordinary progress was made on this front last year.

Now the United States is committing an additional \$16 million through USAID to assist in this vital effort to bring better health to the people of Africa. With us today are representatives from key organizations in this important partnership: the World Health Organization, Rotary International, and UNICEF. In our hemisphere we have succeeded in eradicating polio, and now we wish to assist the people of Africa in eradicating polio on this continent as well.

Each of these and the many other investments between our countries reflect our belief that the future of this country and this continent are inextricably linked to the futures of countries throughout the world. It reflects our belief that peace and prosperity can and will prevail if we all work together. Most of all, it reflects the faith we have in you and in the democratic path you have chosen to follow at this difficult time of transformation.

That said, I must add, there are no panaceas. There are no quick fixes in the march to democracy and a truly free market economy. Democracy's success in South Africa will not depend solely on free elections, open markets, or government policies. It will not depend solely

on foreign investment. It will depend ultimately on the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds, and everyday lives.

For those of you who are students here at this great university, perhaps your experience here can serve as a guide. Universities, after all, are where we who are lucky enough to attend them learn more about the importance of personal responsibility and community. They are training grounds for individual freedom and incubators of ideas. They are repositories of free speech and free thought. And they are a collective meeting place for individuals of very different backgrounds, different attitudes, interests and aspirations. They are places where we test the balance between individual and community rights, where we struggle to find the balance between "me" and "we," where we assume responsibility for ourselves and others.

This university has always been a vanguard of change; now you have a chance to help create a new South Africa. And you also have a chance to help shape the course of history. The world is watching, and the democratic world stands with you. It has been given to you as to few other peoples in history the opportunity to hold in your hands your own futures and the futures and dreams of countless millions of others.

May God bless each and every one of you and all the people of this great country as you work to realize your individual and shared destinies. Thank you very much.

Q (Inaudible.)

MRS. CLINTON: I think this is an extraordinary moment in time for any of us who are women, and particularly if we are fortunate enough to have the blessings of good health and education and to feel that we are able to make the choices that are right for ourselves in our own lives and as they impact our families and our societies.

I think that we have more opportunity than we've ever had, but so much of whether or not we seize that opportunity depends on two factors: first, how well prepared we are to accept responsibility for our choices and the consequences of our choices; and how supportive and enabling those around us, including families and the larger society, happen to be. So although we have made considerable progress, moving toward a point where individual women will hopefully have the chance to make those choices that are right for them, there is still a great deal of work to be done, in my own country as well as around the world.

Those of us who were fortunate enough to go to Beijing know that the majority of people who live in absolute poverty in the world are women, often the sole support of children; that women do most of the hard work in our world, oftentimes without any income being generated or even any recognition of their economic contributions both inside the home and outside the home -- and that is true in advanced countries as well as developing ones. So I hope that women as we move toward this new century will support one another in all of our various aspects of life; that we will not be tricked or seduced into a position of undermining other women's accomplishments and other women's opportunities; that we will work for a change in our societies, where appropriate, to have the kind of legal and other protections that are

necessary; and that every one of us will do what we can to make sure that little girls are given the same opportunities in every society as little boys. It makes sense. We don't have the human resources to waste. And we need to be sure that we enable all citizens of every country to live up to the fullest of their potential and make the contribution they are capable of making to their society.

And so I hope that the 21st century will see so much progress on this point that by the 22nd century we won't even ask the question anymore. (Applause.)

Q Mrs. Clinton, you and I share an alma mater you started a tradition that I would be glad to be a part of that -- the students speak at commencements. What did you take from your Wellesley experience that you use in your everyday life that you try to pass on to other people?

MRS. CLINTON: Both the questioner and I attended Wellesley College, which is a women's college outside Boston, and I feel very fortunate that I attended that college for many reasons. One, because it gave me four years of relative seclusion on a beautiful campus to study and learn and interact with my classmates and the faculty, and yet a big city, Boston, with lots of other universities and men was nearby. (Laughter.) In my view, the best of all possible worlds. (Laughter.)

And it also gave, I think, all of us who took those four years out the confidence that is sometimes drained out of even eager women in university experience that undermines their feeling that they can make their contributions because, from the moment they enter university -- I'm sure it's not true here -- they are battered about by the expectations for social success and relationships that make it more difficult for them to concentrate on what it is they're studying and learning, and to find their own path as clearly as they would like. And we did not have those kinds of distractions or difficulties.

And I think that the role of women's education is still one that has to be looked at very carefully around the world. There is a role, I believe, for single-sex schools for girls and for boys, at all levels of education. And I think a school -- a college like Wellesley stands as a very good example of the continuing commitment that must be made to women's education. Even though all of our other fine and competitive universities are now available to women, there is still something very special about that environment, and I'm very grateful every day that I attended there. (Applause.)

Q (Inaudible.)

MRS. CLINTON: We've had a long and difficult debate in our country about the role of welfare and the idea of a social safety net in the United States. And I have, along with my husband, worked in both the public and the private sector for many years on the challenges presented by the welfare system as it operated in the United States. When my husband was the Governor of the State of Arkansas, he worked very hard to provide people who were on welfare the education and training that they needed to be able to compete in the job market and was successful in helping to move a number of people off of welfare.

He has recently signed a piece of legislation that will end what we call the "welfare entitlement" and turn back to individual states the responsibility for implementing welfare policy. This was a very controversial decision in many quarters in the United States. But let me briefly describe what I see as the reasons why the President signed that legislation.

First of all, there is very little doubt in our country that the current welfare system, before this legislation was signed, was not working for a significant number of people who were trapped on welfare. There were large numbers of people, particularly women who had gone through a divorce and were left with very few financial resources, people who had other kinds of misfortune, who would be on welfare for a short period of time and then off. In fact, the average time that the vast majority of people stayed on welfare was two years or less.

But there was a group of people caught in welfare dependency -- second and third generation -- where, for reasons that had to do with all kinds of social and economic and even psychological changes, they were unable to break out of that welfare dependency. So there was no doubt that the system had not worked for them.

And the President believed that we had to make drastic changes in that system in order for people to be motivated to understand how they had to help themselves. He also believed that in our country we've had many people say that communities and churches and other institutions would be more helpful to people on welfare if the government didn't provide an automatic check. We are going to find out whether that's true or not. And the President has been working very hard to persuade businesses and various levels of government to hire people off of welfare. He's been working to persuade churches to, in a sense, mentor families on welfare.

So he has set as a challenge to America: If you are serious about caring for your fellow man, if you are serious about ending welfare as we know it, then you have to be involved. There are no more excuses. We can no longer say, well, we hate the welfare system, and all those people who are on it are people that we just don't understand. Now there is no more welfare system, except as we create it. So it is a bold and challenging step we have taken, and we will watch it very carefully to try to make sure it works to the benefit of the people it is intended to help.

Q (Inaudible.)

MRS. CLINTON: (Laughter.) Hope springs eternal. (Laughter.) You know, I have thought a lot about this, because -- (laughter and applause) -- strictly as a student of political science -- (laughter) -- I am curious as to why it is apparently easier for women to ascend to the highest ranks of national leadership in parliamentary systems. I met the speaker of your house yesterday here in Capetown, a woman, and I have met women prime ministers and presidents around the world who come out of a parliamentary system. And I have no real answer to this, but a few suggestions which reflect how difficult it is in our country, I believe. In a parliamentary system, whether it's Margaret Thatcher or Indira Gandhi or Golda Meir or any of the other countless women in this century who have succeeded to the highest political position in

9/17/98

Joseph P. Day meeting

(3rd in series of discussion -
over 2 years - more pressing)

Prompted this ??

Students, academics, gov't -
buckle up the disconnect
between our public + Corg
+ Adm + their concerned
about our role in the world -

- decreasing cred of attention
to current role in world -
giving time away for
information access in an
computer + the in print +
public sector -

no time to work down or
Alerts + involved -
must address the
disconnect
use believe in public -
the current public was
what the given credit for -

If given info + expertise
to make informed
choices - the can do it -

also seen drop off in public
sector to spell out a
unintentional concerns -

Daves: disappointed -
IMF, UN, Drag - lack
influence or support of British
leadership in the reserves

Council of the Adm -
+ Republic + Rems - in + before -
same -
European Council has
to redefine + clear
an even leadership &
the open ahead.

Pickering:

~~transformation~~ Support -
for ~~reserves~~

much work - of last 10 years
accomplished - unfeasible
because of limited funding -
ferry policy has been tied
behind the back - lack of
resources - demand

85% support on ferry policy -
but, elect people who
don't -

large disconnect -

more power domestic issues -

as we look at an Economy -
30% → deficit in the
trade + investment -- jobs -
well

budget gap

DC + West

PA Ave + Conner

growing sense: that the
undersigned leader
should be supplying itself
internally by not able to
take on their concerns

Sandy

we saw for

an parallel → parallel

+ 50 years - established threat
to US fuel fueling for defense
+ foreign policy - also highways,
federal aid → education -

★ It established on people
parallel collapsed - new
parallel - Real - not
connected to world the
live - immigrants - live
can't up in not a world
yet answer idea of energy
under attack / children -
must be to people w/ that
challenge -

media reflect / cause of
that disconnect - news coverage ^{gender} news

$\frac{1}{3} \rightarrow 20\%$

1990 - 3500 minutes - for pol }

1997 1100 " " }

~~the~~ media + experts think
public not interested -
yet polls show they are
interested -

What to do: we must
redefine debate.

for policy no longer focus -
live better for + demands
increasing at blue -

crime

drugs

terrorism

jobs

immigration

politics of weapons

mass destruction

2nd: constituencies:
small nations versus
dominant nations
the conception of for
policy

On leadership is to context
in which business operates -
but then

educate the elite -- not just
the public -- especially Congress

David
Speakers new - did travel outside
of country once since '92 -
+ sees no reason to
do so -

get them to travel
(Congress) then have seen world -
transferring views.

deal with at grassroots +
Congressional level

Public Policy

~~good news~~ - bad news has
been heavy in Iraq - withdrawal
phase - pulling out soon
- input: we should be involved
pay less attention -
suspect UN -
(not at
Jaber and -
[86% support food aid]

bad news

Support me & backed
my fear we are playing
too much - now the
its fair share -
+ that discrepancy and
of our \$ → fear and -
and don't see the results -

hopeful

- don't want to change
→ new cooperative ways -
ON the
→ rest in comprehension
of what was done -
(me the love
Bernie
ON
for me)

we asked how much we
should do - now then we
do -

What to do??

1) correct misperception
+ info

2) involve support

Example: IMF fund -
when you give pro + con arguments -
Support jumped 18% - so
arguing in favor -

- make link between our values +
- how better our values
- how to see / hear debate -

* fake Wodger effect - we think
we see big picture - but
other details

Series of tasks that would
involve a conference -

To engage them + seeing people who
they report talking + leading to
other issues -

Brain / AID

→ brain groups -
should go back - media - from team -
few people - unseen
people are whipped by problems
Chaos / suffering

leadership / school

1) look at it - from -
Support is there - waiting for
leadership + event stewards &

- 1) Terrorism (crime etc)
- 2) Global finance

If we can't demonstrate fear
there line the impact is
direct

2) long term effort to get
more support for resourcing
Engage -
lots of young people
environmental issues,
population changes

AID - mine - Operation Days
Work - get any young people
in there - focus on development
center - work for a day -
→ money to that project -
In Scandinavia - it works
launch it in US then for

Seasons w/ our Boats
how what we can see → at the
long term effects - in
Scheds - young people -
the room are even down
So well -- but what will
next generate face?

good time - issues lesson/finer -
permeated public concerns -
we are more interested.

How to mobilize that ??

need leader education -
Long term - public education

Prep Project UGO, Bureau of, etc -

— First Leads Conference
Experts / Technical / Stability improvement -
Sub Value
don't have a
Club

MAT
60815H.
69379

Steven Hall / polls

Kissinger

Real issue: What are we
trying to accomplish??

End of Cold War - destruction
of systems -

Europe - new world order

Asia - balance of power -
19th century

Merene peace
advances
interest

Included -

crisis of global econ

system - globalization

create it can -

more for crisis →

challenge - ~~not~~
must be preparation

NRC

some why prevent
pulling tin away from
Europe in for pol.

don't have a framework

then understood - give the

a lead actor - fallout of

new - Henry: from and how

to create an en - A h - I got

it. [Marshall Plan]

new - IMF??

Evans

Susan we need to change ①

franchising of clients - for policy -
Some funders / NGOs - felt we
were individual based but
losing work - selling back in
the 90s -

so start a process

1) take large steps -

was a framing process -

(did not let staff feel

losses - took about \$1

Day Care - not day care
or not use -

→ change framework -

* in our best interests

* Consider up our values

(Adults Only)
etc

② look for other channels to
reach public

↳ Harney / Carnegie -

* advice

* making a future issue salient -

- induction - Cooper on induction
unintended -

build constituency.
need to take people on trips -
abt of advocacy -

1) Symptomatic disconnect
Confusion - for an adult
here - cold war reality -
fuel for all our efforts.

2) Part cold war Penetration
penetration of Confusion (we
don't know what it is -
just
the ^{central} maps are erased
Berlin wall
Soviet Union) gone -

2) Trying to articulate /
trade - ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~state~~ -
America must lead in
World Bank -
for, property + jobs +
insurance
depend upon it

WAFIA -

Like the female -
Spurred by her shed

because --
an surround
depend on it
(there we have as
best - III + II)

because --
from (K)
an hour +
aspiration for
light + faith for
all depend upon it

Cold war - threat merged
50 years of good news -
but that the abnormal situation
need sustained action --

HAMBURG

- you must understand
- last December -

keep America the underdog
world wide in —
Global economy —

question: what do we
mean by US leadership??
perfectionist?
isolationist?
do it our way?

