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Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
to the Central Asian Conference on Women in Politics

Almaty, Kazakhstan
November 12, 1997

Thank you very much, Mrs. Nazarbayev, distinguished guests. I am delighted to be here at this important conference. I would like to thank LIANA [an international women's organization] for organizing this conference and bringing together women who are leading the way toward a free, prosperous, and democratic Central Asia. When I look at LIANA's logo, [the liana, a tropical plant] I am reminded what happens when women cultivate the soil and nurture the roots of democracy. We find that our work yields fruit for all citizens: for women, for children, for men, for communities, for countries for all citizens.

I have come to Kazakhstan and Central Asia to strengthen the bonds among our countries, to see firsthand the progress you are making, and to talk about the role that women must play in building and sustaining democracy from the ground up. I also want to bring a message of hope and solidarity from the American people, especially American women, who are standing with you as you remake your world.

Though we practice different religions, come from different places, and have different histories, we speak that same mother tongue the language of hope. Women have always found common ground to stand on together. It usually happens when we're sitting around a kitchen table, when we're at the market, when we're waiting for the bus, or watching our children play outside. In the formal and informal interactions that make up our daily lives, women are talking to each other about the challenges we face. We want to know how to raise our children and make ends meet. We want to know how to make time to protect, or even think about, our own health. We want to know how to make our religious and ethnic diversity a source of pride, not division. We want to advance the cause of democracy, and advance the cause of women, and make it clear that we cannot have one without the other.

When we talk about democracy, we often talk about our highest ideals: freedom of religion, freedom of speech and press, and freedom to participate fully in the civic and political life of one's country.

Democracy also depends in large measure on seeing to it that individuals have access to what I call the tools of opportunity: education, health care, jobs, and credit.

What we have learned over the years is that our most cherished beliefs can be made real only through the everyday efforts of ordinary citizens. Our laws and institutions are absolutely critical, but democracy is nurtured and sustained by what we in America call "the habits of the heart," in the way people live their lives and in the lessons they teach their children as they tuck them into bed at night.

Because this conference is about women and politics, I want to speak with you about how politics can help us bring about this new world. I want to discuss politics in a very specific way. When I say politics I don't just mean electing women to every level of government although that is vitally important. I'm talking about the most important role of politics in a democracy, that is, our role as citizens the contributions we make to civil society. After all, politics at its most basic is what we do when we come together to accomplish common goals. Whether we gather in non-governmental organizations [NGO's], voluntary organizations, or in each other's homes, we make it clear that the most important person in a democracy is the citizen.

Like many of you, I have spent much of my life, not running for or serving in elected office, but working in and with non-governmental organizations. Even starting as a young girl, I was in associations in my school, in Girl Scouts, and in my church. As I grew older and was in college and law school, I was in legal and business groups. I recall very clearly that the person who taught me that I had a role to play and a responsibility to my community was my mother. That is why I am so impressed by what you are doing here today. You are pioneers. You are building a civil society that values the contributions of women, and you are doing so without the benefit of an older generation to guide you. You are launching a new tradition that can and must be passed down from mother to daughter, from father to son, and down through the generations.

Since I arrived yesterday, I have already seen firsthand what women and young people are doing to transform this country. Last night, I talked with young people from the Kazakhstan Association of Young Leaders who are teaching each other about civic participation in a democracy. I remember one young man in particular, who told me that a few years back he thought he could never make a difference. Now, after learning the skills of democracy and working with other young people, he says, "I can see how much I can do."

Earlier this morning, I participated in a ribbon-cutting at the new Almaty Women's Wellness Center. This is one of the 13 centers in the New Independent States that the United States government is working with to offer a full spectrum of health care to women. This center will provide prenatal care as well as screening for cervical and breast cancer. It will help women to protect themselves from dangers like tobacco and alcohol. It will include family planning services which are vital if we are going to decrease the number of abortions, as

Kazakhstan has begun to do. The benefits of a center like this spread far beyond its doors. Better health for women translates into better health for their children, their families, their communities, and their country.

Later today, I will travel to Kyrgyzstan. The first thing I will do when I get off the plane will be to pay tribute to the important role that non-governmental organizations are playing in that country by promoting health care and humanitarian assistance. I will then go visit women who are getting access to credit to create businesses that foster economic security for their families, and economic independence for themselves. Clearly, the women of Central Asia are teaching each other lessons about democracy in action.

Women are teaching lessons about democracy in Uzbekistan, where parents have launched an initiative to fight for the rights of disabled children. They are teaching lessons about democracy in Turkmenistan, where women are actively engaged in civic education through a non-governmental group called "Dialogue." ★

Women are also teaching lessons of democracy in Kyrgyzstan, where 70 new NGOs have registered with the government; where the Society of Women Builders is teaching women on pensions about their legal rights; and where several NGOs have started a newspaper that is teaching about democracy. Women are also teaching lessons of democracy in Tajikistan, where women leaders agree that "any country that is not interested in its women has no future." Yes, here in this room and throughout Kazakhstan, women are teaching lessons of democracy, by bringing women together to protect the environment, to foster a free press, and to support conferences like this.

These efforts in Central Asia are part of a groundswell of civic participation by women around the world. Earlier this month, women from all over Asia gathered in Mongolia to learn about their legal rights and responsibilities as citizens. Last summer, women from Eastern and Central Europe came together at a conference in Vienna to share ideas, to renew and strengthen their faith in democratic values and freedoms, and to address challenges as diverse as the trafficking of women and the need for better health care. ★

We will all remember how women from all over the world came together two years ago in Beijing at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. Representatives from 189 countries, including some of you in this room, articulated a vision that has been echoed at this conference: that a country's progress depends on the inclusion of women; that the vibrancy of an economy depends on the full contributions of women; that the richness of civic life depends on the participation of women; that human rights, simply put, are women's rights, and that women's rights are human rights.

Despite the enormous progress you have made, we know that many challenges remain. The transition from communism to free markets and democracy has not been painless for women here or around the world. It would be unrealistic to pretend otherwise. Right now, too many

women are the first to lose their jobs and the last to get new ones. Too many women are barred by law, by tradition, or by ignorance from exercising their rights. Too many women are trapped in an endless cycle of poverty, unable to get access to education and credit. Too many women are overwhelmed by the stresses they have in their lives, as they try to do more and more, with fewer and fewer hours. Too many women live in the fear of violence at the hands of family members. For them, home offers no refuge, the law no protection, and public opinion no sympathy. Through all of this, not enough women are sitting at the table when political and economic decisions are made about their lives and their families.

This must change. Yet while the oppressive structure of communism has been torn down, the political, judicial, and economic organizations that protect women's rights in a democracy are just now being constructed. That is why this conference comes at such an important time. It is enabling us to share practical ideas to advance the role of women in the political, economic, and social lives of our countries. It is showing us that when we embrace our rights and live up to our responsibilities, when we confront problems head on, we can find solutions.

The United States is proud to be your partner as you face these challenges. My husband, the President, has made it clear that our efforts to protect and advance women's rights belong in the mainstream of American foreign policy. And as Madeleine Albright, our country's first female Secretary of State, put it: "Advancing the status of women...is the right thing to do, and frankly it is the smart thing to do."

Our government, largely through the United States Agency for International Development and the United States Information Service, is supporting a broad range of programs that provide grants, training, and technical assistance to citizens working to strengthen democracy at the grassroots. These programs show families how they can guard against new threats like crime and drugs. They help empower women to succeed economically by giving them loans to start and maintain their own small businesses.

Today I'm pleased to be able to tell you that the United States will be increasing our support for women NGOs working to build democracy in this region. Let me be as clear about this as possible: governments that are serious about democracy must be willing to recognize and work with non-governmental organizations.

Now, of course, we women alone cannot create the kind of society we all want. We must reach out to the men in our lives. Husbands and fathers, indeed all men, must also meet their responsibilities: to respect women; never to raise a hand in anger; to teach boys to respect and value girls; and to teach girls to respect and value themselves.

We need to start with our girls todaytomorrow's generation, tomorrow's leaders. We know that girls cannot lead tomorrow if they are taught that they aren't smart enough; if they are taught that their human value lies only in how they look; or if they are taught that the

violence and disrespect they suffer is just "the way things are." Certainly, girls cannot lead tomorrow if they are denied adequate education today. It is through education that minds and aspirations of girls can either be snuffed out or ignited.

I know that you and the countries represented here at this conference are rightfully proud of your literacy rates and of your history of providing quality education for boys and girls. I applaud you for that. In many of the countries where I travel and speak, this is not the case. Literacy for both young men and women is far too low, but for young women it is often not even a goal. That is not true here in Central Asia. If there is one message that I hope you will send your fellow citizens and your government, it is that education and the goals you have reached in the past must be a priority today and tomorrow. In the new independent countries that are struggling to build free market economies and democracy, education for all must continue to be valued above all.

As I think about all you have accomplished in just six years, I am in awe. I know many of you have struggled very hard against obstacles and odds that I cannot even imagine. As I look at the progress that your societies and countries have made, I am deeply impressed by your persistence and the goals you have set to achieve. I am reminded of something I was told that a Kazakhstani poet, Abai, once said, "After a harsh winter, spring follows, with its flowers and splendor." When I look at the progress that has been made despite the obstacles you have met, I know that spring will follow in Central Asia. Because you have taken the long view, spring will follow the work you are doing now to build and nurture democracy and strong economies. You know that you are nurturing deep roots that will one day bear fruit. You know that democracy is a work in progress. My country is now the longest surviving democracy in the history of the world. We struggle every day to make our democracy work better. We know that there is no easy answer, that all of us who value democracy must work every day year after year to make sure it is whole fruit, not only flower and blossom, that are shared among all our people.

I want to commend and congratulate those of you who are working through your government and non-governmental organizations to bring about this spring of which we speak and which we seek here. I want you to know that the American people are proud to walk with you every step of the way. The American government will continue to support non-governmental organizations and particularly the work of women to build strong democracies and strong societies in this region and around the world.

Thank you all very much.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE WOMEN OF ARGENTINA

COLON THEATER
BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA

October 16, 1997

Thank you, Mrs. Schiavoni.

To all of you -- Ambassadors, Ministers, Representatives, of the federal and local government, academicians, business women, homemakers, artists, teachers -- to all of you, I thank you for this opportunity to speak before you today. I would like to extend a special thanks to the staff of the United States Embassy, but particularly to the National Council of Women and their staff for the outstanding work that was done to make this gathering possible, and I believe we should show appreciation to Mrs. Schiavoni and all associated with the National Council of Women by another round of applause. Thank you.

I also understand I should give a special greeting to all the mothers in the audience, on the eve of Mother's Day, and I do so.

I am, as you may know, an empty-nest mother now, and I called my daughter last night to tell her that I had seen just a small sample of tango, because she loves dance of all forms and wrote a paper in Latin American history on tango and its origins, so I was so pleased to be able to tell her what my husband and I had done on our first night together here in this beautiful city.

I must confess that it is somewhat awe-inspiring to be in this magnificent theater on a stage that has been graced by Domingo and Caruso and Callas. I am almost tempted to sing, but in the interest of preserving warm ties between our countries, I will refrain.

But I would like to talk about voices, powerful voices, the voices of women in this country and my country, throughout our hemisphere and our world, and what we can do to make all of our voices heard. To have our voices heard about our shared commitment to advancing the cause of women's rights, advancing the cause of democracy, and making clear that the two are inseparable.

I can think of no better place to do that than in Argentina. The women of Argentina have long been pioneers on the frontiers of human rights and equality.

From the Argentine Beneficent Society to the National Women's Council to the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo -- with whom I will meet shortly, you and your foremothers have forged a remarkable record of speaking up in your communities, caring for those who cannot help themselves, opening the doors of education to boys and girls, lifting up lives and voices for democracy and human rights.

We are pursuing our goals of equality at a moment in history that is full of hope, a time ripe for positive social change. Countries that were once paralyzed by debt or runaway inflation have embarked on tough reforms and are now on the move.

Economic renewal has been accompanied by democratic transformation. Across the Americas, military dictatorships have given way to freely elected governments. For the first

Americas, military dictatorships have given way to freely elected governments. For the first time in decades millions of people enjoy the right to choose their own leaders, to engage actively in political life, to speak frankly, to meet in support or opposition to a cause, and to form opinions based on information gathered by a free and inquiring press.

Yet we know that democracy, whether newly rooted or centuries old, is fragile. The process of building and tending democracy is ongoing. Democracy flourishes when its principles are internalized in the hearts and minds of all people, when no one fears the consequences of standing up or speaking out for justice. And democracy thrives when women are not barred by law, by ignorance, by tradition or by intimidation from making their voices heard at the ballot box, and from pursuing their most cherished dreams.

In short, empowering ever-more women to seek and claim their rights as citizens and as human beings will ensure that democracies -- yours and mine, old and new -- survive and thrive in the twenty-first century.

The word "empowerment," I am told, does not translate well. But I am sure that every woman gathered here knows its meaning. Empowerment means the right to participate in the political and economic life of our countries. Empowerment means being able to lead lives free of sexual and domestic violence. It means access to justice under law, to education, to health care, to credit and property ownership.

Empowering women makes sure our voices are heard and we are treated as full citizens in our countries.



No nation can hope to succeed in our global economy if half of its people lack the opportunity and the right to make the most of their God-given promise. And, as we can all attest, in too many countries, my own as well, too many rights are still denied and too many doors of opportunity still remain tightly closed.

Too many women and children are trapped either in an endless cycle of poverty -- a cycle perpetuated by inadequate health care, poor access to family planning, and limited education -- or they are trapped inside social constructs that impoverish their spirits and limit their dreams.

Too many women are unable to participate in the economic lives of their countries because they cannot get credit on their own to start small businesses.

Too many women live in fear of violence at the hands of family members. For them, home provides no refuge, the law no protection, and public opinion no sympathy.

Too many women, especially those who are poor and less educated, are unaware of their legal rights in the workplace, of their rights to own and inherit property, of their rights to vote and choose their leaders. While these laws may exist on the books, too many governments have not enforced them and too few women have been made aware of them.

Such problems as these may be daunting, but their solutions are in full view. Across the Americas, from Boston to Buenos Aires, there are cutting-edge, common-sense initiatives to give girls and women access to what I call the tools of opportunity: education, decent health care, legal protections, and credit. These efforts prove that women can be empowered to lift themselves, their children, families, and communities out of poverty.

Let me begin with education, for nothing outside the family is more central to advancing the cause of girls and women. And Argentina has long recognized that fact.

Our two nations have a history of warm ties. One of the most notable was the friendship between Horace Mann, the father of public education in the United States, and President Domingo Sarmiento, the father of education in Argentina, who was ahead of his time with his deeply held belief that girls should attend school.

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The fruits of his conviction are there for the world to see today: In Argentina's strong and established system of education. In a literacy rate of 96 percent. And in a primary school completion rate of 90 percent.

Other countries in the Americas are rededicating themselves to improving access to and the quality of education for all their citizens as you have long done. Education will be the centerpiece of the Second Summit of the Americas in Santiago next April, and it will highlight models that are working.

Yesterday in Sao Paulo, for example, I saw an elementary school in one of the city's poorest neighborhoods. For years, the school struggled. Many students were not learning and most did not stay in school. Fortunately, the business community, recognizing the importance of education, got involved, and created the Institute for Quality Education. Working with the local government, parents, and teachers, they have transformed the school. Teachers who themselves may not have finished high school have now received additional training. Students were tested. Parents were encouraged to get involved. In less than a year, test scores in mathematics and language went up more than 200 percent. Even in countries like ours, Argentina and the United States where we don't face such daunting challenges as Brazil does, we have to do more to improve the quality of education in both urban and rural areas and to ensure that all students have access to information technology. Concentrating on education and insuring that all the children of the hemisphere have a chance to learn will be the most important way that we can enable all of our economies to grow and flourish.

And an economy that grows and flourishes in Argentina or in the United States is good for their citizens and for other neighboring countries' citizens. But if we can create the capital of education in all the other countries in the hemisphere, that too is good for Argentina and the United States.

Another tool of opportunity is Microenterprise. Microenterprise provides small loans to people, mostly women, who would not otherwise receive them. This concept started in Asia about 20 years ago when it was determined that a very small amount of money, given to a hard-working woman -- who might be landless and totally ignorant, but she had skills that were marketable -- she knew how to sew, she knew how to plant crops, she could do things with a little bit of credit that could bring income into her family.

I have seen all over the world how access to such credit sparks a woman's entrepreneurial spirit. Just in the last week I have seen two more examples here in our own hemisphere. In Panama I visited a group of women who, with a small grant from the United States Agency for International Development, started a business in a small village growing plants and seedlings to sell in city markets and also to sell to the Panamanian government's reforestation programs.

Now here is something that women have known for the millennia -- how to tend and nurture plant life. Women have held the secrets of medicinal plants and herbs. There are so many women throughout this hemisphere with those kinds of skills. To create a market for their product gives them a chance to use their skills to earn income to improve the standard of living of their families, and that is what I saw. Within two years, these women had sold enough orchids, medicinal plants and seedlings to expand their business. They had also furnished enough seedlings to restore 48 acres in one of Panama's national parks; and I talked with women who were using their new income to improve their homes and send their children to school.

I met an equally impressive group of women in Caracas. I entered an ordinary-looking building in one of what I was told to be one of the worst neighborhoods in Caracas. And yet, in this very well-kept space, sitting on an open-air, rooftop terrace, talking with these women, I was very moved and impressed. The walls were adorned with weavings and art works that they had made. As a light breeze blew in, one woman told me how she had

works that they had made. As a light breeze blew in, one woman told me how she had started a thriving taxi company. She knew how to drive, she was responsible and hard-working, there was no transportation adequate to the numbers of people in her community, so she had this idea but no one would give her the credit to purchase the van that she needed until she came to this Microenterprise Institute. She said that when she finally got her own business, it was as if "the sky had opened up."

Another woman used a small loan to expand her juice stand that she ran with her husband. Then a few years later she had a restaurant and a butcher shop employing ten people. She had even been able to send one of her children to university -- a woman who had never finished primary school. She said the loan had given her the opportunity "to spread her wings."

Now these are not unique stories. I have met similar women in Nicaragua and Costa Rica, in Bolivia and Chile and Mexico, and I know they are here in Argentina and in my country as well.

Because a real job is the best form of social welfare, microenterprise works for the individual, the family, and society. And the more we can expand credit, to both women and men who appear on the surface to have no collateral, to be poor, but who have skills that keep them going every day in the hard lives that they face, the more we will create free and broader markets that will enhance the economies of our countries.

Access to quality health care -- especially family planning and reproductive health services -- is also crucial to advancing the progress of women. I have seen first-hand, as I know many of you have, what happens when women are given access to such health services.

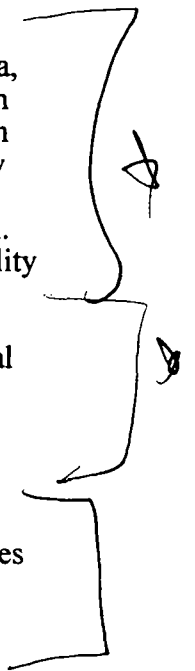
Just two days ago in Brazil, I witnessed the signing of an agreement between my government and two Brazilian state governments to support a family planning initiative. This came about because two years ago I visited a maternity hospital in Salvador de Bahia, Brazil, and I saw men and women getting the information they would need to enable them to make wise choices about planning their families. I saw mothers cradling their new-born babies in the hallways as they stood in line for their check-ups. I saw young women, very pregnant, waiting for their pre-natal check-up. I saw infants were getting immunization. I saw parents were being taught what to feed their young children and how to care for them. And I also saw wards of women who were there because they had not received good quality health care.

In short, family planning and reproductive health programs were integrated in that hospital into maternal and child health services. And I talked with a number of mothers, as well as with the Minister of Health, who told me that for the first time they felt they could adequately care for the children they had, that they could invest in those children not only their love but other resources as well.

The result of a program like that was that rates of maternal mortality and, importantly, rates of abortion decreased because women received the health care they needed in a timely manner and furthermore, as the Minister of Health, an esteemed medical doctor and university professor, told me, for the first time poor women received the same health services that rich women have always been able to receive for themselves.

This approach of integrating the services and reaching out to poor women and men has proven so successful that it has been adopted as a hemisphere-wide strategy to reduce maternal mortality, and was announced at the First Ladies of the Americas Conference in La Paz last year.

Now the promotion and expansion of women's legal and political rights may, perhaps, be the most difficult challenge we face. And yet slowly but surely we are witnessing the emergence of legal reforms that will raise the status of women in the home and in society.



Office of the Press Secretary
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/1997/10/16/roman...
Domestic and sexual violence against women remains one of the most serious and under-reported human rights violations in the Americas. In country after country, we are finally bringing out into the light of day what has been thought to be a private matter. In Argentina, women have worked to incorporate domestic abuse issues in police training, and I applaud you. Many countries now have human rights ombudsmen with special offices dedicated to protecting the rights of women. In Panama, legislators have reformed the Family Code to better regulate such matters as alimony, child support and child custody.

And in the United States, we have introduced comprehensive violence against women plans that provide counseling for victims, training for police officers, and prosecution of offenders in all 50 states.

Throughout Latin America, countries are finding ways to open up political participation for women at all levels, from the grassroots to the voting booth, and I understand that there are record numbers of women running for political office here in Argentina, and I know what a difficult choice that is to put yourself into the electoral system, and I congratulate all the women who are standing for public office or who hold public office because of the courage it takes to do so.

As more women hold office, we have to show that we care about the issues that brought us into the political process. That is especially critical when it comes to human rights.

At the conference in Panama City, I witnessed the signing of another agreement -- this one between USAID and the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights in Costa Rica. The Institute was founded to defend and foster respect for human rights at a time when repressive regimes controlled the lives of many people in the Americas. It offered crucial support to brave individuals throughout the region who spoke out against torture and repression at a time when such acts often meant risking one's job, one's home -- even one's life.