Geopolitics - Small - prevail -
why should we care?
why does it matter?

→ rels, med, education / etc → Actual
everyday

WWII - no build in consensus
for Marshall Plan, NATO
etc - we had to build
it

HRC ★
Im A ♀
been
reading
==

understand the need to
be active.

concrete effort to
build trust, comm. / med
rels - cons - — Set out
to show the world - why we
must rebuild Europe -

Amazing Carson - public
Educ - then by law
win clubs -
A* Schools -

environmental
transformation
Educ

People can be
him - punched -
we win for
on me
feel Ah

MF AID were gone -

What shall we do?

+ even des
Trade Argument on best chance -
What is it for America?

College / HS. - self arguments -
(were 4 or)

→ AID / Trade essen - on best
chance

Banker, university
present / reason any } the little
speed into

A we need act
9 State work } this is deals

Set elites + grammar involves

abt 9" - not speaking out as
clear issues -

who speaks - make the
connection

Trade
Under pyres) connect the

grammar - lesson w/ ans
Bader -

no clue - was got 50 yrs -
affiliation in early Com in America -
find then - connect then -

→ focus -
Chamber of Commerce
Perp

Dolan + Lane

Ever you for 15 years.

& Congress for month gone down -

regular, steady + w/out
much protest

1/2 9 what it was 15 years ago

① american business leaders
why? international comparison -
sales outside US - don't really
have important peaceful +
stable world is for
the selfish interests

(but at Krum + Jager
to see)

review that kind is
concern -

* There

② 50% of Congress don't
even carry passports.
not travellers -

A *

State Dept - using
free passport -

State Dept - tell the
how power it is -

people who travel
but in favour of their best
effort

I develop energy leader
cities / burn / power, potential -
→ Europe for 3 weeks -

Since WWII
connections so complex -
① was bombarded - w/ new/ big the
need funways by the
simply clear } challenge

② think more broadly
Policy + firm clubs -
then are actually involved -
use them to reach others -

③ also ethnic communities
cheap - ethnic demand -
then can help us energy
public

for those who buy internationally

changing public opinion - daunting -
start w/ those who have an interest.

look at
→ long term strategy -
targeted effort w/ resourcing
10 years - what it will take

Scoring calculation -

public relations

Conquer links among donor base -
and interested -
public need to steer it

→ message

foreign - turn a
threat + turn it into
benefit

→ HOIKS - how they are affected
globalization + commerce

my speech was made in
Taiwan

need to connect w/ people

Concerns

as well as the
Perched books
+ shopping list

Don't know benefits
of threat today

Karen - Carnegie / Gae -

Did like to gauge constitution
for pay affen - eds.

there is no constituency

but it's not politic

like not listen?

1) best case - Chewy \$
der not hol

2) moveable middle -
not again it - but no
forum

3) the chair - covered -

→ need captive
Education + advocacy
Congress - mobilize
public support -

→ people who travel
media / Congress

USAID - "Karen without Borders" -
free - into communities

* Bradley scholars / exchange
of lead / young people -
China

We need a reality lays
venue

grassroots - so important -

need a campaign -

HRC - Speak about deo
in ways people understand.

- Very often conals -

Enon !! get out -

Notary - raising \$ to
fight polio

Street Child

Car / Visitor / retired
Peace Corps -

Angel / kid / school /
use the web / UN / UNICEF

Breake Construction -

NRC ID your audience + campaign
to them -
+ long term as well -

She's mentioned: ad campaign list
provide basic info -
what we spend on for aid -

Denver school - status of deaths
in that in 80s / since 1960s -

gang up a bit -

2 ops - marine team -

military - 4 hrs
post office - gets
me

best admiral for 20 years
Be all ya Ce B

getting people attention so had -
getting Venezuela

stand next forum / State Dept
try in group - Gen Club -
as an Congressman / Charitable Comm

What are threat + potential
benefits -

Armed's problem

public favorable / but
unpublished - not intense on
Verel

Foundation
(Unicef
USAID)

how to buy sons
others - but
don't know how
now -

operate as more
different level.

Rubin

Jamie Chant ??

how to break through -

(pres different - don't know
experiences - we compared, H)
new - don't know that -
disadvantage -

* * *

(NRC)

comp compared / is w. H. - certain -

- are there any democrats
in Africa ??

→ ~~what~~ yes - then that is -
but then don't care -

→ ~~even~~ a threats
intentions
values }

→ blips

what is the threat? people get
excited - 1940s - by Rep

threat -
+ the don't solve prob -

values then will be
slavish argument -
slavish / directly -
value

interest - we try
everything - ally # / burns
leads - not that -
same culture -

connectin w/

when he cut program -

his phone dont ring - ~~SS~~

get people to call us

HRC

we need reformat
public opinion -

+ provide a

strong base for action -

- w/ change

for capital in US
to know on head up -

critical to our leadership -

and it will come back

+ hit us - if we don't

get it ~~out~~ are

Pickens - how to motivate

this change - a real trial -

W.H. Conference - 120 people + issues

meeting + turn up the volume.

for a stand step at water edge



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 began to provide loans to them herself, and to offer advice on how they could begin their own businesses. In explaining how micro-credit is 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. Some in China still practice infanticide of girl babies, and there's a significant incidence of sex-

selective abortions. Those brutal practices continue -- even though official government policy prohibits them. There is also an alarming rise in the incidence of girls and women being forcibly sold into marriage -- explained in part by the skewed birth ratios that result in far fewer women than men living 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 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. 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. 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, 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 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.



facsimile

TRANSMITTAL

Inter-Agency Group
for Safe Motherhood

UNFPA

UNICEF

WHO

WORLD BANK

IPPF

POPULATION COUNCIL

to: Christie Macy, Office of the First Lady
fax #: (202) 456 5709
re: World Health Day speech approval
date: June 3, 1998
pages: 6, including this cover sheet.

Dear Christie:

Please find attached as promised a copy of the revised speech by Hillary Rodham Clinton, as delivered on World Health Day, 7 April, including the changes you had suggested.

We have received a number of requests for copies of the speech. Before disseminating the speech further, we would like to make sure that you approve the final text. Kindly let me know whether you agree to the text, and if you suggest any further changes to be made either by phone (212) 941 5300, or e-mail: ajonsson@familycareintl.org.

Thank you very much for your assistance.

With best regards,

Asa Jonsson

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Safe Motherhood: Progress and Challenges

**World Health Day
April 7, 1998
The World Bank, Washington, DC**

***Defying the Obstacles*
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
First Lady of the United States of America**

Thank you very much. I am delighted to be here and to join all of you, and particularly James Wolfensohn, as we celebrate World Health Day. I want to commend everyone associated with this effort of the global mission of safe motherhood for the work that has already been done and the work that is yet to come.

I want to say a personal word of appreciation to Mr. Wolfensohn for being such a powerful voice within the World Bank and throughout the globe on behalf of women, especially his work in raising public awareness that investments made in women and girls are the single most important investments that nations can make to ensure sustained economic progress and social stability. It is a very good message to hear from the President of the World Bank, and I appreciate it whenever he carries that forth.

I'm also pleased to be here with the Minister of Health from Uganda, a country that I have now visited twice and have been very impressed by in its efforts to both advance education and health care, and also the First Lady of Malaysia, a country that I am looking forward to visiting with my husband in November when Malaysia hosts all of the nations that border the Pacific.

I also want to extend appreciation to the leaders of the Safe Motherhood Inter-Agency Group--the World Health Organization, the U.N Population Fund, UNICEF, the World Bank, International Planned Parenthood Federation, and the Population Council--who with the support of Family Care International have led critical efforts to promote the health and well-being of women, children, and families.

But, mostly, I would like to acknowledge the extraordinary work that many of you in this room do, along with tens of thousands of others who are on the front lines of this effort to assure safe motherhood: the doctors and nurses, the midwives and public health workers, who are struggling to meet the often overwhelming health needs of women throughout the world, and who, against formidable odds, save the lives of so many women and children every day. We owe all of you and all of them our deepest gratitude.

We are joined here on World Health Day by people in cities and communities and villages around the globe who, like us, are raising their voices in a united chorus to say that no women should ever die in childbirth, and to acknowledge that all of us,

individuals, governments, international agencies, NGOs, community groups, all have a critical role in developing policies and saving lives.

I think we come together at a time of great promise and hope. I have just returned, as Jim said, from a historic trip with my husband to Sub-Saharan Africa, and I certainly saw firsthand the progress that is being made in many parts of that region. There is still much to be done, but we can see where enlightened leaders, committed NGOs, individuals, are making a difference.

Yet, still, despite the progress that we can celebrate, I think all of us know how shocking the numbers are about the women we lose every single year. Every minute somewhere in the world a woman dies from complications of pregnancy and childbirth. Every minute 190 women face an unplanned or unwanted pregnancy. And every minute 110 women experience a pregnancy-related complication.

The tragedy that over 600,000 women die every year in childbirth is compounded by the simple yet unbearable truth that the vast majority of these deaths and so much of that suffering could have been avoided.

The other stark reality we have to face is that maternal mortality is, as one would expect, 150 to 200 times greater in poor nations than in rich ones. Deaths are directly related to high levels of poverty and low status of women.

Ten years ago, many of the individuals and agencies here today launched the Global Safe Motherhood Initiative and for the first time ever elevated maternal mortality to an international priority. And while many countries, including my own, have not yet met the collective goal of cutting maternal deaths by half by the year 2000, we should all take pride in the strides that have been made.

There's progress all around us. In Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, health workers trained in midwifery are being assigned to village-based health facilities, and maternal mortality has declined.

In Ethiopia and Mongolia, women living in remote areas where transportation is difficult can now go to maternity waiting homes and get much needed interim care.

Last year, I visited health care clinics in Bolivia where prenatal and family planning services have resulted in safer pregnancies and deliveries and even saved lives.

And, in Brazil, I've met with women in a local hospital where they are now being taught the basic facts about reproduction and family planning, instead of having to face the pain and trauma and sometimes death of self-induced abortions.

A few years ago, I toured a small health and family planning clinic in Katmandu, Nepal, financed by a partnership with USAID, Save the Children Foundation, and the

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Government of Nepal. While I was there, I was given a safe home delivery kit, like the one I have with me here today. This may be the one I was given.

This kit is given to expectant mothers and now used by midwives throughout Nepal. Inside is a bar of soap, twine, wax, a plastic sheet, and a clean razor blade. Its purpose is to reduce the two major causes of maternal and neonatal deaths, tetanus and sepsis, by promoting the "three cleans" principle: clean hands, clean surfaces, clean umbilical cord care.

The kit was developed by a group called Path, whose representatives I believe are here in the audience today. This little kit symbolizes for me some of the important lessons we have learned in the last ten years.

First, we have learned the power of partnerships. In community after community, governments, voluntary agencies, and local leaders are joining forces and resources to develop health care strategies that promote safe motherhood. I was pleased to participate in the launching in Bolivia of one of these partnerships when USAID and the Pan-American Health Organization and others joined forces to reduce maternal mortality throughout the Americas. This event took place on the occasion of the Annual Meeting of the First Ladies of the Hemisphere.

Everyone in our hemisphere is committed to our goal of reducing maternal mortality, but as with every other part of the world, it is translating that goal into reality that is still a challenge for us.

We know now, more than ever before, that reducing maternal mortality requires sustained, long-term commitments from a full range of partners. I know that last night there was an important meeting of new partners in the corporate sector who are joining the World Bank in the safe motherhood campaign, and I join in applauding all of you for your participation.

We have also learned that the cost of promoting safe motherhood is cost-effective when you compare the extraordinary rewards in saved lives, improved maternal and child health, and revitalized communities. Just think about this: The World Bank estimates that by spending \$2 a year per person for maternal health care, almost all of the 600,000 women who now die as a result of complications during pregnancy and childbirth would be alive, and the lives of 2 million infants would be saved.

We have the strategies. We have the resources. But we do not yet have the collective will to do what we know needs to be done. The result is that today women in every nation in the world, including my own, including right here in our nation's capital, lack basic health care that could save their lives and ensure the health of themselves and their babies.

More attention must be paid to ensure that women receive adequate prenatal care, good nutrition, and quality obstetric care so that child-bearing and childbirth is a safe and healthy period of a woman's life.

We also must invest in family planning, which improves maternal health. Without it, women often turn in desperation to illegal, unsafe abortion procedures that can account for up to half or more of all maternal deaths. And I would like to stress that point, because there are some in our Congress and in our country who do not understand how providing family planning services helps to reduce the rate of abortion and the reason for abortion.

We also know that the best contraceptive and the best way to ensure access to health care is through increasing the social, economic, and educational status of women. Education is inextricably tied to how women and children achieve progress, and we know, as James Wolfensohn never tires of telling everyone, that investments in education can have a profound and concrete effect on women's health as well as on the prosperity of their families and their societies and countries.

Investments in jobs and access to credit can do the same. I have seen how women's lives have been transformed. I was delighted on this last trip that I was able to take my husband to see some of the projects that I enjoy seeing when I travel alone. I may be wrong about this, but I believe that when my husband and President Museveni went to a village in Uganda, the Jinja village near the source of the Nile, and visited a microcredit project, it may have been the first or certainly among the first times any heads of state had actually visited such a project on the ground where it is taking place, changing the lives of women and families.

I was thrilled to see these two Presidents getting as excited about the changes that can occur in women's lives with loans as small as \$50 as I was by any event that I've ever participated in with my husband. Because if we can bring home the message that it is through these strategies, these proven best practices that provide access to greater opportunities to women, that we will ultimately address the challenges of women's lives, then we will have made real progress and we will have changed the political calculus in many of our societies and the investment calculus in many of our international agencies.

We have to do all that we can to make sure that every woman is given the opportunity to speak for herself, and that includes being sure that they feel empowered as citizens of the increasing number of democracies we find around our globe.

I want to end with a story that says so much to me about what we have achieved even though it might never make any headlines anywhere.

In Senegal, our last stop on the trip, I met with a group of women who have done something remarkable, along with the help of some men in their village. These are women from the Malicounda Bambara (ph) village. They decided that they would end female circumcision in their village, which had been considered a rite of passage for all

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girls up until then. But they had been given information over the last several years about the health effects of this traditional practice, and they had to face the fact that what they knew individually was a fact that was supported by much evidence, and that it was time to end the hemorrhaging, the infection, the spread of AIDS, and the childbirth complications caused by this deadly tradition.

They began talking with their husbands and their fathers, and they began enlisting some men to their cause. They put together a skit, which they performed for me, showing how they had educated the people in their village about the effects of this practice. As a result, they banned the practice in their village and then several of the men who had become convinced began a pilgrimage, walking from village to village, carrying information about why in Malacounda they had ended the practice. By the time they finished, 13 other villages had also decided to ban the practice.

In these villages, the practice affects about 20 percent of the girls in Senegal, but I met with a woman from Mali where it affects 90 percent. This grass-roots effort caught the attention of the President of Senegal, who announced in February that he would advocate a bill to outlaw the practice in Senegal.

When I asked one of the women from this small village what had convinced her and others to end this practice, she replied simply, "We studied human rights, and particularly the right to health."

This is what I see happening now around the world, that from groups and agencies and leaders such as all of you, the message that you are sending out on behalf of women's rights and safe motherhood is beginning to take hold.

We must continue to build on that progress, and the growing understanding that when women are healthy and educated, their families flourish. And when families flourish, communities and nations will flourish as well.

Let's renew our vow here during World Health Day - drawing inspiration and strength from our partners around the world - to work together to protect and lift up the lives of every woman and child on this planet. For in doing so, we will fulfill the great promise of prosperity and progress for all people, and for all nations.

Transcript

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO NATIONAL LESSONS WITHOUT BORDERS CONFERENCE
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
SEPTEMBER 16, 1996

Thank you. Thank you very much. I want to start by apologizing for the delay. It took a lot longer in the rain to get here than anyone had planned and I'm very, very sorry that anyone had to wait and I hope you've not been inconvenienced.

But I am delighted to be here and I'm especially pleased because as I look out in the audience, I see that we have both those who are participating in the Lessons Without Borders Conference, who themselves are development experts who are working both abroad and here at home and dealing with the most pressing human needs that we face around the world, but I'll also note that there are younger students and faculty from Johns Hopkins who may not be as familiar with what this conference is about. And so I'm delighted that you have both those involved in it and those who are interested in these lessons, and I look forward to sharing some of my impressions with all of you.

I particularly want to thank Mayor Schmoke and his wife Dr. Schmoke who are here for their friendship and support but also more particularly, Baltimore was the first city that really embraced the idea that the work that the United States had been doing abroad for decades might possibly have something to teach us here at home. And under Mayor Schmoke's leadership those lessons have been taken to heart and put into effect.

We're also always pleased to be anywhere with your United States Senator Paul Sarbanes and his wife Christine Sarbanes. I'm particularly pleased though, on this occasion, that Mr. Sarbanes has been a consistent, reasonable voice on behalf of American involvement around the world in the area of development.

Congressman Cummings is here as well and our Ambassador to Bangladesh, David Zamiro (phonetic). I also want to thank Johns Hopkins. Once again I must say I love coming and Dr. Brody is always such a delight for me to read about and learn about what this great university is doing, and I want to thank you for hosting this. But more that for the role that Johns Hopkins has played in development work and in particularly the work of USAID for many years.

And then finally I need to thank Brian Atwood, the administrator of USAID, who has brought a new sense of energy and urgency and common sense to the agency and has really made a difference under his leadership, not only in making our work abroad more effective but beginning to explain to those of us who pay for it, the American taxpayer, why it is a good investment to be doing what we are doing around the world in helping people to become self-sufficient, understand what democracy means, what the requirements-

of citizenship are.

So all in all, it is a great pleasure to be here and thank all of you who are involved in this conference for bringing so much energy, faith and commitment to the partnership that is represented by the USAID experience abroad and in our communities here at home.

Since Brian Atwood launched the USAID initiative "Lessons Without Borders" two years ago, I've been following its progress with great interest. And I've been extremely pleased to see that the program has already helped improve the lives of thousands of American children and families.

Now let me just explain to those of who are not development experts what we're talking about, and I'll do it by giving you a few examples of what has happened abroad that the United States has helped fund and provide technical assistance for, and what we have learned which we then have brought home.

For example, here in Baltimore we have seen how grassroots strategies pioneered in Nairobi, Kenya, can also improve childhood immunization rates and encourage economic development in America. As you may know, Baltimore has increased its childhood immunization rates from 62 percent to over 95 percent by adopting a simple strategy of replacing complicated jargon and brochures that people didn't read with a door-to-door, person-to-person initiative, so that people in the neighborhoods where the largest numbers of children not being immunized would find a knock on the door and a neighborhood worker standing there to say, "Have you gotten your baby immunized?" If not, "Why not?" and "How can I help you get that done?"

I'd often wondered in the years during which I was involved in trying to increase the immunization rates of American children why, for example in this hemisphere, the United States would have the third or fourth worst rate of immunization, while so many countries that were poor and had a high rate of illiteracy were doing a better job than we. What were we not doing?

It really boiled down that in many other countries USAID was helping those countries create infrastructure that would reach out to families to persuade them to bring their babies in for their shots. And often times it would be a worker who would go up across the mountains of Peru or through the rain forests of Central America or out into the savannahs of places like Kenya, finding families and helping them overcome the obstacles of knowledge and awareness, or transportation or fear or whatever else might stand in the way to be sure that their children would be immunized.

So when we look at what we have done as a country abroad, I thought it was just common sense that under Brian Atwood's leadership USAID, which cannot fund programs here in the United States, that is not its mission, would though be able to share its expertise and acquired experience with cities like Baltimore.

For decades, USAID has supported efforts in developing countries to address the debilitating problems of poverty: Poor nutrition, poor pre-natal care, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment. USAID workers and their partners abroad have seen firsthand what is practical. So how then can we profit from that?

Well that is what this conference is all about. We are bringing together the people who have done the work on behalf of you and me, through our development efforts with people who are working in our cities and our rural places here at home.

Over the past four years I have seen firsthand many programs around the world that really work. I have become somewhat of a cheerleader for USAID and development efforts because I, like perhaps many of you, am not very knowledgeable about what we actually do in foreign aid, and many people in our country have an idea that we spend a huge percentage of our budget on foreign aid. In fact often times in public polls when citizens are asked, "How much do you think the United States spends on foreign aid?", the answers range from 15 to 25 percent of the United States budget. And often times then the person asking the question will follow up and say "Well how much do you think we should spend to try and deal with problems in other countries, both to help the people there and to stop the spread of several problems to make the world safer for American interests?", and people scratch their heads and say "Well maybe ten percent."

Well of course the fact is we spend less than one percent on foreign aid, on the kind of work that is done not only to keep our embassies going abroad, to take care of you when you travel and might need some help, but to do this kind of work as well. And I have seen and become somewhat of a witness about how effective the relatively small amounts of money so many of our programs abroad rely on are.

We've already heard reference to a dinner that is being held later this evening in honoring an institution called the International Center for Health and Population Research in Bangladesh. That center has had lots of help from Johns Hopkins as well as from USAID. The doctors there have saved millions of young lives through their pioneering use of something called Oral Rehydration Therapy. That is a method of treating serious cases of diarrhea with a basic salt-and-sugar mixture. Now I brought up this packet with me to show those of you who are students here at Johns Hopkins what I'm talking about, because the others who are working in this field know very well that inside this packet is a mixture, a combination of salt and sugar that when dissolved in clean water and administered to a person with diarrhea, particularly a child is most likely the one to be afflicted with perhaps fatal diarrhea, that child's life can be saved. It doesn't even have to be in a hospital or intravenous fluid going through the veins if this is administered over a long enough period of time.

I walked along the beds in this center in Bangladesh and I've seen mothers and fathers and sisters and brothers administering this combination of salt and sugar to a person seriously ill with diarrhea. My visit there was meant to highlight the USAID presence and American support for this pioneering effort.

environments and communities in which people have become economically trapped, there has to be more economic activity. If we think that is a challenge, then imagine how it must have seemed to the very first person in the world to devise the idea of microenterprise.

His name is Dr. Muhammad Yunus, he is also from Bangladesh, he was trained in the United States as an economist and when he returned home he looked for ways to try to take the ideas he learned about the economy and put them into practice in his own country. He realized that although the millions and millions of very poor people in Bangladesh had skills, those skills were not considered economic skills. They weren't considered market-worthy. And yet he could see how with a little bit of investment, those skills could create entrepreneurs and businesses that would create economic activity, that would help lift not only individuals but whole communities out of poverty.

I visited one of the villages where the bank that got these started, the Grameen Bank, is working. And I looked at this village, it was a Hindu village that was a village of untouchables. My schedule was such that I could only go to one village, and the people arranging it wanted me very much to go to a Muslim village, as Bangladesh is a predominantly Muslim country. But we couldn't work it out and so the Muslim women, and all the borrowers were women, came from their village to the Hindu village where we had a big meeting, where the women stood up and told me how their lives had changed.

One woman had stood up and told me that she borrowed the money to buy a milk cow. With that one milk cow she was able to produce enough milk which she then sold so she could buy another milk cow. And then as a proud owner of two milk cows she was able to take the money that she made and buy a rickshaw for her husband, so that he could begin to try to be a taxi driver in the village where they lived.

I went into a home that had been built because of the Grameen bank's lending policy, and I saw firsthand how the entire village had been transformed and as importantly, how the lives of these women who were borrowers had changed from destitution to inspiration, not only for themselves but importantly for their children and the rest of us.

I visited a similar microenterprise effort at a community-based bank in Managua, Nicaragua, one of the poorest areas of that city that has seen civil war, earthquakes and many different kinds of challenges. At the FINCA Village Bank, "Mothers United," a group of women located in that neighborhood, had borrowed money and had worked with each other by creating a unit of borrowers who supported each other's economic activity. I heard how those very small sums had started businesses that were sewing and selling clothes or baking bread and pastries, selling auto parts door to door, mosquito netting. The kinds of things that were needed in the community but would otherwise, perhaps, not be available.

And finally, on my visit to Santiago, Chile, I met a seamstress who told me that for years she could barely make a living. She had an old, beat up sewing machine that was always breaking down. With a small loan she got a brand new, fast-speed sewing machine, and she told me "I felt like I had been released like a bird from a cage." She got that

sewing machine and began to kiss it over and over again because she knew what a difference it would make in her life.

We have seen in our travels so many instances of how USAID, with a little bit of money, has been able to spawn a great deal of local support and community effort and has been able to, with technical assistance, train people in the local areas to carry on the work. So as we look at the lessons that have been learned from our work overseas, I'm convinced that many of those lessons can be learned and applied here.

One of the most important areas is in family planning and prenatal care for children. And particularly for at-risk children and their mothers because we still have a very high rate of infant mortality and maternal mortality around the world. And in some of our inner cities our rates of infant mortality are as high as some third world countries.

In Indonesia I saw how the whole community had come together to support families in their choice of family planning and in the care of their children. In Brazil I met very courageous health officers who had committed themselves to family planning efforts because the hospital where I visited with them has an admission rate that is 50 percent women giving birth and 50 percent women who are appearing at the hospital after self-induced abortion with serious physical problems. And those health officers knew that sensible family planning access had always been available to the rich women in Brazil, but not available to poor women.

Certainly many of the problems that we see around the world are exacerbated by incredible population pressures, and one of the things that I would hope is that when our Congress looks at USAID's work, they would understand how important family planning is internationally. That American assistance to try to help countries deal with their population pressures is in America's interest economically, environmentally, politically and every other way I can think of.

So these are the kinds of issues that we have brought home with us and this is what this conference is all about. There are many more examples that will be discussed at this conference, from the hospital that I saw in Manila where one day-old babies are being taught to drink from cups because they cannot be taught to breastfeed, so they cut down on infection from bottles that can't be sterilized in slums, to the kind of work that I saw in Central and Eastern Europe that are teaching people what democracy really is, what a free press is. All of it is part of America's commitment to take our own ideals and give other people the chance to learn how to live democratic, free enterprise lives in this complicated, new challenging world.

Now in the grand scheme of things America's investments in social development abroad are minuscule. But the differences that they have made in our global economy, in world peace and prosperity and the lives of men, women and children are immeasurable.

America's ideals and interests cannot be worse than the political, economic and social... (inaudible). As this conference demonstrates, our engagement represents

But while I was there, I met a doctor from Louisiana who had come to study at the center for about six months. And I asked him why he had chosen that center, and he told me that at the time I had this conversation with him, a very large number of children in Louisiana were uninsured children, they were very poor but not poor enough to qualify for the state's level of Medicaid, and their families did not have jobs that provided health insurance, and that he was seeing increasing numbers of children hospitalized who were dangerously ill because of diarrhea. So he had gone all the way across the world, to a country we think of as a less developed country, to learn a cost-effective, simple method for helping save children's lives which he then could bring back to Louisiana. It's that kind of interchange and learning of lessons this conference is meant to promote.