In 1990, the Institute embarked on a new mission in human rights advocacy: It established a formal program on gender and human rights. When I visited the Institute with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright in May, I had the opportunity to meet and speak with women who are in the forefront of women's rights issues throughout the Americas. As they said, there is little difference in a woman's life between violence in politics and violence at home. Both dishonor democracy and respect for the God-given individual dignity of each human being. As the Secretary of State said on that occasion, domestic violence can never be excused as cultural. It is criminal and should be treated as such.

There are many examples that I could give you, and you could give me so many more of what you have seen happening in your own lives, in families, in workplaces, in communities and countries. But I have seen, as you have, how efforts such as these in education and health care and credit and in human rights are transforming lives. None of this progress would have happened if women themselves had not spoken out, demanded change, and forced their governments to respond. ★

Now we must encourage more women to make their voices heard, to join together in both community and national organizations, to press for political change beneficial to all women, to encourage women to vote in local and national elections, to make politics relevant to the lives of women, to send more women into political office.

Only women can make democracy work for ourselves, our children and our families. It is a message that is coming alive throughout the world. Last summer, at a conference in Vienna, Austria, I met with a group of women from the newly democratic countries of Eastern and Central Europe. They had just begun to recognize the power of independent citizen action to address challenges, and they had gathered to share ideas, to renew and strengthen their faith in democratic values and freedoms.

This kind of convening might be beneficial for our hemisphere as well. As our countries continue to expand our political, economic and strategic alliances, as my husband today is speaking with your President about, the women of this hemisphere can lead the way in building an alliance of democratic values that will strengthen our democracies into the next millennium.

Now many of the issues that are faced throughout the hemisphere and the world may seem far away from the lives of women here and in the United States. Because in many ways, women of Argentina and the United States have a wider spectrum of opportunities than the women and girls who live in the countries that lie between our own. I was reading in President Sarmiento's book, *Life of the Argentine Republic*, and I saw this quote which described the lives not just of women in Argentina at the time it was written but of women generally throughout the world, and still describes the lives of most women living on earth today.

Here is what he said: "Women look after the house, get the meals ready, shear the sheep, milk the cows, make the cheese, and weave the coarse cloth used for garments... The boys exercise their strength and amuse themselves... With early manhood comes complete idleness and ease."

Now I am sure the men in the audience would object to that description, but it is not mine. It is President Sarmiento's. And I am sure that none of us would describe our early adulthood as ones of "idleness and ease" in today's fast paced world, but the point is still valid that there are too many women whose horizons are very limited, but there are many women like ourselves whose horizons seem to be limitless and yet we, too, face formidable challenges in our own lives and the life of our societies.

I believe we have a responsibility to work on behalf of women who still struggle for the rights we have won. But we also must confront the new question that has edged up to our own front doors.

While the superficial homogenization of the world means that people on every continent wear the same jeans, eat the same fast food, listen to the same music -- these surface similarities do not override a longing for a deeper identity and meaning in our lives. Despite improving material conditions around the world, many people are not satisfied and families are under new stresses. The gap between the rich and poor grows wider in many places. The social safety net of health care, education, pensions, decent wages, good jobs -- is in danger of fraying for those less able to navigate this new world. And even for those of us blessed with good health, education, and affluence, we also ask ourselves many questions about the meaning of our own lives.

Questions about how we strike the right balance among our personal roles as wife, mother, homemaker, employed worker, citizen; about how we claim a personal identity in an age of anonymous globalization and high technology; about how families will raise children in the face of pressures from the consumer culture and mass media that undermine parental authority and glorify instant gratification.

This last question is of particular importance to those of us who are mothers concerned about the future of our daughters.

For we have not won our places in society, we have not fought for women's rights to make the choices that are best for them, to stand by while the consumer culture does its best -- in my country and yours -- to objectify women and make girls believe that only their appearances, not their hearts, their minds or their souls, are important.

All the material possessions in the world cannot substitute for a rich and deep spiritual life; all the affluence in my country or yours cannot answer the eternal questions that are posed by every generation. We cannot permit the pace of our life today, the use of automation and

by every generation. We cannot permit the pace of our life today, the use of automation and technology, to substitute for what is most important-- the human connections and relationships that are the stuff of what life is made and which are so essential to creating those habits of the heart that every child needs to believe in themselves, to have the confidence to be able to do what they know is right.

This is difficult against the backdrop of this fast paced world in which we live. And I know that life is changing sometimes faster before our eyes than we can even make sense of. But we cannot leave the raising of our children, the inculcating of values to the mass media and the consumer culture. We have to do a better job through our churches, our families, our civic associations; we have to build up civil society to reach out to all young people to help them understand why so many of you have fought so long and so hard for the values, the rights and the privileges that now in my country can be too easily taken for granted.

Democracy cannot survive unless those values are passed on to the next generation and one of the values has to be that a woman's full humanity is an unshakable, God-given truth, and that democracy itself cannot be fulfilled unless women are treated with dignity and respect.

Last year, I participated in a call-in show on the radio for the Voice of America which went all over the world. One male caller asked me very earnestly what I meant when I said, "Women's rights are human rights and human rights are women's rights" at the Beijing Conference on Women.

I told the caller to close his eyes and think of all the rights and privileges he enjoyed as a man. Then I asked him to imagine a world where every woman enjoyed those same rights. The right to make the choices that fit with that woman's conception of her future. That means that a woman may choose to be a full-time wife and homemaker and it is a choice worthy of respect. That means that a woman may choose to give herself fully to a professional or business or artistic profession that means she does not have a place she believes in her life for marriage or children.

That too, should be respected. And for the vast majority of us who attempt to balance our commitment to family with an interest in the outside world and a profession that we care about -- that too should be respected. There should no longer be "one size fits all" prescription for the way a woman's life should be lived. And because we are fortunate to be women at the end of this century with many more years than our grandmothers and great-grandmothers ever could have dreamed, we will have many opportunities in our lifetimes to fulfill our various dreams and aspirations.

The acoustics in this hall are famous throughout the world. So what is said here perhaps can carry throughout this hemisphere and beyond if we raise our voices on behalf of women to proclaim that we will not rest until we have repealed discriminatory laws, expelled the mythology about a woman's proper and only role, stared down the forces of physical and psychological intimidation that stifle the potential of women and children, and gives full flower to the belief that a woman has the opportunity and the God-given right to chart her own destiny, and then to work together to provide the tools of opportunity so that every girl and boy in this hemisphere can look with confidence toward the future. That should be our promise to our children for the next century. They, in many ways face, a more difficult life than we did. It does not seem as clear and set as to what direction many of them should take. We have to stand with them and with each other as we create conditions that give each a chance to stand before anyone and say "I am a free person, I believe in democracy, and I believe in building a better world for those who come after."

Thank you all very much.



As delivered

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF
WIVES OF HEADS OF STATE AND OF GOVERNMENTS OF THE AMERICAS
LA PAZ, BOLIVIA
DECEMBER 3, 1996

President and Mrs. Sanchez de Lozada, First Ladies and special envoys representing the nations of the Western Hemisphere, and distinguished guests:

It is a great pleasure for me to be in La Paz and to join you for this annual conference. I particularly want to thank Mrs. Sanchez de Lozada for her leadership on behalf of women -- especially her work to promote safe motherhood, education, and to reduce domestic violence -- and for extending to all of us a warm welcome this week.

I know that, as in the past, this gathering will provide new insights and fresh inspiration as we work to expand opportunities for women, children, and families in North, Central, South America and the Caribbean region. I am also pleased to note that Vice President Gore will be in Santa Cruz in a few days representing the United States government at what promises to be a significant hemispheric meeting on sustainable development.

This is my first trip to Bolivia, but I have long felt a special connection to this country. Little Rock, the capital of my home state of Arkansas, is a sister city of Santa Cruz in what is called the Eastern Bolivia-Arkansas partnership. This partnership has initiated cultural, professional and health exchanges that have benefitted the people in both of our countries. So I am especially delighted finally to be in Bolivia after all these years.

Many Bolivians have made their mark on my country. I am proud to say that President Clinton named a woman who was born and raised here in La Paz, Maria Otero, to be the Chair of the

Board of the Inter-American Foundation. That foundation funds grassroots development in the region, and Maria is with me today.

I'm also pleased to be here at a time of such hope and promise for women, children and families across the Americas and around the world. A few days ago, I returned from a trip with my husband to Australia, the Philippines and Thailand, and at each stop I had the chance to talk to diverse groups of women -- from government leaders to grassroots activists to teenage school girls. And I was reminded once again, no matter where we find ourselves in the world today, our aspirations and concerns are fundamentally the same.

Thanks in part to the agenda set at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, as well as the conferences of this group in Miami, and Asuncion and elsewhere, the status of women is improving in many countries.

In the Philippines last week, I had the opportunity along with Mrs. Frei to speak to 15,000 women and girls in Manila. Some had traveled for days by boat and car to celebrate the Beijing Agenda and just as we are doing today, they came together to renew their commitment to women's rights -- and to ensure that every woman and girl has access to the tools of opportunity: health care, education, jobs and credit, legal protections and the right to participate fully in the political life of their countries.

In the 15 months since Beijing, we have seen advances on every continent. In country after country, governments, non-governmental organizations, businesses and corporations, and individual citizens are beginning to recognize that elevating the status of women and girls in society is essential to progress and prosperity. That is the same whether we are talking about the East, the West, the North or the South; there is a growing appreciation of women's contributions inside and outside of the home - and a greater understanding that everyone in society benefits when women are allowed to claim the political, economic, social, and civic power they are due.

The Western Hemisphere is no exception. In Panama, the family code has been reformed, giving women more say in alimony, child support and child custody cases. The country's new Law 27

on Intra-Family Violence criminalizes certain forms of domestic violence. In Colombia, men and women now have equal weight in determining divorce. In El Salvador and Peru, new institutions have been established to address issues relating to women's development. In Guatemala, a national university has created scholarships for indigenous women to study political science.

Jamaica's Gold Street Program, which addresses teen violence and adolescent pregnancy, has become a model that the United States is using to confront the same issues in the city of Baltimore. In Brazil, women are now entitled to free breast and uterine exams. And in Chile, the government has committed itself to tackling AIDS and adolescent pregnancies and to expanding educational opportunities for girls. And here in Bolivia, as part of the President's plans, the *Plan de Todos*, special efforts are being made to reach out to the indigenous population.

From the northernmost reaches of Canada to the southern tip of South America, women are pushing governments to lift the veil of secrecy that for too long has concealed the tragic crime of domestic violence. I mentioned the legal advances in Panama. Another ground-breaking domestic violence law was passed in Ecuador, creating Family Courts that are empowered to separate an abusive spouse from the home. In Costa Rica, police officers receive special training on how to handle domestic violence cases. In my own country we recently launched a national hotline for victims of domestic violence which has already received 50,000 calls.

Looking across our region, we also see progress on the goals that this group outlined at our previous meetings. Those goals to eliminate measles from the hemisphere, reduce maternal mortality, and promote education reform are making progress. Since 1995, our region has witnessed a 63 percent decline in measles. We have seen the Partnership for the Revitalization of Education in the Americas launch new efforts to expand educational opportunities in six countries. And while the tragic problem of maternal mortality continues to haunt us, we know that progress will come if we focus more energy and resources on this issue.

It is clear that pioneering efforts are underway across the Americas to improve conditions for women and girls. Earlier

today in La Paz, I visited with Ximena, Banco Sol, the only commercial bank in the world and the largest that specializes in microenterprise right here. I spoke to women whose lives had been transformed because they had received a modest loan to start selling vegetables in the market, to start making skirts. Not only had they become economically self-sufficient, they had begun to lift their families out of poverty and improve the economies of their communities. We met one woman in the market who is caring for her six orphan grandchildren because of the loans that she had received. I have seen the same encouraging results at FINCA, a micro-lending enterprise that I visited in Managua, Nicaragua. I've visited a comparable enterprise in Santiago and I have seen it in my own country.

In La Paz today I also visited new and expectant mothers at a primary health care center run by an NGO, PROSALUD. The 28 PROSALUD clinics offer prenatal care and family planning services that have resulted in safer pregnancies and deliveries and, in some cases, have saved lives.

This is but one piece of the nationwide effort here in Bolivia to promote safe motherhood and family planning so that women and girls are educated about their own health and their own reproductive options.

Although the rate is far too high, Bolivia's success over the past five years at reducing maternal mortality offers a model for the world of how one nation has responded to a serious health crisis and galvanized the government, non-governmental organizations, and the medical communities. I wish to commend the President and the Vice President for their leadership in this very important effort.

It is worth noting that Bolivia undertook this campaign not only as a way to reduce maternal mortality, but also to reduce the increasing rate of abortion. Without access to family planning, women often turn in desperation to illegal, unsafe abortion procedures that account for half of all maternal deaths in this country. Deaths from abortion complications are responsible for from 30 to 70 percent of maternal mortality in our hemisphere, depending on the country.

Here, in Brazil, and in other places around the globe, I have seen examples of how investments in family planning improve maternal health and the well-being of families as well as reduce the number of abortions. The United States has supported family planning efforts, including Bolivia's. However, as you may know, some members of the United States Congress have voted to limit American support for family planning initiatives. My husband's Administration remains committed to encouraging a continuation of these investments, which represent a sensible, cost-effective and long-range strategy for improving women's health and for lowering the rate of abortion. And for my part, I will certainly remember and share the powerful stories I have heard around the world to explain why these programs are critical.

Education is also critical. It is inextricably tied to how women and children achieve progress. Children of illiterate mothers are twice as likely to die as those with mothers who are educated. So our efforts across the Western Hemisphere to educate girls and mothers will have a profound and concrete effect on women's health. The better educated a girl or woman is, the healthier she is. The healthier she is, the healthier her family is. And all of society stands to gain.

While some may dismiss the achievements of this conference and the conferences before or of the Beijing Agenda as merely "women's issues" that have no place on the front-burner of global politics, I believe that you here in Bolivia, and certainly your President and Vice President understand how they are part of sustainable development and progress. They represent a balancing of power that is just as crucial to the endurance of democracy as issues like trade, diplomacy and national security. Democracy, after all, requires the full participation of all citizens, including women.

And today, we can take heart knowing that democracy has replaced dictatorship around the world and virtually throughout our own hemisphere. Building and sustaining democracy has always required a balance of power, a balance of public power, private economic power, and the power of civic society, those formal and informal networks that bring people together. It is the balance of power that Bolivia has incorporated into its Popular Participation Law, and by doing so, insured the further success of democracy. Whether we succeed at achieving the balance of

power is particularly important for women who despite the strides we have made, still find their voices silenced and their potential stymied in too many parts of the world. In country after country -- from the most advanced democracies to those newly emerging, from the most dynamic free market economies to those struggling in the face of rapid global change -- women are still striving to define and attain their rightful place in government, the economy, the civil society and throughout their lives.

Women are seeking balance in their lives and in their societies, and I am heartened that civic education is on the agenda of this conference. Teaching people about democratic values and the importance of their participation in the political process is critical to sustaining democracy. When we look at what is happening in our hemisphere, when I look at what is happening in my own country, I see that the voices and votes of women can make a difference. If all of us believe in the God-given potential of each human being, then all of us should do what we can in our own ways and our own roles to further those voices and that potential.

For all of the challenges that confront us on the eve of this new century I am optimistic about our future. I am optimistic about our hemisphere and about our capacity to meet those challenges. And certainly, if there is one vision that should guide us, it is that of the young people who rely on us to leave them a world that encourages their dreams, nurtures their talents and respects their choices. That is really why we are gathered today -- most of us in this auditorium have made most of the choices we will make that will determine the course of our lives. It is up to us to determine how we provide the same opportunities for all of our sons and daughters.

Building a better future for children, women, men, and families in the Western Hemisphere is not just the opportunity of government, it is the responsibility of all of us. And I thank you very much for being part of meeting that responsibility and challenge.

**REMARKS OF FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
IVAN FRANKO OPERA AND BALLET**

L'VIV, UKRAINE

November 11, 1997

Thank you, very much. Mr Kuchma, Ambassador Miller, Ministers, Mayor, Distinguished Members of the Community, Representatives of the Governments of both my country and of Ukraine. It is a great honor and pleasure for me to be here today.

I want particularly to thank Mrs. Kuchma for being with me yesterday and today, and for the warm hospitality she has extended to me now on two occasions in Ukraine; during the visit with my husband, and during the visit. I would also like to thank my Chief of Staff, Melanne Starinshak Verveer, for her introduction of me today. But more than that, I want to thank her for her wisdom, compassion, and good humor--all of these I contribute to her Ukrainian heritage. Melanne and her husband attended Georgetown University with my husband and have been dear friends of ours ever since. Like the over one million Ukrainian-Americans, she has made immeasurable contribution to the life of my country, and I want to thank her on behalf of all of us who value her many, many attributions.

The writer, Ivan Franko, after whom this beautiful opera house is named, wrote that, "There will come a time when you will sit in the circle of free nations." That time for Ukraine is now-- and I am honored to be sharing that time with you.

I don't believe that there is a more beautiful opera house anywhere in the world. I must confess that being here on stage, looking at the galleries and glorious decorations, I am tempted to join the many famous performers who have appeared here to sing. But in the interest in preserving the strong and warm ties between our countries, I will not do so.

But I would like to talk to you about voices-- the voices of young people, the voices of all those throughout Ukraine and the newly independent states who are speaking a new language of freedom and democracy-- and then turning their words and ideas into concrete actions.

I can think of no better place to do this than Ukraine. It was here in L'viv in 1879 that the Union of Ukrainian Women was established. This organization-- one of the largest women's organizations in Europe between the two world wars-- went into villages to teach women and their families how to start small businesses, how to start child care centers, how to pool their resources to purchase first aid materials that would save lives in rural areas.

Like so much that is good, the Union was crushed by communism. And like so much that is good, it was reborn in 1990, along with your sovereignty. With each year of freedom, the Union has grown stronger. And this fall, thousands of people gathered where the remains of the Union's last pre-communist president-- Milena Rudnyska--were brought back here to L'viv for eternal rest.

Today, I return home to the United States after a week long journey to Central Asia, Russia, and now here in Ukraine. When I first came to Ukraine, it was with my husband in 1995, the sun of freedom was rising in the sky. In the time that I have been here I have seen how much farther the sun has traveled. In only six years, you have done much to sweep away the oppressive structures of communism. You have developed a constitution and held free and fair elections-- which have resulted in the peaceful transfer of power, the first ever in the NIS.

Now the challenge is to build upon this architecture of freedom, with a structure supported by the rule of law, an independent judiciary, and expanded free press that is able to tell the

truth in print and over the airwaves.

In only six years, you have done so much to tear down a rigid state-controls economy that stifled human ingenuity and enterprise. You have reduced inflation and privatized small businesses.

Now, the challenge is to create a vibrant marketplace based fundamentally on private property; a marketplace where business can be conducted in an atmosphere of openness and fairness: where private activity can thrive without government interference; and where hard-working people can lift themselves up without the fear of crime and corruption.

But neither the rule of law, nor the free market, alone can be sustained in isolation. If we do not have true democracy in my country or yours, we cannot, or should not, rest. If we do not have a free market, we cannot, and should not rest. But if we also do not have the space between what the market should do and what the government should do--what we call the civil society-- we also cannot, and should not, rest. Each, the free market, democracy, the civil society are indispensable to the blessings of liberty and prosperity.

In this space between the free market economy, on the one hand, and a democratic government on the other hand, in this space we call civil society, resides family and community life, religious traditions, and participation in voluntary organizations. For democracy ultimately depends on individual citizens truly believing that they have a role to play in the life of their country. It depends on people choosing -- not being compelled to, but choosing to, participate in society. And it depends on seeing to it that what Alexis de Toqueville called "the habits of the heart" are passed on from generation to the next.

If you think about a modern, independent, well-functioning society as being like a three-legged stool, you and this audience have been working to strengthen each of the three legs. You have worked in government, to make government democratic and transparent. You have worked to build a free market economy that gives more opportunity to individuals. And you have worked to create the third leg of this stool, what we call civil society. You have chosen to help build civil society by fighting for women's health, by running for political office, by cleaning up the environment, by starting child care centers and beginning summer camps for children of Chernobyl, and in many other ways.

Whether you are gathering in civic associations, voluntary efforts to help others, places of worship, or even in your neighbor's home, you are strengthening civil society and making it clear that the most important person in democracy is, not my husband or Mrs. Kuchma's husband, but the citizen. And governments cannot be serious about democracy unless they recognize and work with non-governmental organizations

Ukraine Yesterday I saw citizens of this city building a civil society. I stood with thousands of people at the new Memorial Honoring Victims of Communist Repression. This memorial was erected not by the government. It was a gift of the victims of communism, their families, and private organizations. They didn't have to do this-- but they did.

I visited a health clinic filled with children balanced between life and death. Infants born prematurely, some critically ill. But for their cries, these children have no voice. They cannot compel someone to come to their aid. And yet doctors, and nurses, parents, and communities--from both Ukraine and the United States-- chose to do so. As one mother told me, doctors and nurses she didn't even know saved her child life. They didn't have to do this-- but they did.

I stood in the beautifully restored Gilad Synagogue, where citizens can once again worship freely. There the rabbi told me what it meant to open a Jewish school after so many years of unspeakable hardship. That it had given him faith that the community would survive. The community didn't have to do this for its children--but it did.

I stood in the magnificent, renovated St. George's Cathedral. For too many years, the faith of the people whom I met had been driven underground. The congregation prayed in hidden places; the beautiful symbols of their faith were hidden away in cellars and attics. Today, the members of St. George's practice their religion in the clear light of day. Any they are using their faith not only to worship as they please, but also to reach out to others whom society pushed away-- such as children with disabilities. The people of St. George didn't have to do this, but this-- but they did.

What irony that on the property of St George's Cathedral, the Soviets installed radio jamming antennas. Yet as powerful as they were, they could not silence the voices of faith and freedom. It is especially important that the voices of women be heard, for the legacy of communism placed special strains on women. Especially in the old state structures, too many women are the first to lose their jobs and the last to get new ones. Too many women often live in fear of violence at the hands of family members. For them, homes provide no refuge, the law no protection, and public opinion no sympathy. Too many women are prevented from getting proper health care, either because quality care is not available, or because they are simply unable to find the time, between family and work obligations, to care for themselves.