Some of you who know the work of Jim Grant and others of you I'm sure have heard of UNICEF understand how he took simple ideas like this little packet and preached, to many of us it seems as though he would never stop, about how these simple interventions that don't cost a lot of money could really save children's lives. And that's what we're seeing here in the United States. Oral Rehydration Therapy can be a more accessible, more effective, and less costly alternative to hospitalization: It costs just \$7 a day, it can be administered at home, compared to the \$800 a day it costs to administer intravenous drug treatments in American hospitals.

The lessons we can learn go beyond health. They also apply to our challenges from economic self-sufficiency to effective family planning.

Last fall, I visited a poor area of Santiago, Chile, where the schools are open on weekends to accommodate parents' work schedules. And I met a lot of parents who are trying to become more involved in their children's lives and to know what to do, how to take care of their children more effectively. I see in this country similar kinds of parenting programs, some of them borrowing lessons from what we are seeing what works in other countries.

One of the most exciting programs that we have brought home at the national level here as well as locally is what is called microenterprise. That means lending small amounts of money to very poor people for them to start their own businesses, for them to buy certain products that they need to re-sell so that they can try to become more economically self-sufficient.

That is happening here in Baltimore. With microenterprise lending, small loans are given to start very small microbusinesses. I've seen the difference that can make in the lives of people from India to Nicaragua. I have stood in some of the poorest places in the world and have listened as women told me how their lives had changed because somebody had believed in them enough to see them as credit-worthy. When all of a sudden they had some resources which they used to create a business.

As we begin to implement welfare reform, I think one of the most important aspects of our efforts will have to include a very large-scale commitment to microenterprise. Because if we intend to not only help people get off welfare, but to change the

opportunities for ourselves at home, not just obligations abroad. I would hope that every American who hears about this conference will understand that it is a two-way street. The money being invested in social development abroad is being brought home in the sense that we are learning what works and applying to solve our own problems here.

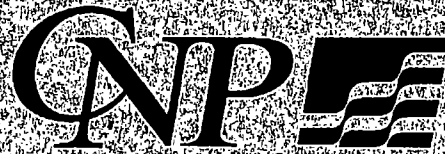
These lessons, I believe, are valuable and will more than pay for themselves. They are proof that this country, the strongest nation on Earth, cares about the smallest child, the littlest problem, because we understand how interconnected we are today. And we understand that ultimately, the kinds of futures those of you who are students at Johns-Hopkins now can look forward to will in some measure depend upon what we do to take care of the last and the least among us. What we do to solve our own problems in Baltimore or Boston, and what we do to help solve problems in Bangladesh.

Because as we look toward the 21st century, as we understand how each of us is going to have to work and be educated to fulfill our own potential, we also, I hope, understand that our potential will be enhanced the better educated and the better the economy is in places very far from here, and that at its heart, America's interests lie in making sure that not only our own people but many of the people on this earth go to bed looking forward to waking up in the morning, because they're going to have some control over their own destiny.

So Lessons Without Borders is a way of saying we have learned from what we have done and we want to continue leading the world, and showing the way to how our problems can be solved so that we can build a better future for everyone.

Thank you. Thank you very much.

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Center for National Policy

"AMERICA THE INDISPENSABLE"

by

MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT

U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Recipient
of the

EDMUND S. MUSKIE

DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC SERVICE AWARD

Washington, DC
September 19, 1996

MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT
Recipient of the
EDMUND S. MUSKIE DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC SERVICE AWARD
Center for National Policy
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Jane Muskie, members of the Center for National Policy, friends, thank you very, very much for this award.

I was born in Prague, educated in Colorado and have come to live and work in New York, but the Center for National Policy will always be my home. You are my friends and colleagues.

Those of us who have been associated with CNP are always proud to say that it is government-friendly -- always exploring the potentials of that most intriguing relationship between the individual and institutions. CNP has created for itself an important role in the political process. It has linked thinking with action in a way that is unique for public policy centers. Thanks to Mo Steinbruner, CNP is never passive. It is on the move and always ahead of the curve. CNP is more than a think tank, it is an action tank.

This is not a sad night, but those of us who are, or who have been affiliated with CNP, cannot forget that we lost a dear friend earlier this year. Senator Edmund Muskie was a true hero to me and to many others who knew him, worked for him or simply admired him.

The award presented tonight by Jane Muskie reflects the legacy of public service Senator Muskie carved out during his long career. And by thinking of me in this, of all years, you have done me a very great honor, for which I will always be grateful.

Senator Muskie will be remembered for the cleaner air and water that his legislation ensured; for the foreign policy initiatives that he favored and that were grounded in American goodness and strength; and for the conviction, evident in every line and wrinkle of that memorable face, that you could succeed in politics without sacrificing principle.

We have had particular reason to think of Ed Muskie these past few years, for he was the architect of the Congressional budget process. As contentious as that process has been, it has obviously instilled needed discipline.

I say this in a wholly nonpartisan way, for I am--as you know--now a diplomat. That means I am barred from making political speeches. I no longer think political thoughts. And I am, of course, completely indifferent towards the outcome of the 1996 election.

However, I do recall that Senator Muskie used to argue that the party that cared the most about

the people should also be the party that cared the most about whether public funds are wasted.

He dedicated his career, including his years at CNP, not to expanding governmental institutions, but to improving and reforming them so that they would better serve the interests of our country and all its people.

As the senator's example illustrates, a reformer must believe in the institution he or she is trying to reform. This is true domestically and internationally.

You can't make the US government work better if your real goal is to prevent it from working at all. And you can't improve an organization such as the United Nations if you fear it may become a world government--which is nonsense--or if you resent it because it is so full of foreigners--which really can't be helped.

To achieve reform, you have to be a builder, not a destroyer; you have to embrace change, but you also have to understand that change does not occur without cost.

We live in an anxious age. As Walter Lippman once put it, in the old days people joined monasteries; in the modern age, they get nervous.

Today, the traditional anchors of personal security--dependable jobs, close families and friendly neighborhoods--have become harder to find and maintain.

Many wonder what exactly it means to be an American in an era of porous borders, instant communications, global corporations, mobile populations and a political map that is no longer divided between red, white and blue on the one hand, and just plain red on the other.

But what has not changed is the need for a system of rules and laws to govern behavior. That is true abroad and at home. To me rebellion against the institutions of a free government is the acting out of children who have been spoiled and do not know any better.

As U.S. Ambassador to the UN, I have seen societies without governments. They are a militiaman's paradise.

There is, after all, no capital gains tax in Liberia.

There are no welfare cheats in Angola.

There is no ban on assault weapons in Burundi.

There is no affirmative action in the Balkans.

And there is no police obstruction in societies that treat the abuse and mutilation of women as a cultural prerogative, instead of a crime.

Many years have passed since Hitler and Stalin. For our youngsters entering high school this fall,

even the Cold War must seem distant. How easy--and how fatal--it would be if we were to take America and the values reflected in our government for granted; if we were to forget that in our democracy, the government is not "them"--it is "us."

If those intent on tearing down our institutions were to have their way, we would enter the next century badly divided; and we would lose one of the great opportunities in the world's history to exercise positive leadership around the globe.

During the past two decades, the number of democratic nations has more than tripled.

This year alone, in national elections from the Czech Republic to Israel to India to Russia to Mongolia to Nicaragua to Turkey to Bosnia, more than one billion people will go to the polls.

In case after case, the fate of nations has been influenced by what President Clinton has called "the power of our example, and the example of our power." As the President has said, the United States is indeed the indispensable nation.

There are some who suggest that America should not try to lead, that it costs too much, entails too many risks and is too hard.

Others say that what happens overseas does not matter. They adopt the philosophical approach, which Oscar Wilde once defined as the "ability to bear with equanimity the misfortunes of others."

I believe it does matter.

It matters when America takes the lead in supporting the peacemakers over the bombthrowers in tinderbox regions such as the Middle East, Northern Ireland and the Balkans.

It matters when America acts to keep Saddam Hussein trapped in a strategic jail where he cannot threaten his neighbors, the world's economic well being or the safety of allied pilots.

It matters when President Clinton organizes an international coalition that restores democracy to Haiti, ending the horrible violations of human rights there, and allowing Haitians to build a decent life at home, rather than risk their lives at sea.

It matters when America takes the lead in supporting the first international war crimes tribunals since Nureberg; because the perpetrators of ethnic cleansing must be held accountable and those who see rape as just another tactic of war must answer for their crimes.

It matters when we achieve a global consensus, as we did last year, to extend the treaty barring new nations from developing nuclear weapons. And it matters when we gain approval, as we did at the UN this year, of a comprehensive treaty to ban nuclear tests. These are priceless gifts to the future.

Finally, it matters that America--and Americans--continue to care about the fate of others, not simply because of what those others can do for us, or because of what we can sell to them, but

because it is right.

There is a story, which I believe is true, that when Abraham Lincoln was first elected to the Illinois State Legislature, he sold his horse to buy a suit and set off to the capital on foot. On the way, he passed a wild pig struggling, in vain, to crawl out of a bog of mud.

Lincoln walked on for about a mile, before turning around, and going back to save the pig, at great cost to his suit. His traveling companions made fun of him for going out of his way to help so humble a creature. Lincoln answered that he did not go back to help the pig. "I went back," he said, "to remove the ache that had formed in my heart."

Today, the greatest dividing line that still exists in the world is not between east and west, liberal and conservative, or rich and poor. It is between those who have the faith in humanity that is required to build the future and those who do not.

It is our pride and responsibility that for much of the world, for much of this century, faith in the future has meant faith in America.

The responsibility for writing the next chapter in our nation's history is now in our hands.

Like those who came before us, we must respond to old and emerging challenges not by retreating into despair or destructive cynicism, but by adapting to change, experimenting with new ideas, reaffirming proven values, and building bridges to one another.

A decade or two from now, we will be known as the generation that solidified the global triumph of democratic principles, or as the new-isolationists who allowed totalitarianism and fascism to rise again.

project right outside of Cape Town. As you drive up, you see on one side of the street, shanties and shacks, where these women used to live as homeless squatters. But something changed. They decided to take a stand for their dignity. With the help of small loans, they took a dusty patch of land and set about building homes and a future. When I first visited them in 1997, they had 18 homes built and a lot of dreams. When I took my husband back this March, there were more than 100 homes. They had bought the property across the railroad tracks to build 400 more. They had a day care center, a store, an entire community. And when I asked them how many of them thought they would own a home someday...every hand...every single hand...shot up.

I saw women building their world at the UN Conference on Women in Beijing. I remember the banners that women from each country created for that conference, which they spread across the Great Wall. Woven into them were the dreams of women, who may have worn different clothes, eaten different food, followed different religions, and talked in different languages...but they spoke the same mother tongue – the language of freedom and hope.

And they sent a clear message: Economic progress depends upon the progress of women. Social progress depends upon the progress of women. Democratic progress depends on the progress of women. Human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights.

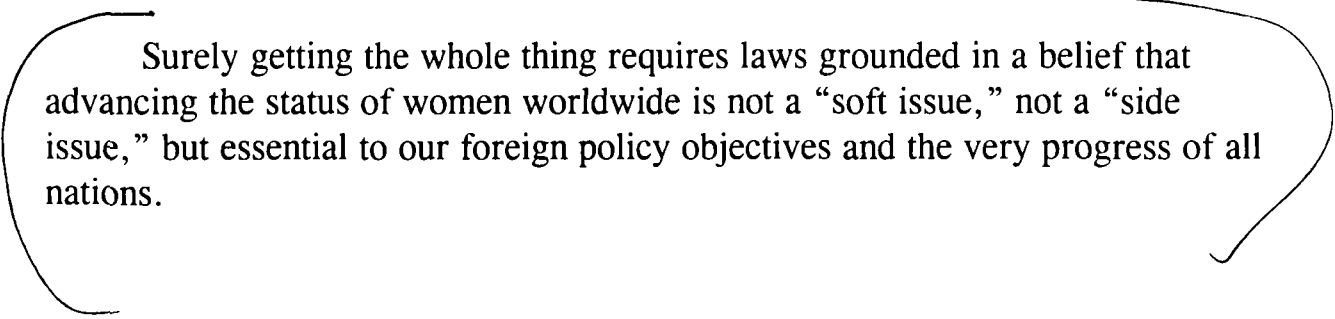
We know that women cannot fulfill the pledge of Tikkun Olam [tee-Koon oh-Lum] if they are if they are underfed, undervalued, and underpaid.

Women cannot repair our world unless they have access to tools of opportunity – and by that I mean health care, education, credit, and child care. I am told you had a session yesterday on breaking the glass ceiling. But, we all know that women cannot even touch the glass, unless they have child care they can trust. The President has proposed an historic investment to make child care better, safer, and more affordable for American families. Now, we must make it the law of the land.

Women cannot repair the world unless they no longer fear violence at the hands of loved ones and strangers. It doesn't matter where it occurs. Domestic violence can never again be pushed aside as cultural or explained away as trivial. It is a crime that must be punished with the full force of the law.

And women cannot repair the world unless they are at the table when decisions are made about their lives and families. We must work for the day when, we never have to hold up the one woman board member or representative as a symbol of our progress...the day when all over the world, women and men sit in equal numbers in the boardrooms and laboratories, on our sports fields and college classrooms, in our houses of worship and our chambers of Congress.

I like how Bella Abzug put it. She said, "First they gave us the year of the woman. Then they gave us the decade. Sooner or later, they'll give us the whole thing."



Surely getting the whole thing requires laws grounded in a belief that advancing the status of women worldwide is not a "soft issue," not a "side issue," but essential to our foreign policy objectives and the very progress of all nations.

When we hear about abuses like those perpetuated by the Taliban...where women cannot go to work, leave their homes alone, attend school or get the health care they need...When we hear about women being enticed from the former Soviet Union with promises of jobs as nannies and hair stylists...and instead being shipped like drugs and sold into sexual slavery...When we hear about children who are aborted or denied food simply because they are girls...we must, with words and deeds...do everything in our power to stop it.

We must, for example, join the rest of the world and ratify the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. We must continue to invest in lifelines like microcredit and education for women, through the United States Agency for International Development. I will never forget the woman in Santiago, who told me that when she got a small loan to buy a new sewing machine, she felt like a caged bird set free. And we must finally put an end to the tactics of those who would hold our contributions to the United Nations

asks them to choose life and the good over death and evil.

And I think by life and the good, he is asking them to choose, as you have done, to renew the ethic of Tzedekah [Sed-Ah-Kah] and Tikkun Olam, [tee-Koon oh-lum] to use our voices not just for our own individual good, but to speak out for those who have no voice. To respect the dignity of each person. And, to pass on these values to our children. Which is really the challenge all of us must meet as we approach the High Holidays and the new century.

Because if we do, if we do everything in our power to usher in peace and justice for all children, boys and girls then, as Moses told his people, "...You will live and multiply and God will bless you in the land to which you come."

Shana Tova [shaw-Na toe-Va -- Happy New Year]. May you all be "written into the book of life."

Thank you very much.

hostage because they don't believe women should have access to family planning services.

But, ultimately, whether women have the power and ability to heal and build the world depends not just on laws, but on attitudes and values. On the lessons we teach our children as we tuck them into bed at night. Will we teach our girls that we value them, not for what they look like, but for what they think, feel, do and dream? Will men of all ages come to see this as their battle too... because it can never and will never be won without them?

Will our businesses do more to help women get the child care and other tools they need to successfully balance work and family...so that no woman ever has to make the choice between the job she needs and the child she loves?

As women, will we finally respect each other's choices? Will we admit that there is no cookie-cutter model for being a successful and fulfilled woman today? That we can choose full-time work or full-time motherhood...or like, most women, compose a life that is something in between. And that all of our choices will be supported?

And will we pledge to reach out to all others...to not just preach to the choir...but to ask everyone to use their voice to lift up the status and dignity of women everywhere?

With the Lion of Judah members continuing to lead the way, I know we will.

When I told a friend of mine that I was coming here today, she showed me a passage from this week's Torah reading. The Jews are preparing to go into Israel together. And on his last day of his life, Moses gathers them together, men and women, of all statures and ages and initiates them into a new Covenant where they will be responsible not only to God – but for one another. And he

Laura E. Schiller
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[Acknowledgments: Betty Kane; Rebecca Newman; Rani [Rain-ee] Garfinkel; Berry Sweet, Gail Reiss, Carole Solomon; Richard Wexler]

I am thrilled to be back at the Lion of Judah Conference...and to gather with leaders from the "four corners of the earth." Anne Frank once said, "No one need wait a single moment before starting to improve the world." Because the Women's Campaign never waits, because Lion of Judah members never wait, there are older citizens in the former Soviet Union who now have food. There are victims of family violence in Baltimore and Israel who now have a new start. There are people all over Eastern Europe whose families are reunited, whose lives are simply better. And I want to thank you.

When I read the theme of today's luncheon, "A Vision for Women in the 21st Century," I thought how fitting it was to have this conversation here and now. For the first time ever, the Chair of UJA's National Campaign is a woman, Carole Solomon. And I know for the last few days, you have been talking about health care and politics, the workplace and the peace process...all the challenges we face as women and as people of faith. And I combine those two things intentionally. Early in my husband's Administration, I remember how upset some people became when I gave a speech about the role of spirituality in public life. One commentator said my critics were divided between conservatives who didn't think I meant what I said and liberals who feared that I did.

But, I think it's always important, and especially as we prepare for both the High Holidays and the new century, to reflect on who we are. On what remains to be done. And, with the sound of the Shofar [Show-Far], to recommit ourselves to live a better life and create a better world. During the Holidays, we will read again the story of the binding of Isaac...and learn about the ram that was sacrificed in his place. It had two horns. One was heard during the giving of the

Torah at Sinai. And we will hear the other when there is peace and justice for all God's children -- all boys and all girls. It falls on every generation to move us closer to that day.

From Warsaw to Bukhara, I have seen how the Jewish community kept its hopes and traditions alive in the face of oppression and pure evil. And, I'll never forget my visit to the Gilad [Gee-Lahd] Synagogue in Ukraine last November. The Nazis had turned this holy place into a horse stable and left a signature of bullets in the ceiling. The Soviets used it as a warehouse. But, because of the courage, determination and faith of the Jewish Community, this beautiful Synagogue has been restored. People can once again worship freely. Freedom of religion has been reborn. The Rabbi explained to me how much it meant to open a Jewish school there after so many years of unspeakable hardship. He said it had given him faith that the community would survive.

What that Rabbi understood...and what this community has shown... throughout the world and the ages...through the horrors of Pogroms [poh-Groms] and inquisitions, through exile and the Holocaust...is that survival depends not just on saving our cherished buildings, but on passing on to our children the values and culture and heritage at their foundation.

And that is exactly what you have done. You have passed on these values in your commitment to Tzedekah [Sed-Ah-Kah], making it clear that we are all our brothers' and sisters' keepers, all responsible for providing healing for the hurt, caring for the sick, food for the hungry. You have passed them on in your commitment to pursue peace and justice. Five years after the Oslo Accords, we must continue to work by day and pray by night for a lasting peace in the Middle East. And you have passed them on through the essential ethic of Jewish philosophy and practice -- Tikkun Olam [tee-Koon oh-Lum] and the role that women must play in that healing and building of our world as we enter a new year and century.

I know that throughout this room, there are healers and builders like Sisel [Sea-Sul] Klurman of Miami, whose story is especially poignant right now, as Israel celebrates its 50th birthday. Sisel spent the war years in Romania...And with the exception of her brother and sister, she lost her entire family in the Holocaust. Instead of giving up to sorrow, she went back to Romania and worked underground to teach children Hebrew and get them safely to Israel. Instead of giving up, she worked with her late husband to create a State for the Jewish people by turning the dream of Israel into a reality. Instead of giving up, she has generously dedicated her time and money to further the vital mission of the United Jewish Appeal.

As I have been privileged to travel around the world, I have met many women like Sisel and all of you...who are working to heal and repair families and communities in Bosnia, the Czech Republic, Nicaragua, Russia, Romania, and Rwanda.

I have seen women healing their world in Northern Ireland. Two weeks ago in Belfast, I spoke with women from all over Northern Ireland, to congratulate them on the peace that they had hoped for, worked for lived for, died for, and yes finally voted for. And I recounted a small meeting I had a few years ago with a grassroots activist named Joyce McCarten and other women who had literally woven communities together during the Troubles.

We sat in a small restaurant, around a wooden table, sipping a cup of tea. And one by one, the women told me how tired they were of seeing their husbands and their fathers and their sons and their nephews gunned down. How they realized that the only things separating them were religion and history. And how they had come together as women have always done...at the market, around kitchen tables, at conferences like this. It was their whispers of "enough" that finally became a torrent of voices that could no longer be ignored.

I have seen women repairing their world in South Africa, at a housing

FREEDOM, FAIRNESS AND WEALTH: CAPITALISM WITH A HUMAN FACE

The three basic requirements for a modern democratic society in the global economy are: political freedom; the creation of wealth; and fairness in its distribution. This is what some call "capitalism with a human face" others refer to it as "popular capitalism." It requires the ability to combine a market economy in which there is significant ownership by the general public of capital assets to an active, intelligent government capable of providing opportunity as well as social protection. The most basic requirement is a culture respectful of the law and a highly developed legal system attuned to the needs of a 21st century society and economy. It requires a sophisticated regulatory system for the oversight of banks and securities in order to avoid some of the catastrophes we are witnessing today. It requires an ample social safety net consisting of social security, unemployment compensation and health insurance. It requires a superb public education system and an affordable higher education system. It requires a progressive tax system that recognizes the needs of lower and middle income people while encouraging savings and economic growth.

This is not a system easily accessible to countries that have not reached an advanced state of development. For those countries like Russia or Indonesia, barely out of the darkness of one type of totalitarianism or another, with no real structure of civic society, connecting the 21st century global market economy to their very stunted systems is like connecting a jet engine to a model T Ford. They blow up. Whether they turn to crony capitalism, mafia capitalism or something else the result is the same: the country is ruined and the average citizen along with it.

The search for a Third Way will be a fundamental part of a global dialogue searching for a bridge connecting the market economy to the "civic society." The building of such a bridge could begin with a call for a New Bretton Woods Conference, like the one which originally set the stage for the world economy of the last 50 years. The financial wreckage now strewn around the world indicates that existing global institutions are no longer able to cope with the current challenges and need renewal. Only the U.S. and Bill Clinton can provide the impetus for such an endeavor.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 11, 1998

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
IN PRESS BRIEFING

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Well, good morning and thank you all very much for coming here this morning and being here at the Department of State. We have a few other activities going on in the building today, which explains this particular setting.

This afternoon, we're having an event at the White House with the President in observation of International Women's Day, and we wanted to preview that event with you here now and have a discussion with you -- something that we'll not have an opportunity to do this afternoon. And, as you know, I'm very honored to have the First Lady with us here today, and Bonnie Campbell, who's the Director of the Justice Department's Office of Violence Against Women. I would also like to introduce Theresa Loar, who is the State Department's Senior Coordinator for International Women's Issues, a position created by Congress in which Theresa really is doing a fantastic job. We are at this all the time.

And to get us started, what I wanted to do is to invite the First Lady to give us an idea what to expect from the President and from our event this afternoon.

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much. And sorry I didn't see the folks in the second row, but, hello. Thank you for coming.

Thank everybody for coming. And congratulations to you on your upcoming nuptials. That may be the big news that comes out of this. (Laughter.)

I really appreciate this opportunity. A year ago, the Secretary and I gave speeches here at the State Department on International Women's Day about the intentions and plans of the United States to pursue as actively as possible within our foreign policy an emphasis on women's rights and an emphasis on working with like-minded countries and NGOs in order to further the agenda that came out of Beijing.

It was a fitting day to give such speeches because ever since its beginning at the turn of the century, International Women's Day has been a catalyst for change. And as the Secretary said, in a few hours we will be joining the President, the United Nations Secretary General, Attorney General Reno, a number of members of Congress and a member of the Thai Parliament and other leaders to celebrate the progress that has been made, and to talk about the new steps that the President is directing the administration to take to further our objective of ensuring the human rights of women around the world.

Since the Beijing Conference, even though it's been a relatively short period of time, there has been a rather significant, measurable progress in furthering the agenda set forth at Beijing. Governments, non-governmental organizations and individuals have all demonstrated their commitment to that agenda. Everywhere I go -- and some of you have traveled with me on these trips -- I spend a considerable amount of time meeting with non-governmental

organizations, as well as representatives of governments and with individual women, to talk about the challenges and obstacles that a particular society faces, and to share ideas about what we can do together to try to further this agenda. I've seen a lot of progress just within the years that I have been traveling. And that progress is testament to the growing awareness around the world of the importance of these issues.

But there is more that needs to be done and more that we in the United States can do to give leadership and support to these efforts. And among the announcements that the President will make is that we will continue to build on the Violence Against Women Act that was passed here in the United States, in this administration, by announcing that there will be an additional \$10 million over the next two years to respond to requests from governments and NGOs to help them fight violence against women abroad.

Bonnie Campbell will speak more to that point in a few minutes. But I know, personally, I've referred many visitors from around the world to Bonnie Campbell. And she has had a great deal of impact in helping to provide technical assistance, encouragement, experience from the United States in order to make the issue of

violence against women -- which really surfaced at the Nairobi Conference, but took really serious steps out of Beijing -- into reality.

Some of you have written about issues of trafficking of women. We think there are at least a million women trafficked across borders every year. I would personally argue that it's probably more than that, but at least we can track about a million. And we know that a lot of the countries that are the sources of this trafficking are in the former Soviet Union -- countries that are facing economic difficulties and problems. This is an international problem that needs to be confronted internationally.

Today, the President will ask the Attorney General to make sure that our laws here at home are going to be of help in working with multilateral organizations, as well as individual nations, to do a better job in combating trafficking. The President will announce a partnership with the government of Ukraine to fight trafficking to and from that country -- one of the countries most affected in the last several years.

We need to do more to warn potential victims about the advertising that they respond to for jobs as nannies or waitresses or whatever it might be that entices them. We need to strengthen law enforcement's response in order to try to stop trafficking at its source. And, again, we can provide you more information about that. We will convene an international conference to spotlight what is being done to combat trafficking.

One important tool in the fight for women's rights that the United States does not have is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women -- also known as CEDAW. Despite the fact that our government signed this treaty almost two decades ago, despite its proven track record as a very good strategy in a number of countries around the world and in multilateral efforts to improve women's rights, the United States stands alone among industrialized democracies -- along with countries like Sudan -- in not ratifying this. And today the President will again call on the United States Senate to act to ensure that this treaty can be ratified by July of this year, in time for the 150th anniversary of the Seneca Falls Convention.

Finally, we will announce today \$2.5 million to help support the women of Afghanistan who have been brutalized, silenced and rendered invisible by the Taliban. We will fund grass-roots organizations to help provide women in Pakistani refugee camps with the services they need now and the skills they'll need eventually when they return to Afghanistan. And in Afghanistan we will work with non-governmental organizations to help train women to become community health workers and address basic health issues, especially those that affect children.