And through all of this, not enough women are sitting at the table when decisions are made in too made in too many countries.

And it is clear that democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms. And human rights are women's rights and they must be respected. It is, for example, a violation of human rights when women are trafficked, bought, and sold as prostitutes. As my husband has said, this is nothing less than modern-day slavery. And I know that many of you here are working hard to end this practice once and for all.

Today, I am pleased to announce that the United States government, in cooperation with the United nations, will be working with NGO's in Ukraine to launch a new information campaign to reach women who may be in danger, and to inform law enforcement and consular officers, and international organizations so that they can be on the look out for , and ultimately put a stop to this crime against humanity.

I will return home with many impressions and wonderful memories. I will also return home to speak to my own people, the citizens of the United States. I will tell my fellow citizens what I have seen and why the United States must stay constantly engaged to support forward-looking reform and leaders who are working on reform. In recent days, I have seen first-hand what America, working hand in hand with the people of Ukraine, has accomplished-- fostering innovative health clinics, providing loans to start small businesses, sending Peace Corps volunteers to work with people here.

I will want all of the American citizens to know what I know, and I wish that I had brought all of them with me, to see what I have seen. Because the work that has been done, between our governments and organizations, such as USAID and through the private sector, business to business, and through the voluntary, non-governmental sector, has made it very clear that we are strengthening our bonds and building stronger societies together.

Later this week Vice President Gore and President Kuchma will join together to reach out to members of the international community to secure more support for safely encasing the Chernobyl Reactor #4. What could be more important than the United States and Ukraine working together to contain one of the greatest environmental threats facing Europe and the world today?

Just as I hope to be able to explain to Americans what I have seen, I hope also that the people of Ukraine see what I, and my party, have seen here. In the last few days, I saw the citizens and spoke with the leaders determined to make further progress. In six short years, you have done so much to erase seven long years of communist waste and misrule. There is

UKRAINE
REUNITING



not doubt the your path has not been an easy one and that challenges remain-- especially as you expand privately so that Ukraine can become competitive in today's fast-paced global economy.

As Americans have learned through the years, democracy is a never-ending struggle. We became a "newly independent state" in 1776. As for the past 221 years, our democracy has been a work in progress. It took us more than 10 years to draft a constitution; 89 years to rid our nation of slavery; 144 years to give women the vote; and 188 years to make all our citizens equal under a law.

A critical difference, of course, is that the modern world is much less forgiving. With global communications and with a global economy, everything moves at a much faster pace; and countries and societies and societies must reform more quickly in order to take their rightful place in such a new world.

Just six years after your independence, you have much to be proud of. The sun of freedom is higher in the sky. And yes, it has a ways to travel. I know you will stay the course. And as you do, please know the American people will stand with you. I hope that you take great pride in where you Ukraine stands today and that you take great confidence in the fact that the United States will be your partner, and your friend, as we travel together into the twenty-first century and the new millennium

Thank you very much. God bless the United States and God Bless the Ukraine.



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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 20, 1997

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPETOWN

SOUTH AFRICA

MRS. CLINTON: (in progress) faculty, students, distinguished guests and friends. And greetings to the people of the new South Africa. It is an honor for me to join you at this great citadel of learning. The University of Capetown is known the world over.

And I am especially grateful to be here with your Vice Chancellor, whose contributions to education, medicine, anthropology and the struggle for human rights makes her a role model not only for young people in South Africa, but for young people throughout the world.

Little could have prepared me for the swell of emotions I have felt on this visit to your country. When I was last in South Africa for President Mandela's inauguration with the Vice President three years ago, I was moved beyond words by what I felt to be the spirit of forgiveness and reconciliation that seemed to embrace this land. Today, my heart is stirred anew by the patience and perseverance with which South Africans are united to build a strong and lasting democracy.

The human zeal for freedom, as you know so well here, is a remarkable thing. Just think, in the last 10 years we have seen men and women unlock the bonds of tyranny and seek their own destinies all over our planet. From the Czech Republic, where a velvet revolution peacefully loosened decades of ironfisted rule and paved the way for a newly democratic central Europe; to Estonia, where men and women yearning for democracy literally sang their way to freedom; to Mongolia, where nearly a century of domination and oppression at the hands of dictatorship could not suppress the popular will for selfexpression and selfrule. And today on the continent of Africa we find country after country becoming a touchstone of democracy and freedom.

History has taught us that no nation and no continent has a monopoly on tragedy and evil. We have learned from instances too numerous to count that human beings of all backgrounds, persuasions and geographies have an equal capacity for depravity. But so, too, have we learned that from disaster and calamity can spring the noblest acts of courage, selflessness and human decency.

Who could have imagined just a short decade ago that the blood and tears of Uganda would soon give way to the embrace of peace and democracy? Who could have imagined that years of civil war in the Horn of Africa would lead to the birth of a new democratic nation called Eritrea and that women freedom fighters would help to lead the way? Who could have imagined that a country like Mozambique, whose people had known nothing but war and civil strife would itself become an example of national healing and unity?

Yet nowhere has the triumph of the human spirit, the power of love to conquer hate been greater than in South Africa. The spirit of reconciliation has enabled your nation of diverse peoples to overcome 40 stubborn and violent years of apartheid and begin the difficult journey to democracy. Just think of the progress we human beings could make if that same spirit of reconciliation echoed in all corners of the world in the streets of Belfast, the killing

fields of Burundi, the countryside of Bosnia.

You, the people of South Africa, are teaching countless others that as interdependence is the inescapable condition of humankind, so is tolerance the greatest weapon for peace.

When he spoke on this campus 31 years ago, Robert F. Kennedy reminded us that it is from numberless, diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped. And it is those acts by individuals, as much as any action by your government, that will determine the success of your new democracy.

South Africans and Americans live in countries which represent great experiments in multiracial democracy, experiments that depend on the human hearts' deepest reservoirs of goodwill and forgiveness, and the human spirit's capacity for progress. The consciences of both our nations have been seared by racial inequality and injustice. And, yet, often against great odds our people have searched inside themselves and found ways to forgive the wrongs of an ugly past to create a future of promise and reconciliation.

In his second Inaugural Address delivered at the end of a civil war that claimed more American lives than all other conflicts in United States history combined, President Abraham Lincoln urged a divided nation to forgive, heal and unite around a common humanity. This is in part what he said: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan; to do all which we may achieve and cherish, a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations." Surely American history would have been different if President Lincoln had lived to lead us on our journey of truth, forgiveness and reconciliation.

One hundred years later another great American, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., lent his words, actions and moral weight to a nonviolent crusade for civil rights that moved our country ever closer to the ideals of democracy. Dr. King declared that "Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hatred darkens light; love illuminates it."

Here in South Africa the message of reconciliation and forgiveness has found many eloquent messengers whose names are well known to you and to the world. Among them, President Mandela and Archbishop Tutu. But the success of this great experiment in nation building depends ultimately on each citizen people whose names never appear in the newspaper, but whose acts of courage and belief are just as sure to guide South Africa's future. As President Mandela once explained, we are all warmed by the same summer and chilled by the same winter. And it is recognition of that common humanity that shall bind us into a nation.

To date, we Americans find inspiration in the generous and forgiving spirit that has won you this democracy. And we find inspiration in the democratic institutions that have come to light here in just a few short years. We find inspiration in your progressive new constitution, which is being distributed around the country this week; and especially the rights it enshrines for women and children. We find inspiration in the work you are undertaking in every sector of society to build your new nation. We have an old saying in America, that "idle hands are the devil's work." From what I have seen in just a few short days, the devil will have no help here. South Africa is a country that is too busy to hate.

In all of these ways your experience in South Africa reminds us just how precious freedom, peace and democracy are and how we all have a stake in their success around the globe. I hope that you, too, can find some inspiration in America's experience. For we Americans offer you a reminder, that democracy is a complicated business, as complicated and hard to manage as human nature itself. We have been striving to perfect democracy for more than 200 years, without any assurance that we will ever fully succeed. And, yet, we keep working at it because nothing is more precious to us than the freedoms our ancestors struggled to win

and struggled to preserve.

Now South Africa is building a multiracial society, rooted in human rights and nourished in the fertile soil of reconciliation and forgiveness. And I have been privileged to witness some of your efforts. Yesterday I had the chance to join Archbishop Tutu at a meeting of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission here in Capetown. In the most ordinary of conference rooms people are undertaking the most extraordinary of efforts. They are working to help complete South Africa's healing. They are seeing to it that South Africans fully understand their past so that they may also create a future in which every citizen finally has the opportunity to live up to his or her Godgiven promise.

As important as it is to weave history into your memory, it is just as important to be sure that we weave all people into the work of building this democracy. And I would say a special word on behalf of the involvement of women, for neither this democracy nor any other can flourish if half the population is unschooled, unskilled, unfed, unhealthy or unheard. It is clear that you and South Africa know that.

South Africa
In Soweto I met a principal at a primary school who was working overtime to get much needed resources for her students; a teacher who will not rest until every child in her class has mastered the basics of English; a woman at an orphanage a few miles from the school who gave up her own job to keep that home for abandoned children open when the government cut off funding in 1977. She was motivated by the belief that every child deserves love, a sense of belonging and the simple necessity of a safe place to sleep.

In Johannesburg I met with women social workers, psychologists, law enforcement experts and police, politicians and grassroots activists who are working to end the plagues of domestic violence and child abuse which afflict not only your country, but mine and many others. And let me say that we around the world owe thanks to the women of Africa for focusing international attention on domestic violence and putting it on the agenda first at the United Nations Conference on Women in Nairobi and later in Beijing.

But perhaps the best illustration I have seen of how women are rooting democracy in South Africa is found in a patch of land here in Capetown that I visited yesterday. It's a brown, dusty place once occupied by squatters. Understandably, the women there were not satisfied with their situations. They wanted to do better for themselves and their children. So after hearing about a housing program that worked with poor women in India, they formed their own local housing and credit association. Before long, they requested and received information from government officials about how to lay a foundation for a house. They put in a sewer line. With money saved for the association and some support from the government they bought shovels and wheelbarrows, paint and cement. And together they worked and worked and worked. Today they have completed 18 houses and they are building more.

Now, some of you may be wondering, what does a housebuilding project for squatter women have to do with democracy. But as the women themselves sang in a song for me while I was there, "strength, money and knowledge, we cannot do anything without them." And here in South Africa you are showing the entire world that democracy will succeed only if every citizen black, white or colored; man, woman or child not only enjoys the full political, economic, social and civic power that he or she is due, but also engages in the task of nation building.

That is the task before all of your citizens. Whether you are in government or business, whether you teach, whether you minister, whether you farm it is to help translate one of the greatest political triumphs of this century, really of all history, into social and economic conditions that mean better lives for all South Africans. Forty years of institutionalized inequality and injustice are hard to overcome. Yet I have seen, even in this brief stay, men and women of all races and beliefs who are joining together to make this democracy work. They want to ensure that children are afforded the education they need to pursue their

dreams, that women are not relegated to the margins of society, that relations among racial groups are expanded and strengthened, that the climate is right for businesses to prosper here, that all South Africans are free of violence and crime in and out of their homes, and that every man, woman, and child is treated with the respect and dignity they deserve.

President Mandela and his government should be applauded for pursuing a program of reconstruction and development that seeks to make the transformation of democracy complete on all fronts. They are working hard to erase inequities in health care and education, to assure that women have a voice in charting the future of their country, to reduce crime and strengthen the economy and give people the tools they need to succeed in a democratic society.

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

relations
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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 singlesex 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 their societies, they worked in a parliamentary system where the men and women with whom they work get to know them as a colleague and get to appreciate their strength and weaknesses.

And so, during that period of time in which they are involved in political life in their country, they get to be judged by their own merits as a parliamentarian, as a leader of a party, and they have a very small constituency, in effect a constituency of their fellow party members in the Parliament who choose them as their leader based on very personal knowledge. They do not have to go out and sell themselves to the entire country and face all of the myriad of questions that women in public life are often subjected to, because their constituency is one which they know and have helped to shape over time.

In contrast, in the United States, because of our system it's absolutely true, anyone can run for president, which is a wonderful openness about what we have in America, but it's also true that everyone, then, must go out and essentially persuade the entire electorate with very little personal knowledge. One gets to know someone over the television, over the mass media; they don't have the kind of working experience that will exist here in your parliamentary system, so it's very difficult for women to overcome many of the preconceptions and stereotypes that the public holds about them because of this lack of personal experience.

Now, having said that, I do hope and believe that sometime within the next 20 years we will have a woman president. It is possible that one or more women may run in the primaries in their parties in the United States, in the election coming up in the year 2000. There are some very wellqualified women who have served as governors, served in the Congress, served in the cabinet of various administrations, both Republican and Democrat, so I think that we will see women emerge and subject themselves to the electoral process. And I'm hoping that eventually we will see a woman in the White House and then I will follow with great interest how her spouse is treated. (Laughter and applause.)

Q (Inaudible.)

MRS. CLINTON: A wonderful question for a university audience, because certainly you don't pick the time of history in which you live; that is something that is thrust upon you, just as you don't pick your parents. There are some things that you are stuck with, for better or worse. (Laughter.) But if you believe in the spark of humanity and opportunity and life that lives in all of us, then no matter what your beginnings nor what time you live in, you

have opportunities to shape your own life and hopefully contribute to the life of your society. And I cannot think of a more exciting time to be a young person than right now in South Africa, black, white or colored. The opportunities are extraordinary to break down old barriers, to subject yourself to new experiences, to sit with people you have never sat with before, to look each other in the eye, to learn what you have in common, to agree to disagree, to build this democracy on those individual acts that will really make it possible for it to withstand whatever difficulties lie ahead, and to do so not only individually, but through organizations religiouslybased organizations, universitybased organizations, economic and social ones to be players in this extraordinary effort of reconciliation and reconstruction that you are engaged in.

I think the same is true in a lesser degree even in our own country today. It is not a time of the civil rights movement or the Vietnam War, but America stands on the brink of its own difficult decisions about how we will treat one another, how we will engage in building our own communities for the future. And for young people who have more at stake in what happens in the 21st century, it is essential that you get the best possible education that will enable you to make your contributions and to keep your minds open to change, to continue to learn, and that you approach whatever you do with a dose of humility that is hard enough in life and difficult even more in youth (laughter) that we do not have all of the answers, that experience can teach you some things, and to take lessons from those who have gone before.

So I would hope that maybe in ways that are different from some of the great movements of the past, and certainly here in this country those who were involved in the struggle against apartheid, those who helped to forge the links that enabled you to break through in a peaceful way to the democracy that you now have, will do more to involve young people in that building process and that those of you who are students will look for ways to make your contribution.

I feel so strongly that we are on the brink of such enormous possibility in the world right now. I have no idea which way it will turn out. There's no guarantee that we will make the right decisions in the United States or in South Africa or anywhere else. But if enough people of good will continue to stress what we have in common with one another and the eternal values that stand the test of time, then I'm hoping that we will have a critical mass, the world over, to keep moving us slowly, fitfully, toward a future that really will live up to the ideals that we brought to our struggles in the United States and that you have brought to yours here. And I wish you and all of the students here the opportunity to participate in that great endeavor. (Applause.)



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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 25, 1998

Remarks by Hillary Rodham Clinton
at Makerere University

Kampala, Uganda
March 25, 1998

MRS. CLINTON: Bana' Uganda. Muli mutyano. (Applause.) It is such a great honor and pleasure for me to be here on the campus of this great university. (Applause.) Before I begin, I want to thank President and Mrs. Museveni for the warm hospitality that they have extended to us during our visit. And I particularly want to thank Mrs. Museveni, not only for that kind introduction, but I want to acknowledge her leadership on so many fronts, especially her creation of the Uganda Women's Effort to Save the Orphans. (Applause.) I also want to congratulate her on her recent graduation from the university. (Applause.)

Thank you for your warm welcome, Mr. Vice Chancellor. And, no, I do not mind at all, for you're asking that the needs of the students and faculty here be met, and I will carry your message back to the United States. (Applause.)

It is a pleasure once again to be with your Vice President, whom I admire so much and who told me that she, too, was a student and a teacher here at the University. (Applause.) I am also delighted to be joined by the Speaker of the Parliament, the Deputy Speaker of the Parliament, the Minister of Justice and Attorney General, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Deputy Chief Justice, the Minister of Education, the Minister of Gender and Community Development, and so many of you distinguished guests and faculty and students.

It is wonderful for me to have been able to return to Uganda. Last year when I visited with my daughter I made the promise that I would return with my husband. And I'm very pleased I could keep that promise. (Applause.) I learned a lot about your country, your struggles and challenges, last year.

Since then I have followed your development with great interest and very great admiration, because I have some small sense from the conversations I have had with many men and women here in Uganda and Ugandans in the United States about what you have had to overcome.

As the choir sang the Uganda National Anthem a few minutes ago, I thought about how appropriate it is for these words to fill Freedom Square today -- united, free for liberty. For 75 years, Makerere University has stood for those principles. And, yet, I know that that forces of evil stole the life of Makerere's first Ugandan Vice Chancellor. I know that the forces of evil arrested, tortured and vilified students. They pushed faculty out of the country and tried to demean those who stayed. They wanted to destroy this world-class university. (Applause.)

People like Idi Amin and his ilk are not comfortable in the light of freedom and education -- they prefer ignorance and backwardness. And you did not let them succeed. (Applause.) Instead you healed the wounds of the past and you are now building this university for the future, just as Uganda is doing, just as Africa is doing.

Out of the hard soil of the Cold War, democracies, free market economies and civil societies are all taking root. Students who once fought oppression underground re-emerged as liberators and now as leaders of a free Uganda. And voices for freedom and dignity and human rights once silenced are now again echoing through the halls of this university and across this country.

Many such voices are here with us today. I could call the names of many faculty and students, government and academic leaders, members of the professions and the businesses here in Uganda -- people who stood up for freedom when it really counted. We can hear the voices of freedom from Sister Rachele Frassera, the Deputy Head Mistress of St. Mary's College in Aboke.

When the Lord's Resistance Army kidnapped 139 girls, 75 percent of the student body, she chased down the terrorists, convinced them to release 109 girls and is working day and night to make sure all of them return safely. (Applause.)

We can hear the voice of freedom from Dr. Joy Kwesiga, the former Chair of Action and Development, the former Chair of the Women's Studies Department, and now Dean of Social Sciences here at Makerere. (Applause.) She has worked hard to ensure that the victims of domestic violence are heard, that their accusations are treated seriously and that the crimes are punished.

We can hear the voice of freedom from Sarah Bagalaliwo. As a founder and Chair of the NGO FIDA, Sarah instituted a legal aid clinic, which over the last 10 years has helped thousands of vulnerable women understand and exercise their fundamental legal rights. (Applause.)

Just a few hours ago my husband and I were in Rwanda, where we spoke with survivors of the 1994 genocide. It is still hard to imagine that in the space of three months, one million people were murdered. Nowhere has that number of people ever been murdered in such a short period of time in history. We listened to a delegation of six Rwandans who spoke of their experiences. One member was a woman whom I met exactly a year ago here in Kampala. I could not myself go to Rwanda, but several women came to see me and we met here to talk about their experiences.

Last year and again today, I will forever see the faces of the people I spoke with as they described the human toll of Rwanda's violence and what they were doing to rebuild their lives and communities. As my husband said in his remarks today, genocide destroys not only individuals, but our humanity. We must continue to bring healing to the victims, and we must bring the perpetrators of genocide to justice. (Applause.) We must continue to be vigilant about the dangers that still exist and do everything we can to make sure that nothing like what happened in Uganda in the '70s and what happened in Rwanda in 1994 happen again.

That means every one of us must act. Not just our leaders -- we must hold our leaders accountable -- it is for all of us to stand up for the rights of all people. We must work to end atrocities around the world, not just the ones that grab headlines, but the indignities that people suffer quietly, when they are denied the chance to speak or learn, to work or eat; when they're denied the chance to live free from fear or want. In other words, we should stand up for the rights of all persons to be fully human.

You have made many steps toward that goal here at this university. I could not name them all, but I want particularly to commend the University for creating the Department of Women's Studies, and now for creating the Human Rights and Peace Center. (Applause.) There is no better time than for all of us now to reaffirm our commitment to human rights and peace, for it was 50 years ago that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was born and the world acknowledged a common standard for human dignity. The document puts it very directly: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. All human

beings -- not just men, not just adults, not just people of particular cultures or nations, races or religions. This declaration means that we must expand the circle of human dignity to all human beings.

And just think how much wider that circle has grown in Africa in just a few short years. Only a decade ago who would have imagined that Nelson Mandela would move triumphantly from prisoner to President in South Africa. (Applause.) Or that more than 30 years of turmoil would give way to healing and unity in Mozambique. And who would have imagined that it would have been your brave President, President Museveni, that would have taken on the scourge of AIDS with his public health campaign, and that he would and you would, working together, stem the rise of AIDS in Uganda. That is also standing up for human rights. (Applause.)

And who would have imagined that Uganda would produce your Vice President, the highest ranking woman in any African government. (Applause.) I could add, the highest ranking woman in many governments around the world, not just in Africa. (Applause.)

And yet, despite the steady march of progress, the commitment here to universal primary education, for example, there are still who will claim that human rights are a luxury of the West; that they have nothing to do with Africa, or Asia; that they are just the province of people like Americans. But the beliefs inscribed in the Universal Declaration were not invented 50 years ago; they are not the work of any single culture of country. They are universal and timeless.

Sophocles wrote about universal human rights 25 years ago, when he had Antigone declare that there were ethical laws higher than those of even kings. Confucius articulated them in ancient China. And we can look throughout this continent and find examples of ancient leaders of Africa who also said that all people walk the same way, all people must be treated with dignity. These are the core teachings of all major faiths in the world. They are the foundation of what it means to be a respected human being -- in Africa, in Asia, in America -- because they live in the human soul.