All of this comes out of our concern about the rights of women. It comes out of this initiative that has really taken shape

in this administration. It comes out of the leadership that this Secretary of State has given to women's issues and it is something that we hope will gain greater and greater awareness among the American people and be something that we can continue to speak out again and again about and celebrate progress with respect to the next International Women's Day, and the next and the next and the next. But we feel very strongly about this, and as you'll see this afternoon, it is a major part of how we view American foreign policy and our role in leadership in the world.

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Thank you very much, Mrs. Clinton. I think all of us know that we have no better spokesperson on this subject than the First Lady, who is so highly respected abroad as she talks about women's issues as part of our overall foreign policy. And everywhere I go, everybody keeps congratulating me on the fact that we have such a First Lady.

The main point that I would like to add is that the initiatives announced today are part of an ongoing strategy to identify and seize the opportunities to advance the status of women around the world. And a year ago here at the Department, as the First Lady said, we had a meeting to begin a process of advancing the status of women as part of the mainstream of American foreign policy. And today's announcements and remarks by the President and the First Lady and the Attorney General will reflect that.

We have made ratification of CEDAW a priority. I had a discussion with Chairman Helms about it yesterday; it's not his favorite treaty, but I have made very clear that it is an administration policy. We have made the treatment of women a key element in our policies towards Afghanistan and in our discussions with the Taliban. And I think some of you who were with me while we were in Pakistan and visited the refugee camps know how important that trip was and the sense that we gave to them about our concern about their condition.

In our human rights reporting and international law enforcement activities, we place new emphasis on the halting of trafficking of women and girls. And this agreement that we have developed with Ukraine I think is just one example. I was in Ukraine a few days ago, and it was a subject that we talked about at length. I think it's very a very important initiative.

In fact, wherever I go, I do try to meet with NGOs or community leaders who are working on human rights issues or on initiatives to help women. I think it is a way of showing that America cares about their work and that we will help wherever we can. It clearly is a great learning experience for me, and I enjoy those meetings tremendously. In some countries, it's also a not-so-subtle way of saying that America is watching and that we expect the rights and safety of human rights workers and NGOs to be honored.

More broadly, in our development of refugee assistance programs, we're taking into account more and more of the special

needs of women. And partly this is to keep women and children from being exploited or abused. And obviously we know that they are especially vulnerable in refugee situations and it's partly because, to a great extent, development depends on women.

What is interesting -- yesterday I was in Canada, and we were talking generally about the great role that they play in peacekeeping operations, and we discussed the importance of sensitizing peacekeepers generally in terms of the way that they deal with women in situations where they go into these countries. We have found that when women gain the knowledge and power to make our own choices, women are often able to break out of the cycle of poverty in which so many societies remain entrapped, and birth rates stabilize and environmental awareness increases and the spread of sexually-transmitted diseases slows and socially constructive values are more likely to be passed on to the next generation.

Again, just to tell you how much it's a part of all our discussions, again in Canada yesterday, where we talked about the necessity of dealing with future threats of weapons of mass destruction, we talked about the fact that if women in societies knew more about what the problems were, that it would help spread the word. So it's just a common theme in terms of the way that we deal with all foreign policy issues, of kind of using women's basic networks to get a problem out to the whole society.

And, really, this is how social progress is made and how peace and prosperity are built. That's why making the advancement of women a part of our foreign policy is not only the right thing to do, but I think it's the smart thing to do. And I can tell you that as you think about the next century and what it will be like, the movement to recognize the rights of women to empower them economically and politically, and to curb violence and exploitation I think is going to be one of the most powerful forces for shaping the globe.

And you can see now how the momentum is building on every continent. Everywhere, there are ripples from Beijing. The countries have developed their own systems for following up on Beijing, and we keep in touch with them. And it has just created a whole growth in terms of how women deal with their own societies and how we deal with each other. I think that for us, it's been important because we have put women's issues into the mainstream of foreign policy.

Now, before opening all this up to you, I would just like to invite Bonnie Campbell, who really has been such a leader on the issue of violence against women, to say a few words about the Justice Department's participation.

Bonnie.

MS. CAMPBELL: Thank you so much. When I was contemplating what I would say today, I realized -- and, Mrs.

Clinton, I know you will remember -- it was really three years ago this month that the President appointed me to head the Violence Against Women Office. I have to be very honest. I could not at that time have imagined how passage of the Violence Against Women Act and the obvious support of this administration would resonate around the world. I did not anticipate that. It has been an interesting and very wonderful experience for me.

It occurs to me that having a First Lady who has framed around the world and for us women's rights as human rights, which seems so basic, and a Secretary of State who quite literally shines a very bright light on these issues of violence against women, is the main reason that these issues have resonated. But there is also this notion of sort of a critical mass happening around the world.

My job, of course, is to focus on fighting violence against women at home, and I find that there are so many intersections with what happens globally. We very vigorously, every day, work hard to address domestic violence, sexual violence, stalking here at home.

When the Violence Against Women Act was signed into law, it was the first time the federal government had ever spoken to these issues of violence against women. And it's a partnership arrangement that we have with the states where most of these cases are investigated and prosecuted and heard. An important piece of the partnership is roughly \$2 billion going to the states which drives, as you can imagine, a great deal of energy and creativity and much-needed resources are added.

We understood when the Violence Against Women Act was passed, and when I was appointed, that a critical piece of transforming attitudes about violence against women would be elevating the public's awareness that no longer, for example, is domestic violence just a private dispute between two people and something that's not fit for legal adjudication, but rather, it is now a crime and it will be treated as seriously as any crime committed by a stranger.

It seems that having this administration in every way make that statement over and over again -- in Beijing, around the world -- struck a chord around the world. And I have the feeling that everywhere the First Lady goes, I'm then shortly visited by people who have been suggested by the First Lady that they meet with us, that we can share about our experiences how we got the Violence Against Women Act passed.

When I was fortunate enough to go to a Vital Voices Conference in Vienna -- I'm not a diplomat, so I really didn't understand in dealing with women from the former Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc countries how little their experience with democracy ever has been. And when I talked about getting the

Violence Against Women Act passed, they had these blank looks, like, "well, how do you do that?" Our engagement is so important -- how do you get a law passed where there is none? Why did the federal government in our setting speak to these issues? What were our goals? How do we do that?

Needless to say, in the context of our commitment to holding justice systems around the world accountable for protecting women from violence, became the mantra. It literally has been in a way that I could not have anticipated. We always articulate our goals very clearly. Needless to say, trafficking of women, which will be an important topic for us today, is violence against women. And we understand it also to be another one of those intersections with the rest of the globe. I talked -- in Teresa's wonderful parlance, we talk in terms of technical assistance, but it's really sharing of experiences and partnership -- not unlike our partnership with the states, in many ways -- where we can figure out together what are the best mechanisms.

But the goals are always the same: to hold justice systems, whether they are in the United States or any other region of the world, accountable toward the protection of women and children. To change the public attitudes about these crimes. It's not ever acceptable to be violent to women and children or to traffic women for sexual exploitation or slave labor -- not ever -- under anyone's cultural history or scheme. And finally, how do we come together where we live to stop it? And it turns out that we really can't do it without each other.

Yesterday I met with, along with many people from the Justice Department, with a delegation from Italy who really wanted to share with us their experience with trafficking in Europe, and to encourage us to view trafficking as a very significant, challenging, organized criminal entity that we will see, if we haven't already seen, in as big a way as they are. The sharing of information from the perspective of our prosecutors is critical -- because now we will meet again, probably next month; we will talk about how we literally share intelligence and information that is crucial to learning more about trafficking trends and enabling us to prosecute these cases.

Indeed, the world seems very small. I know just sitting here trying to recall the people from around the world with whom I have met, way too many to recount, but I have met with people from Thailand and Italy, as I said; and numerous places in Mexico; the U.K., Israel, Greece, Poland; numerous countries in Africa. The interest in what we're doing and the interesting partnership is absolutely profound to me.

Part of the problem I think we encounter -- and I'd be happy to address this more when we have opportunities for questions -- is that trafficking in particular is so shocking. When I go home to my wonderful state of Iowa, it's very difficult for them to believe that anybody anywhere would actually enslave human beings and sell them. I must tell you it is -- (inaudible) -- which I think is

one of most important consequences of today, from my perspective that the President, the First Lady, the Secretary of State, the Attorney General and others will say, unequivocally, this is happening, it is horrible and it's unacceptable.

I'm really honored to be here with both of you.

Q Madame Secretary, Mrs. Clinton, a great deal of the leadership on this, of course, as you know, has come from the United Nations, like the Beijing Conference. And I'm wondering if you could address what we can do about your efforts to get the U.N. dues paid by Congress and the insistence now by Congress again that family planning -- which is so crucial to women around the world, be taken back as a condition of approval of the arrears.

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Well, first of all, we have all argued loud and clear that it is essential for the United States to pay up to the United Nations. These are dues and bills of a club, basically, that we started and we consider as a major help to American foreign policy and in American national interest that the United Nations function effectively.

Last year, I was very pleased that we were able to work out some excellent legislation that was able to pay back the bulk of our arrears, as well as lay down some very important benchmarks for United Nations reform and which we believe. And it was held up by a small group of members who believed that the issue of family planning should be attached to a national security issue.

I have now testified a number of times to the following point, which I deeply believe: I think that the issue of family planning is one that is a highly debated issue in the United States and the question of pro-choice and pro-life. And I happen to be on one side of the issue, as is the First Lady, and there are very good people on the other side of the issue. It is an issue of major importance and it should be debated, but it should be debated separately. It is a custom in the United States to be able to vote an issue up or down on the basis of its substance, and not on the basis that it is attached to national security legislation.

And it continues to be put forward that way and we are in danger of shutting down our foreign policy. And so we are saying that it's an important issue, it should be debated separately and we should allow it to have an up or down vote and move the rest of the legislation not only to do with U.N. arrears, but the IMF replenishment, the supplemental that also will have Iraq and Bosnia in it, as well as some natural disaster -- ways to help -- on its own merit. We cannot tie up these important issues with another important issue, which is the discussion on family planning.

Q No compromises?

raise this issue? And if you could just sort of articulate what kind of response you get initially.

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Well, I think that when I have raised it -- and I just raised it in Ukraine and then with the Russians earlier -- is basically I think they are originally surprised at the fact that this is going on and that they are concerned about it. I think that they -- I think as Bonnie also said, there's a lack of understanding about how a system works and what the government officials can do about this particular problem. So it's a matter not only of telling them that there's a problem, but that it is something that they can do something about. And I found generally a positive response, that they want to work on this. I think they see it as unacceptable and also as a mark against them as they try to be a part of organized democratic communities.

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, I have found the same.

Q And just to follow up on this, what ideas do they have about making changes and trying to stop it?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Well, they do want to know about how they get laws passed and what they can do about it. I mean, part of their problem, generally -- and I think we've had this discussion on other issues -- is that as communist systems have moved from centralized systems where they controlled everything and they knew how to get things done, they have now moved to trying to deal with developments of civil society and various pieces of enterprises that they have no control over. And so they ask -- you know you criticized us when we were centralized, how do you expect us now to do it when we're de-centralized. And we talk about how legislation can be done.

Q The administration has talked very tough about the Taliban in Afghanistan in particular, and has had intensive discussions with members of the Taliban. And I wonder whether you feel like you're getting anywhere with them, whether there has been any response that you consider positive to your message? And does the administration consider at all the possibility that if the civil war were to end there, that the pipeline would -- the United States might oppose a pipeline there until they identify --

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Well, first of all, I mean, we have been pressing them in public and private, and Carol, you were with me when we were in Pakistan. I think that we make very clear our objection to the way that they treat women. We have committed up to \$2.5 million in new funds for women's grass-roots organizations in Pakistan and ways of providing training. I think we -- it is very much a part of our thinking as we deal with Afghanistan, generally, is a subject that is raised all the time and that we feel that by keeping at it, we are making some progress. It's a very tough issue, I'm not trying to sugar-coat this in any way. It is certainly a priority for us and we keep stressing it. I've given a number of --well, portions of speeches on this and I know that the First Lady

has too. So it's up there as a big issue for us.

Q The President's trip to Africa is fast approaching. Could you give us a sense of what -- to what degree these are problems in the countries he'll be visiting, and do either of you plan special events or forums that will address --

MRS. CLINTON: I don't know that the Secretary is actually going to be able to make the trip, but in the planning for the trip -- we will be going to Ghana, Uganda, South Africa, Botswana and Senegal, and in each of those countries there's a long list of issues that the President will be addressing. And where appropriate, these issues are going to be a part of that mix.

I'm also looking for opportunities to meet with people in each of those countries, both in the government and outside the government, on issues affecting women and children. I'm particularly concerned, as I said when I went to Arusha, about the systematic exploitation of women and children by using them in military conflicts. And that's an issue that I hope to be able to address in the various forums there. We may have some further information either before the trip or during the trip to announce with respect to these specific issues that we've been talking about here as well.

Q Mrs. Clinton, could you talk about your role or your input into the President's decision not to accept any compromise language on the overseas abortion funding that's now held up money for the IMF and the repayment to the U.N.?

MRS. CLINTON: I don't have anything to add to what the Secretary said in describing what the government's position is.

Q Do you have conversations with the Secretary or with the President about your feelings about it?

MRS. CLINTON: I never talk about my conversations.

Q One of the issues, certainly of the former Soviet Union, as far as trafficking of women goes -- closely is economic --(inaudible). I missed if there was -- is there any economic incentive that goes along with --(inaudible)-- a partnership?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I don't know that there's any economic incentive that is directly tied to this initiative, but certainly Ukraine receives an extraordinary amount of American assistance right now, much of it aimed at economic initiatives. And one of the points that we've tried to make over the last several years in talking about these issues is that women and women's opportunity to make income has to be seen as part of economic growth and development. So we have changed in the last several years a lot of American aid programs and investment initiatives to focus on women. So it's not -- I can't say that it's a direct quid quo pro, but it is certainly part of our overall belief that the more women who are empowered to be economic actors on their own behalf and for

their families, the less likely that they would be pulled into some of these other difficulties.