Around the globe, I have seen many women and men pushed to the margins of their societies. They may know nothing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but they are eloquent in their beliefs that they were born with God-given rights just as surely as they were born into the human family.

It is absolutely untrue that individual human rights and community rights cannot co-exist. The truth is, they are indispensable to each other. Democratic progress is possible when all citizens can be heard. Economic progress is possible when all citizens have the tools of opportunity, such as education and health care, that will enable them to support their families.

Uganda → Yesterday, President and Mrs. Museveni went with my husband and me to visit a village -- the Jinja Village. We saw women who are working together through a village bank to make their lives better, increasing their income, helping their husbands support their families better, taking care of the children that were orphaned that they have taken in from brothers or sisters or other relatives. And they are doing it because they've been given access to credit; they've been given tools to enable them to make economic progress.

Real security is only possible when we learn to live together and to respect each other's fundamental differences. I found a quote I particularly like from a Dinka Chief, who put it like this: "If you see a man walking on his two legs, do not despise him; he is a human being. Bring him close to you and treat him like a human being. This is how you will secure your own life."

But yet, it is not an easy task, in my own country, or any country, to make human rights a reality. The work is not done when a law is passed or a constitution is drafted. Securing

human rights for all people is a never-ending struggle. In my own country, it has taken most of our 222 years -- some of them bloody and few of them easy -- to extend the benefits of citizenship to all Americans.

We went from a very small group of white, property-owning men having citizenship, and gradually expanded it to include black men, and then to include women. But then we had to work to make sure that the words in a constitution meant what they said. One of my predecessors, Eleanor Roosevelt, who helped to write the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, was 35 years old before she could vote. My own mother was born before women were allowed to vote in the United States. And yet, if we do not secure human rights for all, none of us is secure in our own rights.

Some of you may recall the words of the Protestant minister living in Nazi Germany who said: "In Germany, first they came for the Communists, but I didn't speak out because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews and I didn't speak out because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists and I didn't speak out because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics and I didn't speak out because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time no one was left to speak out."

At the dawn of the millennium, those of us who have the power to speak, and all of you here associated with this great university, by virtue of you being here and attaining this education, not only have the power to speak, but the obligation. We must speak up wherever we see injustice and inequality.

And particularly today, I want to speak up and ask you to speak up for the women in Africa and all over the globe. Too many of them every day do the work that needs to be done -- managing the home; feeding, schooling, and caring for children; providing water and fuel. But every day, too many women are also being fed less and last; too many are trafficked like drugs and sold into prostitution; too many are left out when important decisions are made about their lives and their families and in their communities.

I want to commend Uganda for your new Local Government Act, which will help more women be part of the decisions that affect their lives. (Applause.) I am pleased to announce today that the United States government will provide \$2 million to help train these elected official women as they assume their new roles and responsibilities. (Applause.)

Because, yes, women's rights are human rights. And everywhere I travel, I meet women who are struggling to make sure that occurs. We have to speak out when either law or customs treat women like children or second-class citizens, when women are blocked from owning land, receiving inheritances, securing credit, or participating in the political process. We also have to speak out for more countries like Uganda to make sure that girls are educated.

Two-thirds of the 130 million children out of school worldwide are girls. I wish that some of the people in those countries that still prevent girls from being educated would come and visit the classrooms I have seen here in Uganda -- the bright faces of young boys and girls ready to learn so that they can become better citizens. I am so pleased that universal primary education is a critical part of Uganda's future.

There is much else we must speak up against: violence against women; the practice of genital mutilation; women and children who are brutalized by conflict wherever it occurs.

In Uganda, a pilot program here has reduced the number of women who endure genital mutilation by more than one-third. And when I go to Senegal in a few days, I will meet with a group of women who over the last year have voted in their villages to end this practice and are helping others to do the same.

We must also speak up for women and children caught up in war and conflict around the

world. It used to be that women, children, and civilians were to be protected during a war. Today, they are increasing the targets of war. Since the turn of this century, civilian fatalities during war have increased from 5 percent to 90 percent, and 80 percent of war's refugees are women and children.

You have seen this here in your country, because nothing so offends any definition of human rights than the use of children as pawns of war and the mistreatment and abuse of women as a tactic of war. The war in Rwanda was waged against the lives and dignity of women. Rape and sexual assault were committed on a mass scale. Here, according to a U.N. report, the children of northern Uganda like children throughout the world, are also at risk.

Uganda

Last year when I spoke with President Museveni, he talked to me about the more than 10,000 Ugandan children who have been abducted by the Lords Resistance Army. One of those children is Charlotte, and she is one of the girl's that Sister Rachele tried to save. I met with her mother, Angelina, at the White House a few weeks ago before we came on this trip. She told me what had happened the night that the LRA kidnapped Charlotte and the other girls from St. Mary's school; how they broke the windows, tied up the girls, beat them if they cried; took them away into a life of unspeakable horrors. Thankfully, many have been rescued or escaped, or their freedom has been purchased. But many others, like Angelina's daughter, have not returned.

Like terrorists and dictators throughout history, the LRA claims to be doing the Lord's work. But there is no greater sin than forcing children to murder each other, family members, and even the parents who brought them into existence. There is no greater sin than raping young girls and sending them into slave labor. And there is no greater sin than using children as human shields in battle.

The LRA call themselves soldiers, but they are cowards, for only cowards would hide behind children in battle. (Applause.) Through a group called Concerned Parents Association, Sister Rachelle, Angelina and other parents are working to save their children and all children.

One of Charlotte's classmates who escaped talked about what happened when another girl tried to escape. Listen to her words: The girl who is brought in front of us and the rebels told us to stomp her to death. We killed the poor innocent girl. If we did not kill the girl, we were going to be shot by guns. We prayed for that girl in our hearts, silently, and asked God to pardon us and forgive us because it was not our will to kill her.

Another girl who was rescued wrote: I'm pleading with you to find a way of stopping this rebel activity, so they we children of northern Uganda could also share in the peace that other children around the world are sharing in. We need peace.

I'm hoping that every government around the world and every citizen joins your government and people in Uganda in your fight for peace and in your efforts to save these children. Already Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International are shining a spotlight on this tragedy. UNICEF is helping to get assistance to groups working at the local level. And non-governmental organizations like World Vision and Gulu Save the Children Organization are caring for children who escape.

There are three of those children here with us that I just had a chance to meet before I came out to see you. Their names are Isaac and Janet and Betty. They were kidnapped by the LRA in the north. They managed to escape, eventually finding refuge. As I looked into their faces and their eyes, I saw the faces and eyes of children the world over. And I thought to myself as I looked at these young men and women of Uganda that we owe them and the thousands more like them everything we can do to make sure that they, too, have a chance, like the children I saw yesterday, to grow up in peace, to be educated, and to look forward to their own families and futures.

There are no easy answers, but I want Janet and Betty and Isaac to know, and I hope that someday Angelina will be able to tell her daughter, Charlotte, as well, that America cares about your children, and we want to work with you to try to stop this tragedy and to care for the children who are its victims.

(Applause.)

That's why I am very pleased to announce new steps our government is taking through the United States Agency for International Development. First, we will provide \$500,000 directly to local groups like the Concerned Parents Association and GUSCO, to help them find abducted children and give them the medical care they need to heal. (Applause.)

Second, we will provide \$2 million over the next three years for a new Northern Uganda Initiative that will help the people living there plagued by rebel activity get jobs rebuilding roads, dams, schools, health clinics and their own communities. (Applause.) I am very pleased that other donors, including the World Bank, have agreed to support these efforts.

Third, we will provide \$10 million to local African NGOs who are working to improve food security and to prevent, ease and respond to conflict in the region. (Applause.)

And, finally, my husband and our government will increase their efforts to pressure Sudan to end its support for the LRA and their cowardly abductions of children. (Applause.) We will work with you to end this terror, and we will work with you to continue your rebuilding of your country.

But I want to add just one more thought, because when we talk about democracy and human rights we know how important laws and institutions are. We know that strong and free markets are also important because they unleash so much creative entrepreneurial energy from people like the women I saw in Jinja yesterday. But, ultimately, the struggle to protect human rights depends upon the millions of decisions and actions that are taken every day by ordinary people like us.

It is what Alexis de Tocqueville called, the habits of the heart. It is what we tell our children. Do we continue to tell them to hate those who our grandparents hated, or do we try to help them give up that hatred? It is what we tell each other in our neighborhoods, our villages, our workplaces when we hear someone making disparaging comments about someone of another ethnicity or tribal or racial or religious background. Do we say: Why do you say that about a person's group? Do you know the person? Can you make a judgment about that person as an individual? If you cannot, don't engage in stereotypes.

There have been too many stereotypes between us. (Applause.)

In so many ways every day each of us can stand up for human rights. We don't have to be as brave as Sister Rachele rescuing girls. We don't have to be as brave as these three young children who have endured so much, but have come back to build their own lives. We can in so many ways stand up for human rights every day.

That is why I'm pleased that the Human Rights and Peace Center is developing a curriculum to be used throughout the campus, so that the lessons taught and learned here will stay with everyone forever. Because, ultimately, all the work that the President or Mrs. Museveni, or the Vice President or the Vice Chancellor, any of those who are currently leaders in Uganda can do will not be successful unless the students at this University and the children in the schools today understand how important it is to stand up for democracy and freedom and human rights.

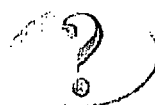
No one understands better the importance of human rights than Ugandans. You understand the nightmares that come when they are abused. No one is in a better position to honor the past generations by passing these lessons on to the next generations. I hope that you will

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Uganda

accept this challenge, not only now as you are doing, but for many years in the future. Many of us will look to Uganda as an example; as a country that is putting the past behind it in ways that the rest of us not only can admire, but follow. You have a historic opportunity to build a future that is not only one that you are proud to pass on to your children, but one that stands as a beacon not only for Africa, but for the world.

Many of us know what you suffered. Today we stand in admiration of what you are doing now to build a better future. And we will look to you as we move toward this new century and new millennium to show us how people develop new habits of the heart, to make it clear that every person is worthy of dignity and respect, and that peace and freedom, democracy and human rights will always be part of Uganda's life.

Thank you all very much. (Applause.)



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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 2, 1998

Hillary Rodham Clinton
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 heard 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 husband's 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, unrelenting, 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!



To comment on this service,

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE WOMEN OF ARGENTINA

COLON THEATER
BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA

October 16, 1997

Thank you, Mrs. Schiavoni.

To all of you -- Ambassadors, Ministers, Representatives, of the federal and local government, academicians, business women, homemakers, artists, teachers -- to all of you, I thank you for this opportunity to speak before you today. I would like to extend a special thanks to the staff of the United States Embassy, but particularly to the National Council of Women and their staff for the outstanding work that was done to make this gathering possible, and I believe we should show appreciation to Mrs. Schiavoni and all associated with the National Council of Women by another round of applause. Thank you.

I also understand I should give a special greeting to all the mothers in the audience, on the eve of Mother's Day, and I do so.

I am, as you may know, an empty-nest mother now, and I called my daughter last night to tell her that I had seen just a small sample of tango, because she loves dance of all forms and wrote a paper in Latin American history on tango and its origins, so I was so pleased to be able to tell her what my husband and I had done on our first night together here in this beautiful city.

I must confess that it is somewhat awe-inspiring to be in this magnificent theater on a stage that has been graced by Domingo and Caruso and Callas. I am almost tempted to sing, but in the interest of preserving warm ties between our countries, I will refrain.

But I would like to talk about voices, powerful voices, the voices of women in this country and my country, throughout our hemisphere and our world, and what we can do to make all of our voices heard. To have our voices heard about our shared commitment to advancing the cause of women's rights, advancing the cause of democracy, and making clear that the two are inseparable.

I can think of no better place to do that than in Argentina. The women of Argentina have long been pioneers on the frontiers of human rights and equality.

From the Argentine Beneficent Society to the National Women's Council to the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo -- with whom I will meet shortly, you and your foremothers have forged a remarkable record of speaking up in your communities, caring for those who cannot help themselves, opening the doors of education to boys and girls, lifting up lives and voices for democracy and human rights.

We are pursuing our goals of equality at a moment in history that is full of hope, a time ripe for positive social change. Countries that were once paralyzed by debt or runaway inflation have embarked on tough reforms and are now on the move.

Economic renewal has been accompanied by democratic transformation. Across the

Americas, military dictatorships have given way to freely elected governments. For the first time in decades millions of people enjoy the right to choose their own leaders, to engage actively in political life, to speak frankly, to meet in support or opposition to a cause, and to form opinions based on information gathered by a free and inquiring press.

Yet we know that democracy, whether newly rooted or centuries old, is fragile. The process of building and tending democracy is ongoing. Democracy flourishes when its principles are internalized in the hearts and minds of all people, when no one fears the consequences of standing up or speaking out for justice. And democracy thrives when women are not barred by law, by ignorance, by tradition or by intimidation from making their voices heard at the ballot box, and from pursuing their most cherished dreams.

In short, empowering ever-more women to seek and claim their rights as citizens and as human beings will ensure that democracies -- yours and mine, old and new -- survive and thrive in the twenty-first century.

The word "empowerment," I am told, does not translate well. But I am sure that every woman gathered here knows its meaning. Empowerment means the right to participate in the political and economic life of our countries. Empowerment means being able to lead lives free of sexual and domestic violence. It means access to justice under law, to education, to health care, to credit and property ownership.

Empowering women makes sure our voices are heard and we are treated as full citizens in our countries.

No nation can hope to succeed in our global economy if half of its people lack the opportunity and the right to make the most of their God-given promise. And, as we can all attest, in too many countries, my own as well, too many rights are still denied and too many doors of opportunity still remain tightly closed.

Too many women and children are trapped either in an endless cycle of poverty -- a cycle perpetuated by inadequate health care, poor access to family planning, and limited education -- or they are trapped inside social constructs that impoverish their spirits and limit their dreams.

Too many women are unable to participate in the economic lives of their countries because they cannot get credit on their own to start small businesses.

Too many women live in fear of violence at the hands of family members. For them, home provides no refuge, the law no protection, and public opinion no sympathy.

Too many women, especially those who are poor and less educated, are unaware of their legal rights in the workplace, of their rights to own and inherit property, of their rights to vote and choose their leaders. While these laws may exist on the books, too many governments have not enforced them and too few women have been made aware of them.

Such problems as these may be daunting, but their solutions are in full view. Across the Americas, from Boston to Buenos Aires, there are cutting-edge, common-sense initiatives to give girls and women access to what I call the tools of opportunity: education, decent health care, legal protections, and credit. These efforts prove that women can be empowered to lift themselves, their children, families, and communities out of poverty.

Let me begin with education, for nothing outside the family is more central to advancing the cause of girls and women. And Argentina has long recognized that fact.

Our two nations have a history of warm ties. One of the most notable was the friendship between Horace Mann, the father of public education in the United States, and President Domingo Sarmiento, the father of education in Argentina, who was ahead of his time with

his deeply held belief that girls should attend school.

The fruits of his conviction are there for the world to see today: In Argentina's strong and established system of education. In a literacy rate of 96 percent. And in a primary school completion rate of 90 percent.

Other countries in the Americas are rededicating themselves to improving access to and the quality of education for all their citizens as you have long done. Education will be the centerpiece of the Second Summit of the Americas in Santiago next April, and it will highlight models that are working.

Argentina

Yesterday in Sao Paulo, for example, I saw an elementary school in one of the city's poorest neighborhoods. For years, the school struggled. Many students were not learning and most did not stay in school. Fortunately, the business community, recognizing the importance of education, got involved, and created the Institute for Quality Education. Working with the local government, parents, and teachers, they have transformed the school. Teachers who themselves may not have finished high school have now received additional training. Students were tested. Parents were encouraged to get involved. In less than a year, test scores in mathematics and language went up more than 200 percent. Even in countries like ours, Argentina and the United States where we don't face such daunting challenges as Brazil does, we have to do more to improve the quality of education in both urban and rural areas and to ensure that all students have access to information technology. Concentrating on education and insuring that all the children of the hemisphere have a chance to learn will be the most important way that we can enable all of our economies to grow and flourish.

And an economy that grows and flourishes in Argentina or in the United States is good for their citizens and for other neighboring countries' citizens. But if we can create the capital of education in all the other countries in the hemisphere, that too is good for Argentina and the United States.

Another tool of opportunity is Microenterprise. Microenterprise provides small loans to people, mostly women, who would not otherwise receive them. This concept started in Asia about 20 years ago when it was determined that a very small amount of money, given to a hard-working woman -- who might be landless and totally ignorant, but she had skills that were marketable -- she knew how to sew, she knew how to plant crops, she could do things with a little bit of credit that could bring income into her family.

Argentina
Panama

I have seen all over the world how access to such credit sparks a woman's entrepreneurial spirit. Just in the last week I have seen two more examples here in our own hemisphere. In Panama I visited a group of women who, with a small grant from the United States Agency for International Development, started a business in a small village growing plants and seedlings to sell in city markets and also to sell to the Panamanian government's reforestation programs.

Now here is something that women have known for the millennia -- how to tend and nurture plant life. Women have held the secrets of medicinal plants and herbs. There are so many women throughout this hemisphere with those kinds of skills. To create a market for their product gives them a chance to use their skills to earn income to improve the standard of living of their families, and that is what I saw. Within two years, these women had sold enough orchids, medicinal plants and seedlings to expand their business. They had also furnished enough seedlings to restore 48 acres in one of Panama's national parks; and I talked with women who were using their new income to improve their homes and send their children to school.

Caracas

I met an equally impressive group of women in Caracas. I entered an ordinary-looking building in one of what I was told to be one of the worst neighborhoods in Caracas. And yet, in this very well-kept space, sitting on an open-air, rooftop terrace, talking with these women, I was very moved and impressed. The walls were adorned with weavings and art

works that they had made. As a light breeze blew in, one woman told me how she had started a thriving taxi company. She knew how to drive, she was responsible and hard-working, there was no transportation adequate to the numbers of people in her community, so she had this idea but no one would give her the credit to purchase the van that she needed until she came to this Microenterprise Institute. She said that when she finally got her own business, it was as if "the sky had opened up."

Another woman used a small loan to expand her juice stand that she ran with her husband. Then a few years later she had a restaurant and a butcher shop employing ten people. She had even been able to send one of her children to university -- a woman who had never finished primary school. She said the loan had given her the opportunity "to spread her wings."

Now these are not unique stories. I have met similar women in Nicaragua and Costa Rica, in Bolivia and Chile and Mexico, and I know they are here in Argentina and in my country as well.

Because a real job is the best form of social welfare, microenterprise works for the individual, the family, and society. And the more we can expand credit, to both women and men who appear on the surface to have no collateral, to be poor, but who have skills that keep them going every day in the hard lives that they face, the more we will create free and broader markets that will enhance the economies of our countries.

Access to quality health care -- especially family planning and reproductive health services -- is also crucial to advancing the progress of women. I have seen first-hand, as I know many of you have, what happens when women are given access to such health services.

8/19/98
Just two days ago in Brazil, I witnessed the signing of an agreement between my government and two Brazilian state governments to support a family planning initiative. This came about because two years ago I visited a maternity hospital in Salvador de Bahia, Brazil, and I saw men and women getting the information they would need to enable them to make wise choices about planning their families. I saw mothers cradling their new-born babies in the hallways as they stood in line for their check-ups. I saw young women, very pregnant, waiting for their pre-natal check-up. I saw infants were getting immunization. I saw parents were being taught what to feed their young children and how to care for them. And I also saw wards of women who were there because they had not received good quality health care.

In short, family planning and reproductive health programs were integrated in that hospital into maternal and child health services. And I talked with a number of mothers, as well as with the Minister of Health, who told me that for the first time they felt they could adequately care for the children they had, that they could invest in those children not only their love but other resources as well.

The result of a program like that was that rates of maternal mortality and, importantly, rates of abortion decreased because women received the health care they needed in a timely manner and furthermore, as the Minister of Health, an esteemed medical doctor and university professor, told me, for the first time poor women received the same health services that rich women have always been able to receive for themselves.

This approach of integrating the services and reaching out to poor women and men has proven so successful that it has been adopted as a hemisphere-wide strategy to reduce maternal mortality, and was announced at the First Ladies of the Americas Conference in La Paz last year.

Now the promotion and expansion of women's legal and political rights may, perhaps, be the most difficult challenge we face. And yet slowly but surely we are witnessing the emergence of legal reforms that will raise the status of women in the home and in society.

Domestic and sexual violence against women remains one of the most serious and under-reported human rights violations in the Americas. In country after country, we are finally bringing out into the light of day what has been thought to be a private matter. In Argentina, women have worked to incorporate domestic abuse issues in police training, and I applaud you. Many countries now have human rights ombudsmen with special offices dedicated to protecting the rights of women. In Panama, legislators have reformed the Family Code to better regulate such matters as alimony, child support and child custody.

And in the United States, we have introduced comprehensive violence against women plans that provide counseling for victims, training for police officers, and prosecution of offenders in all 50 states.

Throughout Latin America, countries are finding ways to open up political participation for women at all levels, from the grassroots to the voting booth, and I understand that there are record numbers of women running for political office here in Argentina, and I know what a difficult choice that is to put yourself into the electoral system, and I congratulate all the women who are standing for public office or who hold public office because of the courage it takes to do so.

As more women hold office, we have to show that we care about the issues that brought us into the political process. That is especially critical when it comes to human rights.

At the conference in Panama City, I witnessed the signing of another agreement -- this one between USAID and the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights in Costa Rica. The Institute was founded to defend and foster respect for human rights at a time when repressive regimes controlled the lives of many people in the Americas. It offered crucial support to brave individuals throughout the region who spoke out against torture and repression at a time when such acts often meant risking one's job, one's home -- even one's life.

In 1990, the Institute embarked on a new mission in human rights advocacy: It established a formal program on gender and human rights. When I visited the Institute with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright in May, I had the opportunity to meet and speak with women who are in the forefront of women's rights issues throughout the Americas. As they said, there is little difference in a woman's life between violence in politics and violence at home. Both dishonor democracy and respect for the God-given individual dignity of each human being. As the Secretary of State said on that occasion, domestic violence can never be excused as cultural. It is criminal and should be treated as such.

There are many examples that I could give you, and you could give me so many more of what you have seen happening in your own lives, in families, in workplaces, in communities and countries. But I have seen, as you have, how efforts such as these in education and health care and credit and in human rights are transforming lives. None of this progress would have happened if women themselves had not spoken out, demanded change, and forced their governments to respond.

Now we must encourage more women to make their voices heard, to join together in both community and national organizations, to press for political change beneficial to all women, to encourage women to vote in local and national elections, to make politics relevant to the lives of women, to send more women into political office.

Only women can make democracy work for ourselves, our children and our families. It is a message that is coming alive throughout the world. Last summer, at a conference in Vienna, Austria, I met with a group of women from the newly democratic countries of Eastern and Central Europe. They had just begun to recognize the power of independent citizen action to address challenges, and they had gathered to share ideas, to renew and strengthen their faith in democratic values and freedoms.

This kind of convening might be beneficial for our hemisphere as well. As our countries continue to expand our political, economic and strategic alliances, as my husband today is speaking with your President about, the women of this hemisphere can lead the way in building an alliance of democratic values that will strengthen our democracies into the next millennium.

Now many of the issues that are faced throughout the hemisphere and the world may seem far away from the lives of women here and in the United States. Because in many ways, women of Argentina and the United States have a wider spectrum of opportunities than the women and girls who live in the countries that lie between our own. I was reading in President Sarmiento's book, *Life of the Argentine Republic*, and I saw this quote which described the lives not just of women in Argentina at the time it was written but of women generally throughout the world, and still describes the lives of most women living on earth today.

Here is what he said: "Women look after the house, get the meals ready, shear the sheep, milk the cows, make the cheese, and weave the coarse cloth used for garments... The boys exercise their strength and amuse themselves... With early manhood comes complete idleness and ease."

Now I am sure the men in the audience would object to that description, but it is not mine. It is President Sarmiento's. And I am sure that none of us would describe our early adulthood as ones of "idleness and ease" in today's fast paced world, but the point is still valid that there are too many women whose horizons are very limited, but there are many women like ourselves whose horizons seem to be limitless and yet we, too, face formidable challenges in our own lives and the life of our societies.

I believe we have a responsibility to work on behalf of women who still struggle for the rights we have won. But we also must confront the new question that has edged up to our own front doors.

While the superficial homogenization of the world means that people on every continent wear the same jeans, eat the same fast food, listen to the same music -- these surface similarities do not override a longing for a deeper identity and meaning in our lives. Despite improving material conditions around the world, many people are not satisfied and families are under new stresses. The gap between the rich and poor grows wider in many places. The social safety net of health care, education, pensions, decent wages, good jobs -- is in danger of fraying for those less able to navigate this new world. And even for those of us blessed with good health, education, and affluence, we also ask ourselves many questions about the meaning of our own lives.

Questions about how we strike the right balance among our personal roles as wife, mother, homemaker, employed worker, citizen; about how we claim a personal identity in an age of anonymous globalization and high technology; about how families will raise children in the face of pressures from the consumer culture and mass media that undermine parental authority and glorify instant gratification.

This last question is of particular importance to those of us who are mothers concerned about the future of our daughters.

For we have not won our places in society, we have not fought for women's rights to make the choices that are best for them, to stand by while the consumer culture does its best -- in my country and yours -- to objectify women and make girls believe that only their appearances, not their hearts, their minds or their souls, are important.

All the material possessions in the world cannot substitute for a rich and deep spiritual life; all the affluence in my country or yours cannot answer the eternal questions that are posed

by every generation. We cannot permit the pace of our life today, the use of automation and technology, to substitute for what is most important-- the human connections and relationships that are the stuff of what life is made and which are so essential to creating those habits of the heart that every child needs to believe in themselves, to have the confidence to be able to do what they know is right.

This is difficult against the backdrop of this fast paced world in which we live. And I know that life is changing sometimes faster before our eyes than we can even make sense of. But we cannot leave the raising of our children, the inculcating of values to the mass media and the consumer culture. We have to do a better job through our churches, our families, our civic associations; we have to build up civil society to reach out to all young people to help them understand why so many of you have fought so long and so hard for the values, the rights and the privileges that now in my country can be too easily taken for granted.

Democracy cannot survive unless those values are passed on to the next generation and one of the values has to be that a woman's full humanity is an unshakable, God-given truth, and that democracy itself cannot be fulfilled unless women are treated with dignity and respect.

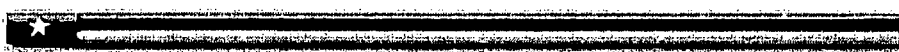
Last year, I participated in a call-in show on the radio for the Voice of America which went all over the world. One male caller asked me very earnestly what I meant when I said, "Women's rights are human rights and human rights are women's rights" at the Beijing Conference on Women.

I told the caller to close his eyes and think of all the rights and privileges he enjoyed as a man. Then I asked him to imagine a world where every woman enjoyed those same rights. The right to make the choices that fit with that woman's conception of her future. That means that a woman may choose to be a full-time wife and homemaker and it is a choice worthy of respect. That means that a woman may choose to give herself fully to a professional or business or artistic profession that means she does not have a place she believes in her life for marriage or children.

That too, should be respected. And for the vast majority of us who attempt to balance our commitment to family with an interest in the outside world and a profession that we care about -- that too should be respected. There should no longer be "one size fits all" prescription for the way a woman's life should be lived. And because we are fortunate to be women at the end of this century with many more years than our grandmothers and great-grandmothers ever could have dreamed, we will have many opportunities in our lifetimes to fulfill our various dreams and aspirations.

The acoustics in this hall are famous throughout the world. So what is said here perhaps can carry throughout this hemisphere and beyond if we raise our voices on behalf of women to proclaim that we will not rest until we have repealed discriminatory laws, expelled the mythology about a woman's proper and only role, stared down the forces of physical and psychological intimidation that stifle the potential of women and children, and gives full flower to the belief that a woman has the opportunity and the God-given right to chart her own destiny, and then to work together to provide the tools of opportunity so that every girl and boy in this hemisphere can look with confidence toward the future. That should be our promise to our children for the next century. They, in many ways face, a more difficult life than we did. It does not seem as clear and set as to what direction many of them should take. We have to stand with them and with each other as we create conditions that give each a chance to stand before anyone and say "I am a free person, I believe in democracy, and I believe in building a better world for those who come after."

Thank you all very much.



**Remarks by
U.S. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
upon receipt
of the United Arab Emirates Health Foundation Prize
at the World Health Assembly**

Geneva - 14 May 1998

Mr. President, Director-General, ministers, ambassadors, other distinguished guests.

It is indeed a great honor to receive this award and to join all of you here today celebrating the World Health Organization's 50 years of leadership. I want to thank United Arab Emirates Health Foundation for this award, and for this generous gift to the Safe Motherhood Initiative, which will save the lives of countless women and children.

Let me congratulate the distinguished recipients of the Sasakawa health prize, for the work you do every day to put quality health care within the grasp of all people.

I also want to pay special tribute for his decades of service to WHO, and his lifetime of dedication to improving health throughout our world, to Dr. Nakajima. Thank you, Dr. Nakajima, for your service and leadership.

And to the incoming Director-General, Dr. Gro Brundtland, let me congratulate you on your election. Your expertise and leadership will help make WHO's vision a reality in the 21st century.

As we speak, at this very moment, children are being born in Africa, in Asia, in Australia, in the Americas, in Europe. What will their lives be like in the 21st century? Will they live with dignity and health -- or be degraded by poverty, war, injustice, and premature death? Will there be health for all?

The answers to these questions depend upon all of us. Heads of state, ministers, parliamentarians, experts, physicians, nurses, researchers, village health workers, and citizens all. Many of you in this room are the authors of the success stories of the 21st century. But the answers for tomorrow depend not just on what we say today as individuals, but on what we do tomorrow as a community of nations.

When public health leaders first started meeting internationally more than 100 years ago, they had seen firsthand the devastation left in the wake of the yellow-fever epidemic that swept across the Southern Cone in the late 1800s. They had experienced cholera overrunning Europe, malaria, terrible sanitation conditions, unsafe food and water, infectious diseases and diarrhea that robbed babies of any chance at life. No nation was safe from the epidemics that traveled across national boundaries. Yet no one really knew about the causes of infant mortality. There were no immunizations or antibiotics. No oral rehydration therapies or adequate prenatal care.

But now, thanks to the World Health Organization and many other public-health pioneers, researchers, scientists, and so many, a dramatically different world welcomes the 365,000 children born each day. It is far less likely that we will have to look into the eyes of children dying of infectious diseases, and know that their lives could have been saved had they only received a simple vaccination. Because smallpox is now only found in the history books, children today will not have to endure the blindness, the disfigurement or death that once plagued 15 million people a year. And if we refuse to give up, polio will soon be eradicated.

Children today are far more likely to live past their fifth birthday, and some born today will even be around to see the 22nd century dawn. But standing as we are at the border between one century and the next, we have the opportunity for the first time in history to alleviate and end much of human suffering and prevent millions of premature deaths.

We have every reason to reject the doom-sayers who paint a picture of a 21st century with environmental degradation, rampant poverty, and untold suffering from new diseases. As your new World Health Report makes clear, we can choose an optimistic vision of the future and work to make it a reality, so that at the end of the next century our successors will look back at what we did for the children born this very day. They will, I hope, see public health hazards overcome and diseases like cancer conquered, and see children living not only longer but better-quality lives.

Whether we see that vision or not is really the question we face today. We certainly have the means within our reach. Just as immunizations, antibiotics, and clean water revolutionized lives in this century, children are being born today into a world in which telemedicine on the Internet provides life-saving information in a matter of seconds. A world of biology where research is allowing us to map the human genome and unlock the mysteries behind chronic diseases and our greatest killers.

But we know that this promise of progress will only be possible if our ethics and self-interest compel us to act. If we apply ancient values and morality to new frontiers of discovery. If we master the political will and summon the economic resources to ensure that all citizens reap the benefits of advances in health care. If we heed yesterday's lessons to meet new challenges tomorrow.

Now some of what we need to do is not complicated. It is, so far, the best practices that are proven to work in every place that needs them. As I have been privileged to travel around the world I've seen what people can accomplish when they use simple public health techniques and community action to improve health and save lives.

In Bolivia, I visited 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 checkups and having their infant immunized on the day that I visited. They were also learning about family planning and how to space births so they could more likely have their children survive, and themselves.

Some of what we need to do is provide better information and education so that people can make better health decisions for themselves and their children. On a recent trip, my husband and I took to Africa, I met with women and two men from Malicounda Bambara village in Senegal. These people have accomplished something extraordinary. Although female genital mutilation affects less than 20 percent of women in Senegal, in villages like theirs it is considered a rite of passage for all girls. The women decided that FGM had for far too long harmed their daughters' bodies and spirits. They decided it was time to end the hemorrhaging, the AIDS, the childbirth complications caused by this tradition. During our discussion they showed me the skit they had used to educate their religious leaders, their neighbors and husbands.

As a result of their efforts, this village voted to ban this long-standing cultural ritual. Not only that, they are inspiring others to do the same. A 66-year-old man told me how he walks from village to village spreading the word about the dangers of FGM. Recently 13 other surrounding villages representing 8,000 people joined together to end FGM in their communities. They petitioned their government, and now the president is working to enact a new law to abolish it throughout the country.

When I asked one woman: "What drove these people to change such a long-standing

tradition?" She simply replied: "We studied human rights and particularly the right to health."

What better time than now, here at the Palace of Nations on the 50th anniversary, not only of WHO but of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, to make clear that health care is a basic right, a basic human right that all men and women are entitled to. As Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. once said, "Of all the forms of inequality, injustice in health is the most shocking and the most inhumane."

For the children being born today, let us all declare, their basic health should not depend on where they live or how much money their parents have.

Some of what we have to do is to attack the inequities that deprive children in one area from enjoying the health care that is available to their neighbors. We know that child malnutrition varies greatly from continent to continent. The number of physicians and nurses varies greatly, depending on the wealth of a country. And even in rich countries there are pockets of despair.

To improve health for all, we must make progress in the fight against poverty. To fight poverty, we must ensure health care for all. That is part of the unfinished business of this century. And when we talk about health equity, we must talk about equity between countries and within countries. Men, women, and children come from all over the globe to be treated in the great medical centers of the United States, and yet we have more than 41 million Americans who are uninsured. But to be sure, their emergency needs are usually taken care of, but often well after they should have received primary care, and frequently at a greater cost.

A country such as mine can have the most cutting-edge technology in the world. A country that is poor can have cutting-edge technology for the rich of that poor country. But it will not matter to the people who still die and suffer because they do not have access to the services they need.

Some of what we have to do is to face up to the difficult issues posed in every country about how we finance and deliver health care. As populations age, thanks to the wonderful progress we've made in health care, then every country, whether or not it currently has a universal system, will face greater cost pressures to meet overall needs.

Many countries with universal systems are now unable to afford the facilities they have, or the technology they need, and will have to face hard choices about how to restructure their systems. Other countries are in danger of having their existing health structures collapse under the huge weight of caseloads from HIV/AIDS or tuberculosis. And we find many parts of many countries cutting back on necessary basic services just to make ends meet.

Some of what we have to do is to join together to combat a new array of global health threats. Increases in food-borne illnesses mean families have more reason to worry about whether the dinner they just served their children will make them sick or worse. Parents are worried about tobacco addicting their children, stealing their health and often their lives. My husband is working hard to save children in our country from the death grip of big tobacco. But none of us can rest until we save all children from the advertising and other enticements that seduce them, and I applaud Dr. Brundtland for her strong statement yesterday.

Across the globe people are worrying about infectious diseases and with good reason. They remain the leading cause of death. In the last 20 years we have witnessed the birth of at least 30 new infectious diseases like ebola. The HIV/AIDS pandemic continues to strike at citizens without regard to sex or station in life, and increasingly women and children are the targets.

We also see old scourges like tuberculosis reemerging with new force. We have treatments

that work for TB, but more people will die from tuberculosis this year -- 2 million -- than in any other year in history.

We also have anti-malarial drugs, but resistance to them, and other factors, have led to alarming increases in malaria, which is now moving into previously unaffected regions. Infant and child mortality could be decreased by 20 to 30 percent if malaria were eradicated. And I want to thank Dr. Brundtland for her commitment to roll back malaria once and for all.

We know there are no magic bullets, no solutions that we can take from the sky. We need to share information, share responses, share surveillance. What would happen if we had an excellent surveillance in Africa, for example, when the AIDS outbreak first occurred? I hope we never have to ask that question about any other disease in any part of the world again.

Some of what we have to do is end discrimination against girls and women. The health of children must never again depend on whether they are boys or girls. The last WHO event I attended was a forum at the Beijing Conference about women and health security. There were people from all over the world sending the message that the health of women and girls could no longer be divorced from progress on other economic or social issues.

For how can we have progress when half the population of any country is underfed, undervalued, or denied care when they are sick. How can we have progress when women live in fear of violence at the hands of strangers or relatives, when they are trafficked across state lines like drugs and sold into modern-day slavery? How can we have progress when women don't have access to the family planning they need to protect their health and make fundamental choices about when and if to have children? How can we have progress when every single minute that goes by, somewhere on this globe a woman is dying of complications from pregnancy and childbirth.

At a small clinic in Nepal I saw a safe home-delivery kit that is given to expectant mother. Inside is a bar of soap, twine, wax, a plastic sheet, and a razor blade. Its purpose is to reduce the two major causes of maternal and neonatal death -- tetanus and sepsis -- by promoting the "three cleans" principle -- clean hands, clean surfaces, clean umbilical care.

These kits are made locally by a microenterprise owned by women. And these kits, as well as the entire Safe Motherhood Initiative, teach us about the importance of investing in prevention. We will reap great human dividends if we give people the power to protect their with prenatal care, nutrition, and family planning. Most maternal deaths can be prevented by spending less than \$2 a year per person. These safe motherhood kits are emblematic; they remind us that women's health, like all health, issues are not soft or marginal issues but are very important issues and moral obligations as well as practical necessities that every society must face.

Our political leaders must understand that unless we address the health care needs of our citizens we will not have the quality of life, the economic growth, the justice and equity that make democracies and economies thrive. Our leaders should be just as worried about reducing infant mortality as increasing trade. They should be just as concerned about maternal mortality as military might. They must see women's health as part of the overall development of every nation. Because good health is linked to every other tool of opportunity -- jobs, loans to start microenterprises, legal protection and, above all else, education. When a woman can read and write, she is more likely to live through childbirth, her child is more likely to live, and her family is more likely to be healthy.

Above all, what we must do is to call upon the private, public, and non-profit sectors represented here to join together to meet all of the challenges of the 21st century. Just as concerned people have done in this great city before -- when they have banded together to ensure peace, or work towards universal human rights; just as nations and public and private

institutions did during the 20th century when they invested in the research and training that gave birth to the advances we celebrate today.

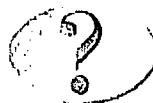
We must put our hearts, our minds, and our resources in action, to meet the needs -- whether it's finding a vaccine for diseases like AIDS or malaria, closing the equity gaps that plague our health care systems, or making it clear that issues like maternal mortality or tobacco are not peripheral concerns, but central ones.

I would hope that on the occasion of WHO's 100th anniversary in 2048, our successors would look back at what has been accomplished. Instead of an apocalyptic 21st century, as predicted by some, of overpopulation, pollution, disease, and poverty, I hope they would see that for the first time in human history all people had access to the tools they needed to live longer and better lives in peace.

We don't have a minute, or a child, to waste. We have only one World Health Assembly left in this century. The children of the next century being born today in Africa, in Asia and Australia, in the Americas, and in Europe, come into our world with every reason to expect they will be wanted and loved by their families, and valued by the societies they join. We should not, we dare not, disappoint them. Yes, there will be obstacles and setbacks, but we cannot be discouraged. We have the technology, we have the know-how, we have the resources. We only need the will to act.

With the World Health Organization continuing to lead the way, I know that we all will turn the vision of "health for all" into a reality in the 21st century. And those children born today will thank all of you.

Thank you very much.



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The White House

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release
March 29, 1995

Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation New Delhi, India

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you so much Mrs. Gandhi, Ambassador Wisner, Ambassador Hussain. I have not seen Mrs. Gandhi's introduction, but I must say after hearing it, she and I have been thinking very much alike as you will notice.

It is a great honor for me to join you here today, to be in New Delhi, in the company of men and women who keep alive the high ideals for India and the world that Rajiv Gandhi helped to sustain.

I would like to thank the people of India for extending a warm and gracious welcome to me and my daughter who is here with me. To President Sharma and Prime Minister Rao, I owe special thanks for their warm hospitality. The Prime Minister's visit to Washington 10 months ago opened a new chapter in Indian-American relations, one that promised to build on the many values and aspirations our peoples share. We greatly appreciate the energy and wisdom he has lent to strengthening the friendship between our nations.

Although my journey here is far too brief, it is the culmination of a life long desire to visit India. I hope these days will be the first of many I spend in this country, learning about your extraordinary past and your vibrant and exciting future; and exploring the shared dreams we hold to the future of the human family.

I can think of no more fitting setting in which to reflect upon these shared dreams than here at the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation--an institution dedicated to the realization of Rajiv Gandhi's dream of a better life for all people of India.

Programs of this foundation such as assisting children orphaned by terrorism, or promoting literacy and health among women and children in rural areas or providing fellowships for women entrepreneurs are inspiring examples of how to translate dreams into reality.

Our meeting today occurs at an historic moment. As we approach a new century, we are also on the frontier of a new world. It is different from the one we have known for the past 50 years. It is a world in which many old divisions have diminished or disappeared. The long reign of dictators and controlled economies has given way to democracy and free markets in country after country.

The opportunities for peace and prosperity are greater now than every before. But this is also a world of profound change that exacerbated old challenges and creates new ones: the challenge of deep poverty still confronts us. The challenge of living together in peace and harmony in the face of ethnic, religious and other tensions among peoples has never been greater. The challenge of putting people first--of including all of our citizens as full participants in our economic and political lives--men and women, rich and poor, people of all races and creeds--remains fundamental to all of us. These ancient challenges are compounded by the stresses inherent in a time of rapid change. The so-called Information Age holds great potential that the virtual reality created by the media and computers can not only help us communicate more quickly but understand each other better; yet we also know technology poses difficult problem: a vast majority of our world's people are not prepared with the skills needed for the

new global economy. And, if consumerism is the primary message being transmitted, the explosion in material expectations will put additional demands on institutions ranging from the family to the government that are unlikely to be met quickly or fully. The alienation spawned by disappointment with the promise of change is likely to increase.

So, together we must address both the opportunities and difficulties that confront us today--for ourselves, our families, and the future of our children.

I want to talk with you today about what I consider central to a good common future that we can create together and that is--the importance of ensuring that women are invested in their own lives and able to participate fully in our national lives. Women represent over half the world's population. And yet in country after country, they lack access to education, to health services, to jobs, to political and civil rights. Where women lack access to education, health care and economic opportunity, children tend to be less educated, less well nourished and families tend to be both larger and poorer. Where women are illiterate, experience has shown that the environment is often poorly managed and democracy remains fragile. One lesson the experience of the last several decades teaches us is that where women prosper, countries prosper.

But the education of women has even greater benefits for societies. Education helps us understand and tolerate differences and so holds out the promise that we can live together more harmoniously. Education helps us comprehend the unsettling changes in our lives today and helps us better manage those changes. Education is as important to peace as it is to prosperity.

But what is it that we must do to bring women fully into our national lives, among other things, we must be able to attend school and learn, not just to be literate but to acquire the knowledge and skills--of medicine, of engineering, of management, of computers and so forth--that will contribute to the prosperity of their families and nations. Women must have access to health care, especially the care they need as expecting or new mothers. Wives, together with their husbands, must have access to family planning services to enable them to make voluntary, responsible and informed choices about the size of their families. And, children--girls as well as boys--must have access to preventive and curative medical care that will enable them to grow into healthy adults.