MS. LOAR: Actually, Cynthia, part of our initiative with the government of Ukraine is a big component on economic empowerment. And that's a big part of it because that's something they had identified as a need. And that's a very preventive measure and it's part of our long-term assistance, so it will be an important part of that.

Q Can I just follow up? In term of -- it is well documented around the world -- in Israel and other places around the world that they are host countries. How well documented is trafficking in women in some of these countries?

MS. CAMPBELL: Let me tackle that. We are in the process right now of assessing the answer to that question. We prosecute very vigorously, so we know there is trafficking and we are trying to understand the trends.

But I do need to make a few points about the difficulty in amassing the data. First of all, like most other forms of violence against women, trafficking is vastly under-reported, often dealing with illegal immigrants, people holding false documents, people who are literally locked away in brothels. I mean, if they were enforced prostitution, walking the streets, we'd see them, but they're not. They fear retaliation, personal violence, violence against their families. They fear deportation. And, frankly, our ability to provide services because of their immigrant status is often very challenged. So we're trying to assess what are the trends, where are we seeing it, where is it coming from.

The President's directive, I think, will be enormously helpful in directing the resources, but also understanding what we need to do by way of providing services. From a prosecutor's prospective, if you want to prosecute traffickers, you have to discover who they are, where they are, from whence they come, how they got people illegally into this country; and then you have to have victims who are willing and not afraid to testify. And those two challenges are enormous. And we are diligently -- because even before Theresa's directive to look at trafficking, the Attorney General had asked us to look at it. So I hope shortly we'll know more than we know now. But the data are very sketchy and they are difficult to gather and assess.

Q The President is going to Latin America, too. It's a very wide area, very diverse. What are the issues --

MRS. CLINTON: Are you talking about when the President goes to the Summit of the Americas in Santiago? I should let the Secretary respond officially on that, but certainly much of the follow-up to the first Summit in Miami is going to be on that agenda.

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: The President has asked that we

focus basically on three subjects. One is on education, as a whole -- and I think that both he and a number of the other Latin American leaders are very interested in getting the whole education level up in the hemisphere -- and the importance of that across the board to issues in each of the countries on questions of trade and questions of narco-trafficking. Those are the kind of central themes. But there are a number of other aspects that will obviously flow from that.

From what I know -- I'm sure you will corroborate this -- the President is looking forward very much to this summit and sees it as a very good vehicle for working even harder for establishing a partnership within the Americas that we consider very important to us throughout the world in terms of pursuing our national security agenda.

Q (Inaudible.)

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Well, that will certainly come up in terms of the education issues, in terms of all the issues, because it's an underlying issue. Let me also say I'm very glad -- as you know, there are not a lot of women foreign ministers. There are 11 in the world and a lot of them in this hemisphere. And Mexico now has a woman Foreign Minister, Rosaria Green, who happens to be part of my original -- group in New York. So we have our network of woman foreign ministers who are pursuing also within their countries some of the women's issues and it's what we talk about when we -- in addition to all the other subjects we talk about when we have conversations.

MRS. CLINTON: Hanging out with the foreign ministers.
(Laughter.)

Q I work for Newsweek and I'm actually based in Mexico now. Two questions: One is, you know, I live in a pretty sexist society now and I often wonder whether or not the two of you, or any of you, have experiences when you're trying to convince people that these should be on the agenda -- finding experiences where they don't get the fact that these are important issues, how you convince them. Do you have to bully them? Do you sweet-talk them? And then also, very specifically, the Rosaria Green point, do you foresee anything in terms of Mexico's foreign policy related to women's issues because she's now the foreign minister?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Well, life is not too different, you know, throughout the world. (Laughter.) I think we all have the same experiences and we all get together and share them. And I must say that one of the fun things that I have done, as the First Lady just said, hanging out with the foreign ministers in New York during the General Assembly -- eight of us -- at that stage there were only 10 women foreign ministers -- met and we talked about common experiences. And the combination of bullying and sweet talking, I think, we all know how to practice both arts.

Q Can you think of an example just to illustrate how you -- or even a success that you would say was really hard won, bringing somebody around to the realization that something was an important point?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Well, I think with Rosaria Green especially, she in New York was very much a part of a women's group that we had. I originally got together the women permanent reps. There happened to be seven of us, so we called ourselves the G7. (Laughter.) But she was there as a part of the United Nations system and was responsible for a lot of women's issues. She has now taken over --

(End of side one of tape.)

(Begin side two, in progress.)

I think that from my discussions with her she is looking at ways that women's issues can be more a part of their whole system.

But with her, she is also doing what I've tried to do, which is to try to increase the number of women in their foreign service and try to get more women out into representing their countries. I must say, I was asked often how I would be received by Arab countries, and I went to my first meeting of the Gulf Cooperation Council, and the first meeting I said, you may notice that I don't look quite the way my predecessors have looked; and this time you've all been very generous to me and next time we get together we'll talk about women's rights. And we did.

Q Did they chuckle when you said that or did they think you were joking?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Yes, yes, of course they chuckled. What did you expect? (Laughter.) But I do think that they have made a point of discussing with me some of the opportunities for women in their societies. And I have to tell you that as the representative of the United States and as a woman, I have been greeted in all countries with the highest respect. And I think that having a woman represent the most powerful country in the world is a message in itself that they react to.

MRS. CLINTON: Let me just follow up on that and say that in addition to the personal progress that can be marked by people who have achieved high positions, such as our Secretary of State and the other women in foreign ministries, I think you have to look at the extraordinary progress -- and it gets back to the question about how you institutionalize this -- that has occurred just in the last five years. There was a recent article talking about all the progress that has happened in the last two and half years from Beijing. But there was long process that led up to Beijing, starting in about 1993 and maybe even earlier, but that's

when I first was aware of it.

And I think you can mark progress in individual countries. You can mark progress in multilateral kinds of events, focusing on these issues affecting women. And I think you have to view it, as I do, as a kind of historical process. You move from the theoretical to the rhetorical to the practical and policy implications. And the theoretical has been there for a long time. There's been work done for about the last 30 years demonstrating the important connection between development of women and democracy and other kinds of progress that are not only good for the societies in which they take place, but are in the interests of the United States.

And then you can move to a rhetorical basis, which we certainly have seen done in Beijing and other places, where we begin to put a vocabulary out there that people can begin to accept and then it all of a sudden comes echoing back to you, to the practical implications. And there are enormous practical implications. And I think you can even look within our own administration. I mean, certainly when some of us started talking about something like microcredit a few years ago, it wasn't even a known issue among many people within the State or Treasury or Defense Departments, and now it's embraced as an element of American policy both at home and abroad because of the results.

So I think there are many examples. And progress isn't always in a straight line and it isn't easy. But I think that with persistence and with a capacity to show these results we can continue building on it. And that's, of course, one of our objectives from today, is to demonstrate that.

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: I think the First Lady and I have to leave. And I actually am going to go meet the Secretary General. And just as an example of what has happened is he has named a woman as Deputy Secretary General, one of the women that have been part of the original group, the Canadian permanent representative. He has a woman High Commissioner for Refugees, and a woman who is his High Commissioner for Human Rights. So it's moving through the system.

Theresa will be happy to stay to answer some more detailed questions, but I thank you.

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you all very much.

Q Thank you.

END



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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New York, New York)

For Immediate Release

September 14, 1998

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Council on Foreign Relations Building
New York, New York

12:00 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Pete. Hillary and I are delighted to be here with you and Joan, and I'm glad to be joined by Secretary Rubin and Jim Harmon, Gene Sperling, other members of our team. I'm glad to see Dick Holbrooke over here. I hope, if we can overcome the inertia of Congress, he will soon be a member of the team again. (Applause.) And I thank David Rockefeller and Les Gelb and others who welcomed us here today.

The subject that I want to discuss -- let me just say one thing in advance -- I'm going to give you my best thoughts. We have been working on this for three years at some level of intensity or another, going back to the Naples G-7 meeting in the aftermath of the Mexican financial crisis. I have done everything I could do personally to reach out across the country, and indeed across the world, for any new ideas from any source. I'm going to give you my best thinking today about what we can do, but I want you to know that I'm here, and if I had my druthers, this would be about a three-hour session where I'd give this talk and then I would listen for the rest of the time.

So I want to encourage you, if you think we're right, to support us. But if you have any ideas, for goodness sake, share them, because I agree with what Pete said: this is the biggest financial challenge facing

the world in a half-century. And the United States has an absolutely inescapable obligation to lead, and to lead in a way that's consistent with our values and our obligation to see that what we're doing helps lift the lives of ordinary people here at home and all around the world.

The Council on Foreign Relations has always stood for political and economic freedom, since right after World War I. And I think one of the things that has impacted all of us, and it was implicit in what Pete said, is that for the last decade the growth of freedom around the world, with more than half the people in the world living under governments of their own choosing, more than half the villages, the one million villages in China now, even electing their own governments, and this sweeping replacement of command and control economies by market economies. I think it seems to have happened so easily, so effortlessly, so inexorably, that I think we think the trend is inevitable and irreversible.

But if you consider today's economic difficulties, disruptions, and the plain old, deep, personal disappointments of now tens of millions of people around the world, it is clear to me that there is now a stark challenge not only to economic freedom, but, if unaddressed, a challenge that could stem the rising tide of political liberty as well.

Obviously we have profound interests here. It is a great irony that we are at a moment of unsurpassed economic strength at a time of such turmoil in the world economy. We, I think all of us in this room, know that our future prosperity depends upon whether we can work with others to restore

confidence, manage change, stabilize the financial system, and spur robust global growth.

For most of the last 30 years, the United States and the rest of the world has been preoccupied by inflation, for reasons that all of you here know all too well -- and it was a good thing to be preoccupied with. Today the low and stable inflation we enjoy has been critical to our economic health, and low inflation has also contributed to that of many other nations as well. But clearly the balance of risks has now shifted, with a full quarter of the world's population living in countries with declining economic growth or negative economic growth.

Therefore, I believe the industrial world's chief priority today, plainly, is to spur growth. It seems to me there are six immediate steps we should take to help contain the current financial turmoil around the world, and then two longer-term projects in which we must be involved.

To take the immediate first, we must work with Japan, Europe, and other nations to spur growth. Second, we will expand our efforts to enable viable businesses in Asia to emerge from crippling debt burdens so they can once again contribute to

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and for the
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This helps
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Other leadership

John F. Kennedy
State Dept.

growth and job creation. Third, we've asked the World Bank to double its support for the social safety net in Asia to help people who are innocent victims of financial turmoil. Fourth, we'll urge the major industrial economies to stand ready to use the \$15 billion in IMF emergency funds to help stop the financial contagion from spreading to Latin America and elsewhere. Fifth, our Ex-Im Bank, under the leadership of Jim Harmon, will intensify its efforts to generate economic activity in the developing world immediately, in the next three months. And sixth, Congress must live up to its responsibility for continued prosperity by meeting our obligations to the International Monetary Fund.

Secretary Rubin has been working with his counterparts in the G-7 to get cooperative support for several of these measures. I understand Chairman Greenspan is also consulting with his counterparts on these items as well.

As we take these immediate steps, we also must intensify our efforts to reform our trade and financial institutions so that they can respond better to the challenges we now face and those we are likely to face in the future. We must build a stronger and more accountable global trading system, pressing forward with market-opening initiatives, but also advancing the protection of labor and environmental interests, and doing more to ensure that trade helps the lives of ordinary citizens across the globe.

Above all, we must accelerate our efforts to reform the international financial system. Today I have asked Secretary Rubin and Federal Reserve Board Chairman Greenspan to convene a major meeting of their counterparts within the next 30 days to recommend ways to adapt the international financial architecture to the 21st century.

Over the past six years, our strategy at home of fiscal discipline, investment in the skills of our people, and open trade has worked for all Americans. Unemployment at a 28-year low, inflation a 32-year low, wages rising at twice the rate of inflation after decades of stagnation. And on October 1st we'll have the first balanced budget in 29 years.

But the global economy brought a lot of that prosperity to us, and now fast-moving currents have brought or aggravated problems in Russia and Asia. They threaten emerging economies from Latin America to South Africa. With a quarter of the world's population in declining growth, we must recognize what Chairman Greenspan said the other day: we cannot forever be

an oasis of prosperity. Growth at home depends upon growth abroad. A full 30 percent of our growth, just since I became President, has been due to our expanding positive involvement in the global economy.

That's why ordinary Americans should care if Asia or Russia or South America is on solid economic footing. These people are our customers. ~~With one-third of the growth of our economy coming from exports,~~ much of it from emerging markets, we know that those markets will falter as their economies flatten. When the problem is widespread and perceived to be moving in the wrong direction, we have seen that our stock market can react, having a direct and immediate impact on the wealth of the American people.

These nations are also our competitors. And under conditions of decent equilibrium that is a very good thing, indeed. But when their currencies drop precipitously, the prices of their goods fall, they could undercut the sales of our own goods here at home that are otherwise profitable, dramatically increasing our trade deficit under circumstances that could cause the American people to turn away from open trade toward protectionism in a way that has terrific negative consequences long-term for our global growth objectives.

Finally, these nations are our friends, our allies and our security partners. Where economic turmoil plunges millions into sudden poverty and disrupts and disorients the lives of ordinary people, the risks of political and social instability and of a turn from democracy clearly rise. Just look at Russia. Russia is facing an economic crisis that threatens the extraordinary progress the Russian people have made in just seven years, building a new society from the ground up. The ruble and the stock market have plummeted, banks are weak, tax collections have slowed, the government has trouble paying its debts and its salaries.