I recognize that discussion of such problems as education and health care for girls and women is viewed by some as "soft," labeled dismissively as a women's issues belonging, at best, on the edge of serious debate about all the problems we confront on the cusp of the 21st century. I want to argue strongly, however, that the questions surrounding social development, especially of women, as discussed at the recent social summit in Copenhagen, are at the center of our political and economic challenges.

Governments, business and citizens must recognize and act upon the truth for the betterment of nations and our global family. But even assuming you would agree with my argument, what is to be done to bring about strategies for such development? That is a question that deserves far more analysis and discussion that I can offer here today, but let me suggest there are five key commitments needed to achieve this worthy goal of social development for women.

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Key
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First, governments must continue to expand the general conditions required for democracy and market economies that we know can unleash the creative energies of millions of people if they are prepared to take advantage of the opportunities available to them.

① The Indian government has recently undertaken major economic reforms and these reforms have already helped stimulate investment and more rapid growth.

Such reforms are essential. But they are rarely sufficient to achieve sustainable development in any country. Where social services and women's access to those services remain limited, growth will prove uneven and unsustainable. My own country is debating vigorously the role of government in supplying social services because of the recognition that a significant number of our own citizens are not equipped to share in the rewards of the newly emerging economy.

② In addition, every government should invest more resources in the education and health care of children, especially girls. This should be a priority that takes precedence over competing budgetary demands. For

some countries like those in South Asia, it means providing schools and clinics where they are needed and incentives for persuading families to educate and provide health care for all their children. For a country like the United States, it means delivering existing services more efficiently with greater accountability for outcomes.

Second, although governments have primary responsibility for creating environments that encourage economic growth and social development, businesses also have a role to play. But at a time when businesses are increasingly pressured to perform on the basis of quarterly results, they have to recognize that the social costs of doing business often have medium and long term economic consequences. Depleting natural or human resources destroys markets and undermines people's confidence in them. The world needs socially responsible business leadership now more than ever.

Third, although the role of commitment of government and business is key to development, they alone cannot achieve these social goals. Citizens, cooperating together in non-governmental organizations, like this foundation, must also take the initiative and even provide the lead.

NGOs are often created by individuals with a dream--like Mother Teresa whose renowned compassion--even tenacity--on behalf of the world's most unfortunate moved us deeply when we visited her home for children here in New Delhi yesterday.

NGO leadership--often volunteer--is typically highly motivated and energetic in pursuing a vision of a better world. Tomorrow I will visit with Ela Bhatt, that soft-spoken visionary whose work is infused with the ideals of Gandhi. From her, I hope to learn more about SEWA--the Self Employed Women's Association-- and how it has empowered poor women to take control of their futures and make better lives for themselves and their families.

NGOs can give voice to the aspirations of people who are left out of the modern economy and whose influence on government may otherwise be small. The Prayas School which I visited yesterday embodies the idea that health, education, and economic development go hand in hand, and that learning must begin at the earliest stages of life and progress throughout it.

NGOs, where their members must debate and implement programs and elect their officials, are among the most effective training grounds for democracy. Their activism strengthens democracy by holding governments accountable for the way their policies and practices affect people.

As Alexis de Tocqueville observed in the last century, voluntary citizen associations are one of the vital foundations of American society and democracy. That is equally true of India where the long experience and success of NGOs inspires us.

America recognizes in our partnership with India, our NGOs and yours must play a central role. Our bilateral aid program relies on NGOs to implement programs and projects, and we are committed to increasing that partnership.

We recognize, that in no area are NGOs more important than in efforts to educate and empower women. At the Social Summit in Copenhagen two weeks ago, I announced a new ten year, \$100 million USAID Girls and Women's Education Initiative. I am happy to announce today that India will be the first country to benefit from this program. (Applause) We will soon provide an initial grant to support NGOs--US and Indian--to expand girls' education in this country.

The fourth area for concern is that of the family, for it is the family that determines primarily now daughters are treated. Deeply rooted attitudes about the value of girls are hard to change, but we must try to persuade mother and father to invest love, attention and resources in their girls, starting with education and health care. The success of that persuasion will rest on a new vision of a world in which the distinctions between men and women are not viewed as reasons to demean each other, but as complementary parts of a greater whole.

In this new world, both boys and girls are loved and cared for, first by the family they are born into--by parents who want them and invest in them; then by their extended family; then by the families they build

as adults and by the children whom they, in turn, invest with love; and finally by societies that value every child as a gift to be nurtured and remember, in the words of Rabindranath Tagore: "Every child comes with the message that God is not yet discouraged of man."

Finally, women have to be responsible for our own lives and our own futures and work together to provide opportunities for themselves and other.

All of us must participate in a conversation about how to shape the changes we seek in the world we share. It is particularly important that women find their own voice and become participants and decision-makers in the home, the work place, community, and nation. We must develop a new language to replace the deafening silence that still sounds too often when women's concerns are raised.

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

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

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

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

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

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

As we work together on behalf of our grandmothers, mothers, sisters, daughters, and ourselves-let us avoid the false debate that says, on the one hand, only powerful institutions like government or business, or on the other, only individuals, are responsible for solving their own problems that we confront. In fact, we all know we need partnerships to achieve social changes. Governments, businesses, NGOs, families, and women themselves can either support or undermine people as they face the moral, social and economic challenges of our time. Individuals can either take initiative and responsibility or fall into hopelessness and despair. Simply put, no government, no businesses, no NGO, no person can remain idle given the magnitude of the challenges we face and the uncertainties of the world we live.

If all of us could take our responsibilities seriously. If we use our voices to seek ways to achieve the goals that really underlie the political and economic aspirations that are now being sought around the world and women and men will create a better world-for boys and girls-and that ultimately is what the point of political and economic activity should be here, in America, and around the world. Thank you all very much.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release
March 7, 1995

Remarks By First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton To The International NGO Community At A Forum Of The U.N. World Summit on Social Development Copenhagen, Denmark March 7, 1995

Thank you. Good morning. Thank you Ambassador Teymour, Mr. Desai, Mr. Nielsen.

I am honored to participate in this historic gathering, where civic, religious, and social organizations as well as government leaders from around the world are uniting in the fight to eradicate absolute poverty, create jobs, and empower women and men to become full participants in their societies.

It is a special pleasure to be able to speak to a gathering that includes so many non-governmental organizations. Whether they operate in great cities or in remote villages, NGOs always have played a vital role in strengthening our global community. But particularly today, as all nations face new challenges and choices, the experience and wisdom of NGOs will be critical in guiding us toward a safer, more just, and unified world.

The end of the Cold War has created extraordinary new opportunities for growth and progress. But at the same time, ethnic strife and civil conflict have erupted across the planet, depleting our resources, draining our energies, promoting hatred and intolerance, and imperiling our ideal of a free and open global society.

Today, too many nations waste precious resources on building weapons of mass destruction, staging wars, and doing violence to basic human rights, instead of investing those resources in people. Too often, natural resources are destroyed and human ones exploited through socially irresponsible behavior. Today, too much time is spent in naked pursuit of power instead of working for peace and prosperity.

It has become fashionable in recent years to assign blame for the world's problems to one group of nations or another. I hope this Summit does not succumb to that temptation. In fact, every nation needs to rethink its approach to social development and most nations need to do more for their own people and humanity.

To meet the goals of this Summit, governments will have to go about their business in new ways. They will have to rethink how to protect their most vulnerable populations in a time of shrinking resources and accelerated global competition. They will have to respect basic human rights, and that includes the rights of women and workers to be protected from exploitation and abuse. And they will have to create conditions that encourage individual initiative and a vibrant civic life.

Finally, as my husband said in a speech last week, governments will have to choose engagement over isolationism. With our economies and our societies becoming increasingly interdependent, we must work to create a global community in which economic growth and social progress result in shared prosperity and opportunity.

On a large scale, there is no better place to start than with an indefinite and unconditional extension of

the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The threat posed by these devastating weapons endangers all the work we do to end poverty, create jobs, and empower people. Moreover, in balancing priorities and resources, all nations will have to realize that investing in people, not the acquisition of nuclear arms, is the way to make their societies stronger. Clean water, safe sanitation, basic education and health care are better investments to strengthen societies in both the short and long term than the acquisition of or increase in nuclear arms.

Two days ago marked the 25th anniversary of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, now joined by 172 nations that realize that opposing the spread of nuclear weapons is in their self-interest. And to further the goals of the Treaty, the United States and Russia have agreed -- through START I and START II -- to reduce our own nuclear arsenals. We must all continue the effort to deal responsibly with this critical issue.

In addressing the world's social problems, we cannot expect governments to act alone, particularly in an era of scattered and, some believe, scarce resources. Governments need NGOs to monitor their actions and mobilize them to find innovative solutions to problems. NGOs also can inspire us to work more effectively with each other -- within the NGO community and within the community of nations. That is why the participation of NGOs at this and other United Nations Conferences is so invaluable.

The great social movements of my own country during the 19th and 20th centuries -- the abolition of slavery, the right of women to vote, as well as the civil rights movement would not have been achieved without the leadership of civic, religious, and social organizations.

The same is true elsewhere. As Ambassador Somavia knows well, civic organizations committed to human rights and the rule of law were instrumental in assuring Chile's transition to democracy. Through the work of nuns and lay people in the Philippines, civic groups in Bulgaria, grassroots organizations working across Africa and South America, and many others, NGOs have helped improve the lives of tens of millions of men, women, children and families struggling to escape tyranny, poverty, and social dislocation.

Ultimately, this forum and the Social Summit is about supporting and building on that work, not for the sake of governments or ideologies, but for people. It is about putting people first. And putting people first requires realistic, workable solutions to complex problems.

Too often, the assumption is that any solution will inevitably be costly and complicated. In fact, we have proof to the contrary.

We see grassroots efforts around the world that are reducing poverty, improving health and education, and promoting individual freedom.

UNICEF, to take one shining example, has had a decade-long focus on child survival and has pioneered many strategies that are low-cost, including breastfeeding and oral rehydration therapy and immunizations.

Last year polio was eradicated in the Western Hemisphere by a multinational effort. And the U.S. was the lead donor for that.

And around the world, the percentage of children immunized against major preventable diseases rose from 20 percent to 80 percent between 1980 and 1990.

In the United States, I'm frank to admit, we have had to follow the lead of other countries so that finally we are attempting to increase the immunization rates of our own children, and our rates have increased but are not yet where they need to be.

In South America, the involvement of NGOs in teaching pregnant women self-diagnosis of maternal health problems has resulted in a dramatic reduction in the infant mortality rate in rural areas.

I myself saw at the Fabella Hospital in Manila, news mothers staying in the hospital long enough to learn to nurse their babies, which promoted a stronger bond between mother and child and increased the

chances of family stability.

And in countries where governments and NGOs have made voluntary, safe and effective family planning available and have provided related health services, we have seen an improvement not only in the lives of individuals but in the economic well-being of their countries.

Now, no one person, as we know so well, can be freed from the bondage of poverty or fully integrated into society without the means to earn a living. And the task of nations, and NGOs, is to promote policies that lift up the poorest in society, and to insist on core labor standards that help stop the exploitation of workers, many of whom are children.

Governments must be responsible for promoting disciplined economic policies. And in the United States the President is working to renew the American economy through fiscal policies that do assist those who are poor in such ways as providing tax credits and attempting to raise the minimum wage.

Investing in education goes hand-in-hand with providing economic opportunity. As capital and technology become more mobile, differences in the quality of labor forces will become that much more apparent.

And again, we can learn from each other as to how we can reduce illiteracy and increase prospects for employment and economic security.

Opportunity should be the reward for taking responsibility in life. That philosophy is a good guide when we consider strategies -- governmental and non-governmental -- to promote greater self-reliance and economic independence among all our citizens, including especially the poor and disenfranchised.

We have an example of that which will be discussed at this summit, when we look at the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. Dr. Mohammed Yunus, whom many of you in this room know, as I do, believes that if you give people access to credit -- and ask them to take responsibility in return -- they will achieve greater economic and social independence.

Through its small loans to the poorest women in rural areas of Bangladesh, the Grameen bank not only has improved the immediate circumstances of thousands of families, it has also fostered a greater sense of purpose and spirit of community among the people.

I only wish every nation shared Dr. Yunus's and the Grameen Bank's appreciation of the vital role that girls and women play in the economic, social, and political life of our societies.

Although women comprise 52 percent of the world population, although they are the primary caretakers for children and the aged and are a significant presence in the work force, they continue to be marginalized in many countries.

Worldwide, more than two-thirds of the children who never attended school or have dropped out are girls. Of the one billion people who remain illiterate, two-thirds are women. And a disproportionate number of those we call living in absolute poverty are women.

Investing in the health and education of women and girls is essential to improving global prosperity, and I am glad that this Summit has endorsed the principle of equal rights and opportunities for women.

In parts of Asia and South America we have seen the education of girls help lift whole populations out of poverty. We have seen the education of women enhance their roles as mothers and increase their participation in civic life. So we must do more to ensure equal rights for women, along with equal pay and equal access to health care and education.

Tomorrow, as part of International Women's Day, it will be my pleasure to announce a major new United States commitment to expand educational opportunities for poor girls on three continents.

I'd like to end by saying that we must all take responsibility and do our part. Too often we engage in a

false debate that says on the one hand, only governments, or on the other, only individuals, are responsible for solving their own problems and those of the world. In fact, we all know that we need a partnership that is going to bring us all together. Governments can either support or undermine people as they face the moral, social and economic challenges of our time. Individuals can either take initiative and responsibility or fall into hopelessness and despair. Simply put, no government, no NGO, no person can remain idle given the magnitude of the challenges we face and the uncertainties of the world in which we live.

For those who are skeptical about our capacity for progress, I suggest that we all reflect on the life of one extraordinary man, James Grant, who recently passed away. Jim may have been more responsible for saving more lives over the past 15 years than any other person in the world. Millions of children are alive today because Jim Grant challenged us, set goals for us, and devised simple, efficient, and affordable methods of intervening on behalf of children and their families.

His legacy is not only found in the wonderful work that goes on every day at UNICEF, or in the success of his infant formula campaign, or in the packages labeled "Oral Rehydration Therapy" that he would carry around in his pocket and pull out on any occasion. His legacy is in the jobs that each of us in this room, each of the people around the world and private voluntary organizations and other NGOS and government organizations do day in and day out, throughout the world.

It is our duty to continue to live up to Jim Grant's challenge and to do our part to fulfill the goals of this Summit. In closing, I would ask that as we go about our business in the months and years ahead, whether we are in government or the private sector or just acting on our own, that we draw strength and courage from Jim Grant's example and do justice to his memory. If we do that, then this Summit and all that follows will be a success.

Thank you very much.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 5, 1996

**REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON AMERICAN SECURITY IN A CHANGING WORLD**

George Washington University Washington, D. C.

10:26 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. President Trachtenberg, I was in the neighborhood so I thought I'd drop by. (Laughter.) Dean Harding, members of the George Washington University community, Congressman Cardin, Congressman King, Congressman Matsui. Senator McGovern, thank you for coming, sir. (Applause.) And by the way, thank you for writing your brave book about your daughter and for going around the country and talking about her. Thank you so much. (Applause.)

I want to thank the family members of the victims of Pan Am flight 103 who are here with me to day, as well as two of those who were held hostage in Iran back in 1980 who are here today -- and '79. Thank you for coming. (Applause.)

I'm pleased to be back here at George Washington, especially as you celebrate your 175th anniversary. President James Monroe signed the congressional charter establishing GW. I can only applaud his wisdom and hope that 175 years from now our administration will be associated with a similarly proud legacy. I think he would be very proud if he could see what GW has become.

Last night the Centennial Olympics came to an end. It was a great Olympics for America not only because of the triumphs of our athletes, but also because of the magnificent job done by the city of Atlanta and all the other hosts. But, in a larger sense, it was a great event not just for Americans, but for people everywhere who believe in peace and freedom, who believe in individual achievement and common effort.

I believe we love the Olympics because they work the way we think the world ought to work. They are possible because all different kinds of people come together in mutual respect and mutual acceptance of the rules of the games. No one wins by breaking their opponents legs or by bad-mouthing their opponents in a public forum. Instead, victory comes from doing well in a

good way. And all who strive are honored, as we saw when our volunteers cleared the track for the brave, injured marathon runner who was the very last finisher in the race.

Most individuals and teams from the 197 competing nations did not win any medal, but they all had their chance, did their best and were better for their efforts. That is what we want for our country and the world at the edge of a new century and a new millennium.

In the world of the 21st century, the Olympic way will become possible in the lives of more people than ever before. More people than ever before will have the chance to live their dreams. The explosion of knowledge, communication, travel and trade will bring us all closer together in the global village. But as we saw in that terrible moment of terror in Centennial Park, this new openness also makes us more vulnerable to the forces of destruction that know no national boundaries.

The pipe bomb reminded us, as did the murder of 19 fine American service men in Saudi Arabia and the still unresolved crash of TWA 800, that if we want the benefits of this new world we must defeat the forces who would destroy it by killing the innocent, to strike fear and burn hatred into the hearts of the rest of us. This is a lesson and a responsibility every American must accept. As the Mayor of Montoursville, a town of just 5,000 people in Pennsylvania that lost 21 of its brightest hopes of the future on TWA Flight 800, said, "No matter how secluded and how innocent we are, once we leave our community we're subject to the troubles of the outside world."

America faces three great challenges as we enter the 21st century: keeping the America Dream alive for all who are willing to work for it; bringing our own country together, not dividing it; and making sure America remains the strongest force in the world for peace and freedom, security and prosperity.

I come to this place of learning and reason, a place so focused on the future, to explain why we cannot meet our own challenges of opportunity and responsibility and community unless we also maintain our indispensable role of leadership for peace and freedom in the world.

The worldwide changes in how people work, live and relate to each other are the fastest and perhaps the most profound in history. Most of these changes are good: The Cold War is over; our country is at peace. Our economy is strong. Democracy and free markets are taking root on every continent. The blocks, the barriers, the borders that defined the world for our parents and grandparents are giving way, with the help of a new generation of extraordinary technology. Every day millions of people use laptops, modems, CD ROMs and satellites to send ideas and products and money all across the planet in seconds. The opportunities to build a safer world and a more prosperous future are enormous.

But for all the promise of our time, we are not free from peril. Fascism and communism may be dead or discredited, but the forces of destruction live on. We see them in the sudden explosions of ethnic, racial, religious and tribal hatred. We see them in the reckless acts of rogue states. We see them especially in the dangerous webs of new threats of terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking, and the continuing threat that weapons of mass destruction might

spread across the globe. These forces of destruction find opportunity in the very openness, freedom and progress we cherish.

We must recognize that modern technologies by themselves will not make for us a new world of peace and freedom. Technology can be used for good or evil. American leadership is necessary to assure that the consequences are good. That is why we have worked so hard to seize the opportunities created by change and to move swiftly and strongly against the new threats that change has produced.

To seize the opportunities, we are strengthening our alliances, dramatically reducing the danger of weapons of mass destruction, leading the march for peace and democracy throughout the world, and creating much greater prosperity at home by opening markets to American products abroad.

Our alliances are the bedrock of American leadership. As we saw in the Gulf War, in Haiti, and now in Bosnia, many other nations who share our goals will also share our burdens. In Europe we have supported the forces of democracy and reform in the former Soviet Union, the removal of Russian troops from the Baltics, and led the way to opening NATO's doors to Europe's new democracies through the Partnership for Peace, as Europe, the main battleground for the bloodiest century in history, is finally coming together peacefully.

In Asia we have revitalized our security alliance with Japan, joined with South Korea to promote lasting peace on the Korean Peninsula, and worked steadily to encourage the emergence of a strong, stable, open China. The end of the Cold War has also allowed us to lift the dark cloud of nuclear fear that had hung over our heads for 50 years. Today not a single Russian missile is pointed at our citizens or cities. We are cutting Russian and American arsenals by two-thirds from their Cold War height. We helped Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan to give up their nuclear weapons which were left on their land when the Soviet Russian dissolved.

We are working with Japan and Korea, and we have persuaded North Korea to freeze the dangerous nuclear program it had been developing for over a decade. We have advanced the struggle for peace and freedom. When people live free and at peace, we are more secure because they are less likely to resort to violence or to abuse human rights, and more likely to be better trading partners and partners in our common struggle against terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking, environmental degradation.

Because America is taking those risks for peace and democracy, the dictators are gone from Haiti. Democracy is back and the flow of desperate refugees has stopped. In Bosnia the snipers' killing fields have become children's playing fields once again. In Northern Ireland and the Middle East, though difficulties remain, conflicts that once seemed unsolvable are moving closer to resolution.

None of these struggles is easy. There is no guarantee of success. But we will continue to work for success and we will make a difference.

Finally, we have seized the opportunity to better our people's lives at home by opening markets abroad. The true measure of our security includes not only physical safety, but economic well-being as well. Decades from now people will look back on this period and see the most far-reaching changes in the world trading system in generations. Changes that are good for the American people. Changes that include 200 new trade agreements, including GATT and NAFTA, the Summit of the Americas, the Asian Pacific leaders' commitment to bring down trade barriers. Because of these changes America is the world's number one exporter again, and we have a million new high-paid jobs as a result.

Now, none of these achievements just happened. They came about because we work with others to share the risk and cost of engagement, because we use the power of our example and, where necessary, the example of our power. They happened because we were willing to make tough choices today knowing they would pay off for you tomorrow. Above all, they happen because we refuse to listen to those who said that with the Cold War over America could choose escapism over engagement. Had we done so we would have weakened the world's reach for freedom and tolerance and prosperity and undermined our own security and prosperity.

The fact is America remains the indispensable nation. There are times when America, and only America, can make a difference between war and peace, between freedom and repression, between hope and fear. Of course, we can't take on all the world's burden. We cannot become its policemen. But where our interests and values demand it and where we can make a difference, America must act and lead.

Nowhere is that responsibility more clear or more urgent than in the struggle against terrorism. No one is immune, whether you're riding a subway in Tokyo or a bus in Tel Aviv, whether you're window shopping in London or walking the streets in Moscow, whether you're doing your duty in Saudi Arabia or going to work in Oklahoma City. Terrorism has become an equal opportunity destroyer, with no respect for borders.

Whether we like it or not, in ways both good and bad we are living in an interdependent world. That's why we must break down the walls in our mind between foreign and domestic policy. And I might say, Mr. President, on this 175th anniversary, that is one of the intellectual objectives that I hope our great universities will commit themselves to.

The reality is our personal, community and national prosperity depend upon our policies on economics in trade at home and abroad. Our personal, community and national well-being depends upon our policies on the environment at home and abroad. Most dramatically, our personal, community and national security depend upon our policies on terrorism at home and abroad. We cannot advance the common good at home without also advancing the common good around the world. We cannot reduce the threats to our people without reducing threats to the world beyond our borders. That's why the fight against terrorism must be both a national priority and a national security priority.

We have pursued a concerted national and international strategy against terrorism on three fronts: First, beyond our borders, by working more closely than ever with our friends and allies;

second, here at home, by giving law enforcement the most powerful counterterrorism tools available; and, third, in our airports and airplanes by increasing aviation security.

This will be a long, hard struggle. There will be setbacks along the way. But just as no enemy could drive us from the fight to meet our challenges and protect our values in World War II and the Cold War, we will not be driven from the tough fight against terrorism today. Terrorism is the enemy of our generation, and we must prevail.

First, on the international front, stopping the spread of terrorism clearly requires common action. The United States has a special responsibility to lead in this effort. Over the past four years, our intelligence services have been sharing more information than ever with other nations. We've opened up a law enforcement academy in Budapest which is training people from 23 nations, an FBI office in Moscow, and just last Friday, Congress gave us the funding for FBI offices in Cairo, Islamabad, Tel Aviv and Beijing.

We've requested more money for intelligence in 1997. This focus is making a difference. As the Senate Intelligence Committee concluded in its 1996 report on the Intelligence Authorization bill, the work of U.S. intelligence agencies against terrorism has been an example of effective coordination and information sharing.

I've also worked to rally other nations to the fight against terrorism -- last year at the U.N. General Assembly; this spring at the historic Summit of Peacemakers at Sharm el-Sheikh, where 29 nations, including 13 Arab nations for the first time condemned terrorism in Israel and anywhere else it occurs in the Middle East and throughout the world; at the G-7 Summit in Lyon and the recently held follow-on conference we called for in Paris, where we were represented ably by the Attorney General.

Now, the point of all these efforts with other countries is not to talk, but to act. More countries are acting with us. More countries are taking the "no sanctuary" pledge and living up to their extradition laws so that terrorists have no place to run or hide. More countries are helping us to shut down the gray markets that outfit terrorists with weapons and false documents.

Last week in Paris, the G-7 nations and Russia agreed to pursue a sweeping set of measures to prevent terrorists from acting, and to catch them if they do. And we set timetables with specific dates by which progress must be made. We're also working with Saudi Arabia to improve the security of our forces stationed there, so that we can continue to deter aggression by rogue states and stand against terrorism in the Middle East.

After Khobar Towers I immediately ordered investigation by the FBI and a commission headed by General Wayne Downing, which is to report to me later this month. While it's too early to reach conclusions, these investigations are moving aggressively in cooperation with our host. And we are working with the Saudi government to move almost all our troops to other bases to better protect them from terrorist attacks.

Even though we're working more closely with our allies than ever, and there is more agreement on what needs to be done than ever, we do not always agree. Where we don't agree, the

United States cannot and will not refuse to do what we believe is right. That's why we have maintained or strengthened sanctions against states that sponsor terrorism: Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Sudan. You cannot do business with countries that practice commerce with you by day while funding or protecting the terrorists who kill you and your innocent civilians by night. That is wrong. I hope, and expect, that before long our allies will come around to accepting this fundamental truth.

This morning I signed into law the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act. It builds on what we've already done to isolate those regimes by imposing tough penalties on foreign companies that go forward with new investments in key sectors. The act will help to deny them the money they need to finance international terrorism or to acquire weapons of mass destruction. It will increase the pressure on Libya to extradite the suspects in the bombing of Pan Am 103.

With us today, as I said before, are some of those families and the loved ones of other victims of terrorism sponsored by Iran and Libya. Let me repeat the pledge I made to them earlier. We will not rest in our efforts to track down, prosecute and punish terrorists, and to keep the heat on those who support them. And we must not rest in that effort.

The second part of our strategy is to give American law enforcement officials the most powerful tools available to fight terrorism without undermining our civil liberties. In the wake of Oklahoma City, I strengthened the terrorism bill I had previously sent to Congress, but which had not then been passed. Despite the vow of Congress to act quickly, it took a year before that bill came to my desk to be signed.

The bill had some very good points. It made terrorism a federal offense, expanded the role of the FBI, imposed the death penalty for terrorism. As strong as it was, however, it did not give our law enforcement officials other tools they needed and that they had asked for, including increased wiretap authority for terrorists to parallel that which we have for people involved in organized crime now, and chemical markers for the most common explosives so that we can more easily track down bomb makers.

After the bombing in Atlanta, Congress said it would reconsider these and other measures. I immediately called the congressional leadership to the White House and urged them to put together a package and vote it into law before they left for the August recess last Friday. I am disappointed and, more importantly, the America people are disappointed that that job was not done. These additional measures would save lives. They would make us all more secure. When the Congress returns from the August recess, we will take them up again and we must get the job done.

There is more I will ask Congress to do. Next month I will submit to Congress the international crime control act that our Justice, State and Treasury Departments drafted at my request, because more and more, terrorism, international organized crime and drug trafficking are going hand in hand. This bill expands our fight against money laundering, so criminals and terrorists will have a tougher time financing their activities. It strengthens our extradition powers and border controls to keep more criminals and terrorists out of America. It increases the ability

of American law enforcement to prosecute those who commit violent crimes against Americans abroad. Congress should pass it.

And, once again, I urge the Senate to ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention, so that we can eliminate chemical weapons stockpiles and give our law enforcement new powers to investigate and prosecute people planning attacks with such weapons. We have seen the terrible, destructive impact of sarin gas in the Tokyo subway. Within a month of that attack, Japan's Diet ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention, but we still have not done so. If the Chemical Weapons Convention were in force today, it would be much more difficult for terrorists to acquire chemical weapons. They are not waiting, and we shouldn't either.

Finally, the third front of our struggle against terrorism at the airports and airplanes that bring us all closer together. Air travel remains the safest form of transportation. And our airlines have the best safety record and security record in the business. But that's a small consolation when a single attack can take so many lives.

Last year we began field testing new high-tech explosive detection machines in Atlanta and San Francisco. We significantly increased security at our airports, and the FAA created a new government and industry panel to review airline security.

After the TWA crash, I ordered new measures to increase the security of air travel. As any of you who have flown in recent days will have noticed, we're doing more hand searches and machine screening of luggage. We're requiring preflight inspections for every plane flying to or from the United States -- every plane, every cabin, every cargo hold, every time. The Vice President is leading a commission on aviation security that is to report back to me within 45 days with an action plan to deploy machines that can detect the most sophisticated explosives and other needed changes.

Now, I know all this has led to some extra inconvenience for air travelers, and it may lead eventually to a modest increase in the cost of air travel. But the increased safety and peace of mind will be worth it.

So, greater international cooperation, stronger American law enforcement, safer air travel - these are the fronts of our concerted strategy against terrorism. Much of this work by law enforcement, intelligence and military professionals goes unheralded, but we are getting results. For example, we prevented attacks on the United Nations and the Holland Tunnel in New York. We thwarted an attempt to bomb American passenger planes from the skies over the Pacific. We convicted those responsible for the World Trade Center bombing and arrested suspects in the Oklahoma City and Unabomber cases. We've tracked down terrorists around the world and extradited more terrorists in four years than in the previous 12.

But I want to make it clear to the American people that while we can defeat terrorists, it will be a long time before we defeat terrorism. America will remain a target because we are uniquely present in the world, because we act to advance peace and democracy, because we have taken a tougher stand against terrorism, and because we are the most open society on Earth. But to change any of that, to pull our troops from the world's trouble spots, to turn our backs on those

taking risks for peace, to weaken our opposition against terrorism, to curtail the freedom that is our birth right would be to give terrorism a victory it must not and will not have.

In this fight, as in so many other challenges around the world, American leadership is indispensable. In assuming our leadership in the struggle against terrorism we must be neither reluctant nor arrogant, but realistic, determined, and confident. And we must understand that in this battle we must deploy more than police and military resources. Every one of you counts; every American counts.

Our greatest strength is our confidence. And that is the target of the terrorists. Make no mistake about it: The bombs that kill and maim innocent people are not really aimed at them, but at the spirit of our whole country and the spirit of freedom. Therefore, the struggle against terrorism involves more than the new security measures I have ordered and the others I am seeking. Ultimately, it requires the confident will of the American people to retain our convictions for freedom and peace and to remain the indispensable force in creating a better world at the dawn of a new century.

Everywhere I travel on behalf of our country I encounter people who look up to us because of what we stand for and what we're willing to stand against. I have said this before, but when Hillary and I visited the Olympic Village I was so moved by the athletes who came up to me and talked about what America had meant to their country: a young Croatian athlete who thanked me for our efforts there, not long after Secretary Brown's plane crashed and Secretary Kantor had finished the mission; an Irish athlete who thanked me for our efforts to bring peace in Northern Ireland; a Palestinian athlete who said that he had -- he came from a very old people, but they never had an Olympic team until they made peace with Israel, and that many people wanted to keep that peace.

This responsibility is great, and I know it weighs heavily on many Americans. But we should embrace this responsibility because at this point in time no one else can do what we can do to advance peace and freedom and democracy -- and because it is necessary at this point in time for our own peace and freedom and prosperity.

As we remember the Centennial Olympics the weeks of courage and triumph, the wonder of the world's youth bound together by the rules of the game in genuine mutual respect, let us resolve to work for a world that looks more like that in the 21st century, to stand strong against the moments of terror that would destroy our spirit, to stand for the values that have brought us so many blessings, values that have made us at this pivotal moment the indispensable nation.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

10:55 A.M. EDT



Noa A. Meyer

06/10/99 10:28:05 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Christine N. Macy/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: democracy speeches

Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Ivan Franko Opera and Ballet

L'viv, Ukraine
November 18, 1997

Thank you, very much, Mr. Kuchma, Ambassador Miller, Ministers, Mayor, distinguished members of the community, representatives of the governments of both my country and of Ukraine. It is a great honor and pleasure for me to be here today.

I want particularly to thank Mrs. Kuchma for being with me yesterday and today, and for the warm hospitality she has extended to me now on two occasions in Ukraine during the visit with my husband and during this visit. I would also like to thank my Chief of Staff, Melanne Starinshak Verveer, for her introduction of me today. But more than that, I want to thank her for her wisdom, compassion, and good humor all of these I attribute in large measure to her Ukrainian heritage. Melanne and her husband attended Georgetown University with my husband and have been dear friends of ours ever since. Like the more than one million Ukrainian-Americans, she has made immeasurable contributions to the life of my country, and I want to thank her on behalf of all of us who value her many, many attributes.

The writer, Ivan Franko, after whom this beautiful opera house is named, wrote that, "There will come a time when you will sit in the circle of free nations." That time for Ukraine is now and I am honored to be sharing that time with you. I don't believe that there is a more beautiful opera house anywhere in the world. I must confess that being here on the stage, looking at the galleries and glorious decorations, I am tempted to join the many famous performers who have appeared here to sing. However, in the interest of preserving the strong and warm ties between our countries, I will not do so. I would like, however, to talk with you about voices—the voices of women, the voices of young people, all those throughout Ukraine and the New Independent States [NIS] who are speaking a new language of freedom and democracy and then turning their words and ideas into concrete actions.

I can think of no better place to do this than Ukraine. It was in L'viv in 1879 that the Union of Ukrainian Women was established. This

organization, one of the largest women's organizations in Europe between the two world wars, went into villages to teach women and their families how to start small businesses, how to start child care centers, how to pool their resources to purchase first aid materials that would save lives in rural areas.

Like so much that is good, the Union was crushed by communism. And like so much that is good, it was reborn in 1990, along with your sovereignty. With each year of freedom, the Union has grown stronger. This fall, thousands of people gathered when the remains of the Union's last pre-communist president, Milena Rudnyska, were brought back here to L'viv for eternal rest.

Today I return home to the United States after a week-long journey to Central Asia, Russia, and now here in Ukraine. When I first came to Ukraine, it was with my husband in 1995. The sun of freedom was rising in the sky. In the time that I have been here, I have seen how much farther the sun has traveled.

In only six years, you have done much to sweep away the oppressive structures of communism. You have developed a constitution and held free and fair elections which have resulted in the peaceful transfer of power, the first ever in the NIS.

Now the challenge is to build upon this architecture of freedom with a structure supported by the rule of law, an independent judiciary, and an expanded free press that is able to tell the truth in print and over the airwaves. In only six years, you have done much to tear down a rigid state-controlled economy that stifled human ingenuity and enterprise. You have reduced inflation and privatized small businesses.

Now, the challenge is to create a vibrant marketplace based fundamentally on private property; a marketplace where business can be conducted in an atmosphere of openness and fairness; where private activity can thrive without government interference; and where hard-working people can lift themselves up without the fear of crime and corruption. Neither the rule of law nor the free market alone can be sustained in isolation. If we do not have true democracy in my country or yours, we cannot or should not rest. If we do not have a free market, we cannot and should not rest. But if we also do not have the space between what the market should do and what the government should do, what we call the civil society, we also cannot and should not rest. Each the free markets, democracy, and the civil society is indispensable to the blessings of liberty and prosperity.

In this space between the free market economy on the one hand, and a democratic government on the other hand, in this space we call civil society, resides family and community life, religious traditions, and participation in voluntary associations. For democracy ultimately depends on individual citizens believing that they have a role to play in the life of their country. It depends on people choosing, not being compelled to, but choosing to participate in society. It depends on seeing to it that what Alexis de Tocqueville called "the habits of the heart" are passed on from one generation to the next.

If you think of a modern, independent, well-functioning society as a three-legged stool, then you and this audience have been working to strengthen each of the three legs. You have worked in government to make the government democratic and transparent. You have worked to build a free market economy that gives more opportunity to individuals. You have worked to create the third leg of this stool, that we call civil society. You have chosen to help build civil society by fighting for women's health, by running for political office, by cleaning up the environment, by starting child care centers and beginning summer camps for the children at Chernobyl, and in many other ways.

Whether you are gathering in civic associations, voluntary efforts to help others, places of worship, or even in your neighbor's home, you are strengthening civil society and making it clear that the most important person in any democracy is, not my husband or Mrs. Kuchma's husband, but the citizen. Governments cannot be serious about democracy unless they recognize and work with non-governmental organizations. Yesterday I saw citizens of this city building a civil society. I stood with thousands of people at the new Memorial Honoring Victims of Communist Repression. This memorial was erected not by the government. It was a gift of the victims of communism, their families, and private organizations. They didn't have to do this but they did.

I visited a health clinic filled with children balanced between life and death, infants born prematurely, some critically ill. But for their cries, these children have no voice. They cannot compel someone to come to their aid. Yet doctors, nurses, parents, and communities, from both Ukraine and the United States, chose to do so. As one mother told me, doctors and nurses she didn't even know saved her child's life. They didn't have to do this. Ukrainian and American nurses and doctors didn't have to work together but they did. I stood in the beautifully restored Gilad Synagogue, where citizens can once again worship freely. There the rabbi told me what it meant to open a Jewish school after so many years of unspeakable hardship. It had given him faith that the community would survive. The community didn't have to do this for its children but it did.

I stood in the magnificent renovated St. George's Cathedral. For too many years, the faith of the people whom I met had been driven underground. The congregation prayed in hidden places; the beautiful symbols of their faith were hidden away in cellars and attics. Today, the members of St. George's practice their religion in the clear light of day. They are using their faith not only to worship as they please, but also to reach out to others whom society pushed away, such as children with disabilities. The people of St. George's didn't have to do this but they did.

What an irony that on the property of St. George's Cathedral, the Soviets installed radio-jamming antennas. Yet as powerful as they were, they could not silence the voices of faith and freedom.

It is especially important that the voices of women be heard, for the

legacy of communism placed special strains on women especially in the old state structures. Too many women are the first to lose their jobs and the last to get new ones. Too many women often live in fear of violence at the hand of family members. For them, home provides no refuge, the law no protection, and public opinion no sympathy. Too many women are prevented from getting proper health care, either because quality care is not available, or because they are simply unable to find the time, between family and work obligations, to care for themselves. Through all of this in too many countries, not enough women are sitting at the table when decisions are made.

It is clear that democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms. Human rights are women's rights and they must be respected. It is, for example, a violation of human rights when women are trafficked, bought, and sold as prostitutes. As my husband has said, this is nothing less than modern-day slavery. And I know that many of you here today are working hard to end this practice once and for all.

Today I am pleased to announce that the United States government, in cooperation with the United Nations, will be working with NGOs [Non-Governmental Organizations] in Ukraine to launch a new information campaign to reach women who may be in danger. The program will also inform law enforcement and consular offices, and international organizations so that they can be on the look out for, and ultimately put a stop to, this crime against humanity.

I will return home with many impressions and wonderful memories. I will also return home to speak to my own people, the citizens of the United States. I will tell my fellow citizens what I have seen and why the United States must stay constantly engaged to support forward-looking reform and leaders who are working on reform. In recent days, I have seen first-hand what America, working hand in hand with the people of Ukraine, has accomplished fostering innovative health clinics, providing loans to start small businesses, and sending Peace Corps volunteers to work with the people here.

I want all of the American citizens to know what I now know, and I wish that I had brought all of them with me, to see what I have seen. The work that has been done between our governments and organizations, such as the United States Agency for International Development and through the private sector, business to business, and through the voluntary, non-governmental sector, has made it very clear that we are strengthening our bonds and building stronger societies together.

Later this week Vice President Gore and President Kuchma will join together to reach out to members of the international community to secure more support for safely encasing the Chernobyl Reactor Number 4. What could be more important than the United States and Ukraine working together to contain one of the greatest environmental threats facing Europe and the world today?

Just as I hope to be able to explain to Americans what I have seen, I

hope also that the people of Ukraine see what I, and my party, have seen here. In the last few days, I saw citizens and spoke with leaders determined to make further progress. In six short years, you have done so much to erase seven long decades of Communist waste and misrule. There is no doubt that your path has not been an easy one and that many challenges remain especially as you expand private activity so that Ukraine can become competitive in today's fast-paced global economy.

As Americans have learned through the years, democracy is a never-ending struggle. We became a "new independent state" in 1776. For the past 224 years our democracy has been a work in progress. It took us more than ten years to draft a constitution; 89 years to rid our nation of slavery; 144 years to give women the vote; and 188 years to make all our citizens equal under the law. A critical difference, of course, is that the modern world is much less forgiving. With global communications and with a global economy, everything moves at a much faster pace, and countries and societies must reform more quickly in order to take their rightful place in such a new world.



Just six years after your independence, you have much to be proud of. The sun of freedom is higher in the sky. And yes, it has a way to travel. I know that the people of Ukraine will stay the course. As you do, please know that the American people will stand with you. I hope that you take great pride in where Ukraine stands today and that I hope you take great confidence in the fact that the United States will be your partner and your friend, as we travel together into the twenty-first century and the new millennium.

Thank you very much. God bless the United States and God bless Ukraine.

**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 Prestige 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 heard 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."

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 demonstrating 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)

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS FOR SEVENTH CONFERENCE OF SPOUSES OF
HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE AMERICAS
PANAMA CITY, PANAMA
OCTOBER 9, 1997**

Mrs. Perez Balladeres, First Ladies, "First Daughters," representatives of the nations of the Western Hemisphere, Distinguished Guests: I am honored to be a part of this Seventh Conference of the Wives of Heads of State and Government of the Americas.

Women

I want to thank Mrs. Perez Balladeres and the people of Panama for their warm hospitality. And I think it is very fitting that we gather in Panama for our annual conference. Nearly a century ago, workers from all across the Americas, the Caribbean, Asia and Europe came here to move mountains and link two great oceans. The canal they built is a testament to what people of determination can achieve together on behalf of progress and prosperity.

We, too, have come together from all across our hemisphere in hopes of building a better world and better lives for all women, children and families. In many ways, our task is more difficult and more complex than those of the canal builders of a century ago. Instead of mountains, we seek to move hearts, to change old attitudes, to banish hunger and disease, to educate all our children -- and most of all -- to empower the women of our hemisphere to participate fully in the life of our nations.

We are pursuing our goals at a very hopeful moment in history, a time ripe for positive social change. All across the Americas, repressive dictatorships have given way to freely-elected

democracies. For the first time in decades, or perhaps for the first time ever, millions of people are beginning to enjoy the right to choose their own leaders, to form opinions and based on information gathered by a free press, to speak frankly and meet in support or opposition to a cause.

We must not waste this unique moment. We all know that every democracy, young or old, is fragile. Democracy will never take root if its principles are never instilled in the hearts and minds of all people. Democracy will never thrive if women -- half its constituents -- are barred by law, by ignorance, by tradition, or by intimidation from reaping its benefits, from contributing their talents to society or from making their voices heard at the ballot box. And democracy will never survive in countries that do not value women as full and equal partners in society.

women's rights

This is why I have chosen to speak during this "rights and participation" portion of our conference. I believe that empowering more women to seek and claim their rights as citizens and as human beings is the only way we can ensure that our democracies -- old and new -- will survive and thrive into the 21st century.

The word "empowerment," I am told, does not translate well. But I am sure that every woman in this room knows something about its meaning. Empowerment means the right to participate in the political and economic life of our countries. It means protection from sexual and domestic violence. And it means to access to justice under law, to education, to health care,

my notes

to credit and property ownership.