Some Russians have become wealthy, but many, many more are struggling to provide for their families. I talked to some of them when I was in Russia just a few days ago.

Amid such political uncertainty and economic difficulty, some now talk of abandoning the path of reform and returning to policies of the past, even policies that have already failed. At worst, adversity in Russia could affect not only the Russian economy and prospects for our economic cooperation -- at worst, it could have an impact on our cooperation with Russia on nuclear disarmament, on fighting terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction, on standing together for peace, from the Balkans to the Middle East.

Now Russia has a new Prime Minister, Mr. Primakov, who's been in office a grand total of four days. He and President Yeltsin face one of the great challenges of their time. Never has there been a more important moment to set a clear direction for the future, to affirm the commitment of Russia to democracy and to free markets, and to take decisive steps to stabilize the economy and restore investor confidence.

But if Russia is willing to take these steps, we must do everything we can to provide support to them. Because again I say, as long as ordinary people don't feel any benefits from this, in the end it's going to be difficult to sustain the direction we think the world should take.

On the other hand, we need to be honest with Russia and everyone else. No nation, rich or poor, democratic or authoritarian, can escape the fundamental economic imperatives of the global market. No nation can escape its discipline. No nation can avoid its responsibility to do its part.

But since all economies are increasingly interdependent, fear and uncertainty about the economy of one country can prompt investors to pull money out of other countries thousands of miles away. Markets work best when they are driven neither by excessive inflows or outflows of capital based on indiscriminate optimism or pessimism.

Regardless of what changes in policies or institutions may be warranted, we have to say we'll only be able to help those countries who are willing to help themselves. If a nation chooses to print money indiscriminately, to wink at cronyism or corruption, to hide bad loans and protect corrupt or inefficient banks, then investors, foreign and domestic, sooner or later, will withdraw their investments, with consequences both swift and severe.

That is why we support the fundamental approach of the International Monetary Fund to extend assistance only when nations have taken responsibility, strengthening their banking systems, introducing honest accounting and open markets, awarding credit on merit instead of connections.

Still, what has been done is clearly not enough to reverse the decline in particular countries, to douse the flames of the international financial crisis, to support steady and sustainable growth in the future. In the face of this new challenge, America can and must continue to act and to lead to take the *urgent steps needed today to calm the financial crisis*, restart the engine of growth in Asia, and minimize the impact of financial turmoil on other nations, and to make certain that for tomorrow the institutions and rules of international finance and international trade are prepared to support steady and sustainable growth over the long term.

First and foremost, the leading economic nations must act together to spur global growth. Our strong and growing economy here has made a major contribution to global growth, just as our weak economy was holding the world back six years ago when I attended my first G-7 meeting in Tokyo and every other country

said, the first thing they needed was for America to put its economic house in order. We did that.

Now I believe strongly we must maintain our fiscal discipline. It has led to lower interest rates and a huge investment and job growth. Maintaining economic growth is the best thing we can do right now, not only for the United States but for the global economy.

I would also remember that back in 1993 we had a general agreement that what was needed was America should get rid of its deficit, Europe should lower its interest rates, and Japan should open its markets. There was this general agreement that if we did all those things, we would have a remarkable resumption of growth.

Europe did moderate its interest rates and the then prime minister -- now the finance minister -- Mr. Miyazawa, oversaw a significant market opening trade agreement between the United States and Japan, which also benefited others, not just us. And of course we got rid of our deficit. The results were quite satisfactory for several years for us.

Now Europe has to continue to pursue policies that will spur growth and keep their markets open because they, too, must be able to provide markets for Asian goods as those nations seek to find their footing. But the key here is Japan, for the second largest economy in the world, by far the biggest economy in Asia, has now gone several years without any economic growth. Thank goodness, a lot of their ordinary citizens have been able to maintain a decent life because of the wealth of their country and probably because of the enormous personal savings rate they

have enjoyed for many, many years now.

But it is difficult to see how any actions of the world community can be successful in restoring growth in Asia in the absence of the restoration of growth in Japan, which would enable Japan to lead the region out of its present condition. Therefore, we must support Japan and do everything we can to help create the conditions in which, together, we can all lead again, just as we did in 1993.

Their challenges are quite formidable. They have to spur domestic demand, revive a banking system, restore confidence, deregulate the economy, and open markets. And we all know all the forces that seem to be working against these developments in Japan. But I would remind you that this is a very strong, sophisticated nation full of people of knowledge and enormous achievement. It is fully capable of playing its world leadership role. I believe its business leaders right now know what needs to be done and would support it.

Next week I'm going to meet with Prime Minister Obuchi here in New York to discuss how America can support Japan's efforts to restore economic growth and investor confidence. And I will do everything I can to try to make sure that as we go forward, we have America, Europe, and Japan all doing our part to get beyond this present moment, just as we did back in 1993.

The second step we should take is to intensify our efforts to speed economic recovery in Asia. When countries like South Korea and Thailand have taken strong and responsible steps, the freefall has ended, progress is being made. But the human cost of Asia's collapse is only now being fully felt. Recent press reports have described an entire generation working its way into the middle class over 25 years, then being plummeted into poverty within a matter of months. The stories are heartbreaking -- doctors and nurses forced to live in the lobby of a closed hospital; middle class families who own their own homes, sent their children to college, traveled abroad, now living by selling their possessions.

It is in our interest to help these nations and these people recover. They will become once again our great markets and our great partners. It is also the right thing to do. We've worked with international lenders, like the IMF, to help these nations to adopt pro-growth budget, tax, and monetary policies, but clearly we're going to have to do more to restore Asian growth. We must work to lift the weight of private sector debt that has frozen the Asian economies.

Today, I'm asking Secretary Rubin to work with other financial authorities and international economic institutions to enhance efforts to explore comprehensive plans to help Asian corporations emerge from massive debt where individual firms have been swept under by systemic, national economic problems, rather than their own errors. We need to get credit flowing again. We need to get business back to making products, producing services, creating jobs.

Third, Asian businesses need assistance, but so do millions of Asian families. We must do more to establish an adequate social safety net in recovering nations. Wrenching economic transition without an adequate social safety net can sacrifice lives in the name of economic theory, and, I might add, can generate thereby so much resistance that reform grinds to a halt. If we want these countries to do tough things, we have to protect the most defenseless people in the society and we have to protect people who get hurt when they didn't do anything wrong. I think that is terribly important.

With our support, the World Bank and the Asian

Development Bank have started to deal with these challenges, but

they have to expand their efforts. There is simply not enough being done. I asked them to double their aid through an expanded social compact initiative focusing on job assistance, basic needs and economic transition, on children and the elderly, on groups most vulnerable to economic change. And I want to commend Jim Wolfensohn for his efforts and his willingness to lead this expanded initiative. We have to be ready to respond immediately with financial force if necessary, to the currency crisis, if it spreads, especially if it threatens the economies of Latin America, where nations have struggled to make progress to do the right thing, only to find themselves buffeted by economic storms outside their control.

Therefore, the major economies should stand ready to activate the \$15 billion now in the emergency funds of the IMF, the general agreement to borrow, to ensure that the IMF continues to support reform and fight economic contagion.

Fifth, our Export-Import Bank will increase its commitments to specific economic development projects over the next three years -- three months -- projects which will have concrete benefits for ordinary citizens in other countries, projects which will increase our own exports and thereby help our economy, and ones which can help to restore confidence in countries that they are not alone and that actual, specific, positive developments can occur.

Sixth, for the effort of the international community to succeed, America simply must meet its own obligations to the International Monetary Fund. After a year of financial firefighting, the IMF's resources are badly strained. Every day we don't act, we undermine the confidence the world badly needs that we are trying to restore. Congress simply must assume its responsibility for our leadership in the economy.

In my State of the Union address, I said it was better to prepare for a storm when the skies were clear than when the clouds were overhead. Well, eight months later, the clouds are closer, and you can nearly hear the thunder. Now, the Senate, by an overwhelming bipartisan majority, has, thankfully, approved our obligation to fund our part of the International Monetary Fund. But with only five weeks left in this congressional session, there is still no action from the House of Representatives.

Let me put this as plainly as I can: failure by this Congress to pay our dues to the IMF will put our own prosperity at risk. Failure to act will send a sharp signal that at a time of economic challenge, our lawmakers were unwilling to protect our workers, our businesses, our farmers from the risks of global economic change, and unwilling to maintain our leadership in building a global economy system that has benefited us more than any other nation.

Concerted action to spur growth, helping Asia through private sector debt restructuring, and a strengthened social safety net, helping to protect the rest of the world through the use of the IMF's emergency fund, increasing the activity of the Ex-Im Bank, and meeting our own obligations to the IMF -- these are the six immediate steps we want to take.

But we must also be willing to take action for the long run -- to modify the financial and trading institutions of the world to match the realities of the new economy they serve. By creating the WTO, the World Trading Organization, in 1994, we began to build a modern trading system. We must redouble our efforts to tear down barriers around the world. But as I said in Geneva last May, we must do more to ensure that spirited economic competition among nations never becomes a race to the bottom -- in environmental protection, consumer protection, or labor

standards.

We are working to open the procedures of the WTO to participation by the public and the full range of affected interests, so that people will know and see and be able to do for themselves things which will ensure that the trading system makes the world better for all the people in all the countries.

We've already completed 260 trade agreements, opening markets in areas from autos to telecommunications. Next year we will host the meeting of the world's trade ministers to set the agenda for expanded trade in the first decade in the new century.

History teaches us that at a time of worldwide difficulty, it would be folly to retreat into a protectionist shell. We must keep trade flowing among nations, but I will say again, if we want to do that, we have got to give ordinary citizens and the groups that represent them in countries all over the world the sense that it is going to be done in a fair way, consistent with nations' obligations to advance the interests of their working people and protect not only their national, but the global environment.

This November, when I meet with the leaders of the Asian economies at the APEC meeting, we will move forward to further open markets in Asia. And when Congress returns next year, I will work to pass legislation to open markets further -- from trade negotiating powers to the African Trade Initiative. I will do so in a way that I believe will win broad support from a majority of both parties.

From the G-7 meeting in Halifax in 1995 in the wake of the Mexican financial crisis, to the Birmingham meeting this year, we have been working, also, with our major economic partners to plan for new financial architecture for the 21st

century.

For the first time, this year we included key emerging markets in the process in a new Group of 22, recognizing their important stake in the global economy. This group has been working together for nearly a year now to improve the global financial assistance with a special focus on improving financial sectors, on transparency, and on private sector burden sharing.

I just want to emphasize again that even as we respond to the urgent alarms of the moment, we must speed the pace of this systemic work as well. That is why I have asked Secretary Rubin and Chairman Greenspan to convene the finance ministers and central bankers of the G-7 and key emerging economies in Washington within 30 days to develop a preliminary report to the heads of state by the beginning of next year on strengthening the world financial system.

We must develop policies so that countries can reap the benefits of free-flowing capital in a way that is safe and sustainable. We must adapt the IMF so that it can more effectively confront the new types of financial crises, minimizing their frequency, severity, and human cost. We need to consider ways to extend emergency financing when countries are battling crises of confidence due to world financial distress as distinct from their own errors in policy. We must find ways to tap the energy of global markets without sentencing the world to a cycle of continued extreme crises.

For half a century now in our national economy, we have learned not to eliminate but to tame and limit the swings of boom and bust. In the 21st century, we have to find a way to do that in the global economy as well.

I've discussed this in recent days with Prime

Minister Blair of Great Britain, who is now the Chair of the G-7. He shares my belief that this is an urgent task. It is critical to the mission that he and I and Prime Minister Prodi of Italy will be discussing next week at the New York University Law School in a very interesting meeting that the First Lady and others in our administration helped to organize on how to extend

the benefits of the world economy to all and how to strengthen democracy in a time of such sweeping economic change.

Now, let me just say it all again very briefly: in short, we must improve our ability to address the current financial emergency, and we must build a system to prevent such future emergencies, whenever possible, and to blunt their impact when they do occur. There is no mission more critical to our own strength and security.

And let me say this again, what is at stake is more than the spread of free markets and their integration into the global economy. The forces behind the global economy are also those that deepen democratic liberties: the free flow of ideas and information, open borders and easy travel, the rule of law, fair and even-handed enforcement, protection for consumers, a skilled and educated work force.

Each of these things matters not only to the wealth of nations but to the health of freedom. If citizens tire of waiting for democracy and free markets to deliver a better life for them, there is a real risk that democracy and free markets, instead of continuing to thrive together, will begin to shrivel together. This would pose great risks not only for our economic interests but for our security.

We see around the world the international aggressors, the harborers of terrorists, the drug lords. Who are these countries? They're authoritarian nations without democracy and without open markets. Nations that give their people freedom are good neighbors; when nations turn away from freedom, they turn inward toward tension, hatred, and hostility.

We now have a chance to create opportunity on a worldwide scale. The difficulties of the moment should not obscure us to the advances of the last several years. We clearly have it within our means, if we do the right things, to lift billions and billions of people around the world into a global middle class and into participation in global democracy and genuine efforts toward peace and reconciliation. That is a possibility, but recent events show it is not a certainty.

At this moment, therefore, the United States is called upon once again to lead -- to organize the forces of a committed world; to channel the unruly energies of the global economy into positive avenues; to advance our interests, reinforce our values, enhance our security.

In this room, I think it is not too simple to say we know what to do. The World War II generation did it for us 50 years ago. Now, it is time for us to rise to our responsibility, as America has called upon to do so often so many times in the past. We can, if we do that, redeem the promise of the global economy and strengthen our own nation for a new century.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

12:34 P.M. EDT