In short, empowering women means making sure they are treated as full citizens in their countries. And as we can all attest, in too many countries, this is simply not so.

Too many women live in constant fear of violence at the hands of family members. For them, no refuge can be found at home, in the law, in police stations or in public sympathy. Domestic and sexual violence against women remains one of the most serious and underreported human rights violations in our region. We must work to instill new attitudes about and new protections against domestic violence. As Secretary of State Madeleine Albright has said, domestic violence can never be excused as cultural, it is criminal.

Too many women, especially those who are poor and less educated, are unaware of their legal rights in the workplace, of their rights to own and inherit property, of their rights to vote and choose leaders at the polls.

Too many women and children are trapped in an endless cycle of poverty -- a cycle perpetuated by inadequate health care, poor access to family planning and limited education.

But let us not forget that we are already aware of many of the solutions to these problems. We already know what works to change and improve lives. Next week, I will be traveling to South America with my husband. I will be visiting microcredit, family planning, education

programs in these countries, programs that I have highlighted for years in countries all around the world. These are proven efforts that empower women to lift their children, families, communities and nations out of poverty and we must continue to support them.

And there is also encouraging news to report on the three priorities -- the elimination of measles in the Americas by the year 2000, the reduction of maternal mortality, and education reform -- we set at our conference in Asuncion three years ago. Last year, not a single case of the measles was reported in 27 countries of the Americas. And while we may have experienced a setback with a large outbreak of the disease in Brazil, we seem to be on track to meet our goal by the end of the century. Every country in the hemisphere has joined in the Pan American Health Organization's efforts to improve prenatal and obstetric care and reduce maternal mortality. We have brought institutions and individuals together through the Partnership for Educational Revitalization in the Americas to boost financing, quality, equity and decentralization of public primary education. In Honduras and El Salvador, more children are staying in school longer and graduating from primary school. And we have helped elevate education reform and revitalization to the top of our respective countries' national agendas.

Slowly, but surely, we are also witnessing legal reforms to end domestic violence, to raise the status of women in the home and in society. In Costa Rica, women have pushed through a law against domestic violence and worked to incorporate domestic abuse issues in police training. In El Salvador, legislators have overturned laws allowing rapists to avoid conviction by marrying their victims. They've also passed a law forcing politicians to prove that they have

paid child support before running for office. Here in Panama, legislators have reformed the Family Code to better regulate such matters as alimony, child support and child custody. And in my own country, we have introduced comprehensive Violence Against Women plans that provide counseling for victims, training for officers, and prosecution of offenders in all 50 states.

★ ★ None of this progress would have happened if women themselves had not spoken out, demanding change and forced their governments to respond to their needs. We must encourage more and more women to make their voices heard, to join together in grassroots organizations, in mother's clubs, and neighborhood organizations to get out the vote, to press political changes beneficial to all women, to elect more women to office. We must help all women recognize that they must lead or get left behind. They must make democracy work for them. pcwe

Last May, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and I visited the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights in San Jose, Costa Rica. The organization was founded to defend and instill respect for human rights at a time when repressive regimes controlled the lives of many of the peoples of the Americas. Today, its new mission is to nurture the new constitutional governments and help citizens live the principles of democracy. Secretary Albright and I met with women activists and officials who told us that even though governments have changed, the task of protecting human rights, of educating women about the stake they hold in political participation remains as challenging as ever. A few years ago, the IIHR began a Gender and Human Rights Program to focus exclusively on protecting the rights of women in the Americas, educating them about their rights and promoting the principle that women's rights are indeed

human rights. Later this morning, I will be attending a ceremony announcing a \$x million USAID grant to support the work of this foundation.

Like IIHR, our work as individuals and as First Ladies of the Americas, is far from done. We must continue to make democracy mean something to everyone, to encourage and empower all women to take their rightful places in government, to use their talents to start businesses and pay back loans, to use their voices and votes to stop wars and elect presidents. And we cannot rest until we have repealed the laws, swept away the paralyzing webs of tradition and custom, stared down the forces of intimidation that stifle the potential of women and children, that keep nations from being truly democratic and fully free.

A few years ago, I did an interview for a Voice-Of-America call-in radio show. One caller asked me what I really meant when I said “Women’s rights are human rights and human rights are women’s rights” at the Beijing Conference. I told the caller to close his eyes and think of all the rights and privileges he enjoyed as a man. Then I asked him to imagine a world where every woman enjoyed those very same rights.

I know that if we all continue to work together, we can make that world reality.

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**AS DELIVERED REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE**

Santiago, Chile
October 13, 1995

Thank you Señor Rector for that very informative review of the relationships between our two countries and the special relationship with this university. I want to thank you and all of the distinguished platform guests, as well as this audience for the invitation to be here today.

A It is a great honor for me not only to be at the university, but to be here in Santiago. This is my first trip to South America, and I am delighted to have the chance to spend time here in this country, which represents so much hope and promise for democracy and prosperity in our region of the world.

(Get it) And I must say that I would like a copy of the speech that President Theodore Roosevelt gave here, because the challenge to sustain democracy continues. It is a challenge that we all must meet every day in our own countries, and I would like to learn from the wisdom of President Roosevelt.

When I woke up this morning and looked out my hotel window at the beautiful Andes, I understood immediately why every visitor to this country is so taken with its natural beauty. Everyone with whom I spoke before I started this trip told me that when I got to Chile, I would be overwhelmed, both by the beauty of the country, and the warmth of the people. That was certainly a prophecy that has come true.

I want to thank particularly President and Mrs. Frei for their gracious hospitality, for the time they have both spent with me, and for their interest in issues that directly affect the lives of women, children and families.

Being here at this university, I am reminded of what someone once said to me. That is that Chile's greatest export is its ideas. My first thought when I heard that was that every young person I know, by the time he or she graduates from high school, has read a poem by Neruda or by Mistral. In fact, my husband and I just celebrated our twentieth wedding anniversary a few days ago and one of the gifts he gave me was Neruda's twenty love poems, one for each year. And I brought them with me on this trip (applause).

Although the idea that your exporting of ideas refers first in the minds of so many to your great writers, poets, philosophers, and teachers who are known around the world, it also refers to an approach that you have developed here to political and economic reform, that has become a model for many nations on this continent and beyond. What we see occurring in Chile is the kind of progress that can be achieved when there is a genuine commitment to investing in people. And that means investing in education and training, health care and jobs, and respecting the right of every citizen, including women, to participate fully in the political life of a country.

Chile and the United States share a commitment to democracy, social justice, and equality of opportunity. And we are working together in many endeavors. And we have, as you have already heard from the Rector, been partners here at this university in the creation of the school of geology and the labor and organization department, and in faculty exchanges. Many of the efforts in joint scientific research are symbolic of the deeper partnership between our peoples.

Improving the quality of teaching and schooling has been a principal focus of investment in both our countries. And that makes sense, because education universally is a cornerstone of any strong and lasting democracy. I feel very strongly about this issue. Not only because education has played such an important role in my life and in the life of my husband. But because around the world we have seen how the acquisition of knowledge and skills can lift whole groups of people out of poverty and dependence and into self-reliance and prosperity.

I learned about this first hand when my husband was governor of his home state of Arkansas, one of the poorest states in our country. At the time he was first elected in 1978, Arkansas ranked almost at the bottom in national measures of education. For decades, there had been very little public support for schools. And there were very few resources with which to initiate reform.

When my husband asked me to become the chair of an education task force, I spent many days, and weeks and months traveling throughout the state, talking with parents and teachers, community and business leaders. And an extraordinary thing happened as the attention to education became better understood, as to how it related to providing for better lives and the livelihood for people who themselves had not had first hand experience with the full range of education. Businesses joined together with citizen groups to lobby the State Legislature in support of a special tax to raise money for education. That was unheard of, to ask for any kind of tax, let alone one for the public schools. But businesses, as they learned in Arkansas and around America, and as you have learned here in Chile, know that future success depends heavily on the availability of an educated and skilled workforce. And so businesses began to understand that better schools would mean better workers. And better workers would mean greater prosperity for individual families, communities, states, and nations.

Within a few years of that reform measure being approved, there were differences in the quality of teachers and schools. And students' performance began to improve, and eventually even the standard of living for many people. I tell you this story, because it mirrors so much of what we see going on around the world today, and what you have committed to doing here in Chile. What makes your situation so unusual and inspiring is that your country succeeded in returning to democracy, achieving lasting economic growth, and reducing the number of people living in poverty --all at the same time.

Would any of this have been possible if your nation had failed to invest in the education of its people?

You have kept alive the dream of upward mobility for people, and that will continue with the education reforms I heard about today from the Minister of Education. And your continued access to new markets where not only the ideas but the products of Chile will be joining the world economy. And your future accession to the North American Free Trade Agreement, which President Clinton is committed to achieving will strengthen the partnership not only between our two countries, but among the countries in this hemisphere.

Education has played a critical role in all of those movements, and also in our own country. I do not think the United States would have endured as the longest democratic nation without an educational tradition that began with the earliest colonial settlers, expanded to one-room schoolhouses on the western frontier and then created a nationwide system of public universities.

Throughout our hemisphere, we will continue to depend on today's students, and we will have to continue to invest in them. Because increasingly, education is central to all of our goals for a more prosperous, peaceful 21st century. But if we look honestly at our hemisphere today, we have to admit that barely half of the children in Latin America now finish elementary school. And far too few graduate from secondary school. For those of us from the United States and from Chile, where education is a priority and where so much progress has been made, we do have a stake in what happens in the childrens' lives throughout our hemisphere.

For that reason, government leaders participating in the Summit of the Americas in Miami last year agreed to create a hemispheric Partnership for Education Reform Alternatives. It is called PERA. It will bring together governments, development organizations, non-governmental organizations, and businesses to help reform education policies. That means that all nations will be pursuing a plan similar to the one you have adopted here to improve the quality of teaching and schools to raise educational standards, to improve the management of schools and, to strengthen the education of women and girls, which is a key to economic prosperity everywhere.

I am pleased to announce that the United States will help provide technical and financial support for this five-year project. And I know what that can mean throughout our hemisphere.

This morning I visited the M.E.C.E. (ed. note: Project to Improve Educational Quality and Equity) school not far from here with Mrs. Frei. It is a wonderful example of how the Chilean reform movement has improved the quality of education for students at all levels. I saw the computers and watched the children working on those computers. I heard a briefing about how the schools are now going to be open on Saturdays and maybe Sundays as well so that children and families where parents are working, or who have no alternatives for productive use of their time will be able to come back to school to learn some new and additional skills. This kind of reform movement and the kind of investment it represents is absolutely as clear a statement as any could be made about what your country really believes is important.

You have also been willing to experiment with new methods of teaching. You have not been content to stay with the old methods but to try new ways of persuading teachers to become more involved and committed, I hope that the model I saw today and others that are taking place throughout Chile will be replicated across the Americas. Because if we work on this issue together then we will see the quality of life and the standard of living throughout the hemisphere raised.

This is not just an issue for countries that are not concerned or have not been able to invest in education for all people. It has to be a constant concern even for countries like ours, where education has taken root. My husband believes that our nation must continue to invest in education and is determined to continue his efforts to promote life-long learning --pre school through university into the work force. Because the skills required in today's global economy are constantly changing, and people must be willing to change in order to be competitive.

Women → Now, of course, we know that education alone, even reformed education, such as you are undertaking here and that my husband is committed to in the United States will not guarantee social and political progress. As was made clear at last year's Miami Summit -- and made clear again at the International Women's Conference in Beijing -- democracy, prosperity and social progress cannot be sustained in countries where women and girls are not valued as full and equal partners in society.

Some of you, like me, had the privilege of attending the U.N. conference last month. It was an extraordinary coming together on issues that are critical to the lives of women and children.

There were some --in my country and elsewhere -- who doubted that such a conference could result in any call to action. But it did achieve a remarkable consensus about what is needed

to improve the lives of women around the world. More than 180 nations endorsed a document that sets forth specific proposals that if followed could make a difference.

As I said in Beijing, the single most important message echoing forth from that conference is that human rights are women's rights -- and women's rights are human rights. But we have to take that statement and the plan of action and move beyond both in order to implement what it is we know needs to be done to ensure that women and girls have the opportunities to fulfill their God-given potential in their homes, their schools, communities and workplaces.

This is particularly urgent because we have a diverging economy in the world today. Those who are educated, who are able to manipulate language and symbols will do very well in this new economy. Those who are not, will be left behind, and even further behind. Seventy percent of the world's poor are women; and women are two-thirds of those who cannot read or write. At the same time, women are busy every day doing much of the world's work -- everything from raising children to cooking meals, washing clothes, cleaning houses, planting crops, working on assembly lines, running companies and even running countries.

Women need and deserve what I sometimes call the tools of opportunity: access to education, to health care, credit and jobs, as well as legal protections and freedom from violence in their own homes as well as in the streets.

Education answers all of these needs, because it provides the basis for so many other opportunities in life. Women who are schooled are better able to take care of their own health and the health of their families; they are able to compete for better-paying jobs; they have more say over the direction of their own lives.

Just yesterday I stopped in Nicaragua, a nation that has started down the path to democracy and a market economy. The transition has been difficult and about half the population continues to live in poverty. The first stop I made though was a tiny bank in a barrio in Managua. It is run by 30 poor women who borrow modest amounts of money to invest in their own businesses. One woman told me she had started a bakery; another made mosquito netting; a third was a seamstress. Not only had these women organized themselves to improve their own circumstances, but by doing so they were improving the circumstances of their families and communities. One sign of their new self-esteem and determination was that they have a loan repayment rate of 100 percent. That would be the envy of many commercial banks that I am knowledgeable about.

These small and seemingly insignificant steps are changing lives and they will change nations. In fact, one of the women at the bank in Managua asked me about my trip to India last spring, because she knew I had visited a similar bank there. What she didn't know was that I will also be visiting a bank like that here in Santiago tomorrow before leaving.

micro credit

The movement for micro-credit, micro-enterprise, the capacity for credit to become available to women so that they themselves can become entrepreneurs, start small businesses is one of the most important opportunities any nation has to build its economy from the grassroots up while it is making macro-changes that will have national and international effects.

If we invest-in-people, while we continue to move forward with respect to democracy and prosperity, the rewards for all people will be spread more evenly and justly throughout the society.

A few hours ago, I had the opportunity to visit with Mrs. Frei a community center where I saw in action programs working with pre-school youngsters, with women and with couples to strengthen families, to make marriages more open and stable, so that couples together will commit themselves to their children's future. It was a wonderful example of how foundations here in this country are working to better the lives of children, women, and families by making these investment where it matters in their relationships, in their capacities, in their futures.

Mrs. Frei and I will be in Paraguay in a few days to participate in a conference of First Ladies from our hemisphere. Foremost on our minds, and the minds of our fellow participants, will be the very issues that have been so instrumental in your nation's return to democracy, its economic ascent, and the examples of social progress I have witnessed during my brief stay here.

And I know while I am at this conference I will think back to my visit here at this university, because the ideals that it represents are ideals that need to take root and take flower in every nation of our hemisphere. Ideals of education, free inquiry, public discourse. Those ideals are embodied firmly now in Chilean society. Your country is an example and a model for many others who are struggling still for their own democracies to take root and flower. It is a privilege for me to see what has been achieved, but I was especially honored to see that you are not resting on the laurels of the successes that can be pointed to. But that every day, whether it is a plan to reform education or to strengthen families, you understand that there are three legs to the stool for progress in the twenty first century: democracy, free market economies, and social investment. And this is one place the world can look to see a stool that is firmly grounded and that will provide a setting for future progress for all the people of this country.

Thank you for what you are doing, the example you are setting and for the partnership and friendship that you have with our country. Thank you very much. (Applause)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 5, 1995

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE UNITED NATIONS
FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN
BEIJING, CHINA**

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much Gertrude Mongella, for your dedicated work that has brought us to this point.

Distinguished delegates and guests, I would like to thank the Secretary General of the United Nations for inviting me to be part of this important United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. This is truly a celebration -- a celebration of the contributions women make in every aspect of life: in the home, on the job, in the community, as mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, learners, workers, citizens and leaders.

It is also a coming together, much the way women come together every day in every country.

We come together in fields and in factories. In village markets and supermarkets. In living rooms and board rooms.

Whether it is while playing with our children in the park, or washing clothes in a river, or taking a break at the office water cooler, we come together and talk about our aspirations and concerns. And time and again, our talk turns to our children and our families.

However different we may appear, there is far more that unites us than divides us. We share a common future. And we are here to find common ground so that we may help bring new dignity and respect to women and girls all over the world -- and in so doing, bring new strength and stability to families as well.

By gathering in Beijing, we are focusing world attention on issues that matter most in the lives of women and their families: access to education, health care, jobs, and credit, the chance to enjoy basic legal

and human rights and to participate fully in the political life of their countries.

There are some who question the reason for this conference.

Let them listen to the voices of women in their homes, neighborhoods, and workplaces.

There are some who wonder whether the lives of women and girls matter to economic and political progress around the globe. . . . Let them look at the women gathered here and at Hairou. . . . the homemakers, nurses, teachers, lawyers, policymakers, and women who run their own businesses.

It is conferences like this that compel governments and peoples everywhere to listen, look and face the world's most pressing problems.

Wasn't it after the women's conference in Nairobi ten years ago that the world focused for the first time on the crisis of domestic violence?

Earlier today, I participated in a World Health Organization forum. In that forum we talked about ways that where government officials, NGOs, and individual citizens are working on ways to address the health problems of women and girls.

Tomorrow, I will attend a gathering of the United Nations Development Fund for Women. There, the discussion will focus on local -- and highly successful -- programs that give hard-working women access to credit so they can improve their own lives and the lives of their families.

What we are learning around the world is that, if ~~women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. If women are free from violence, their families will flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish.~~

~~And when families flourish, communities and nations will flourish.~~

~~That is why every woman, every man, every child, every family, and every nation on our planet does have a stake in the discussion that takes place here.~~

Over the past 25 years, I have worked persistently on issues relating to women, children and families. Over the past two-and-a-half years, I have had the opportunity to learn more about the challenges facing

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women in my own country and around the world.

I have met new mothers in Indonesia, who come together regularly in their village to discuss nutrition, family planning, and baby care.

I have met working parents in Denmark who talk about the comfort they feel in knowing that their children can be cared for in creative, safe, and nurturing after-school centers.

I have met women in South Africa who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid and are now helping build a new democracy.

I have met with the leading women of my own hemisphere who are working every day to promote literacy and better health care for the children in their countries.

I have met women in India and Bangladesh who are taking out small loans to buy milk cows, rickshaws, thread and other materials to create a livelihood for themselves and their families.

I have met doctors and nurses in Belarus and Ukraine who are trying to keep children alive in the aftermath of Chernobyl.

The great challenge of this conference is to give voice to women everywhere whose experiences go unnoticed, whose words go unheard.

Women comprise more than half the world's population. Women are 70% percent of the world's poor, and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write.

Women are the primary caretakers for most of the world's children and elderly. Yet much of the work we do is not valued -- not by economists, not by historians, not by popular culture, not by government leaders.

At this very moment, as we sit here, women around the world are giving birth, raising children, cooking meals, washing clothes, cleaning houses, planting crops, working on assembly lines, running companies, and running countries.

Women also are dying from diseases that should have been prevented or treated; they are watching their children succumb to malnutrition caused by poverty and economic deprivation; they are being denied the right

to go to school by their own fathers and brothers; they are being forced into prostitution, and they are being barred from the bank lending office and banned from the ballot box.

Those of us who have the opportunity to be here have the responsibility to speak for those who could not.

As an American, I want to speak up for women in my own country -- women who are raising children on the minimum wage, women who can't afford health care or child care, women whose lives are threatened by violence, including violence in their own homes.

I want to speak up for mothers who are fighting for good schools, safe neighborhoods, clean air and clean airwaves. . .

. . .for older women, some of them widows, who have raised their families and now find that their skills and life experiences are not valued in the workplace. . . for women who are working all night as nurses, hotel clerks, and fast food chefs so that they can be at home during the day with their kids. . . and for women everywhere who simply don't have time to do everything they are called upon to do each day.

Speaking to you today, I speak for them, just as each of us speaks for women around the world who are denied the chance to go to school, or see a doctor, or own property, or have a say about the direction of their lives, simply because they are women.

The truth is that most women around the world work both inside and outside the home, usually by necessity.

We need to understand that there is no one formula for how women should lead their lives.

That is why we must respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family. Every woman deserves the chance to realize her God-given potential.

We also must recognize that women will never gain full dignity until their human rights are respected and protected.

Our goals for this conference, to strengthen families and societies by empowering women to take greater control over their own destinies, cannot be fully achieved unless all governments -- here and around the world -- accept their responsibility to

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protect and promote internationally recognized human rights.

The international community has long acknowledged -- and recently affirmed at Vienna -- that both women and men are entitled to a range of protections and personal freedoms, from the right of personal security to the right to determine freely the number and spacing of the children they bear.

No one should be forced to remain silent for fear of religious or political persecution, arrest, abuse or torture.

Tragically, women are most often the ones whose human rights are violated.

Even in the late 20th century, the rape of women continues to be used as an instrument of armed conflict. Women and children make up a large majority of the world's refugees. And when women are excluded from the political process, they become even more vulnerable to abuse.

I believe that, on the eve of a new millennium, it is time to break our silence. It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights.

These abuses have continued because, for too long, the history of women has been a history of silence. Even today, there are those who are trying to silence our words.

The voices of this conference and of the women at Hairou must be heard loud and clear:

It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls.

It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution.

It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small.

It is a violation of human rights when individual women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war.

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It is a violation of human rights when a leading cause of death worldwide among women ages 14 to 44 is the violence they are subjected to in their own homes by their own relatives.

It is a violation of human rights when young girls are brutalized by the painful and degrading practice of genital mutilation.

It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will.

If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, let it be that human rights are women's rights. . . . And women's rights are human rights, once and for all.

Let us not forget that among those rights are the right to speak freely. And the right to be heard.

Women must enjoy the right to participate fully in the social and political lives of their countries if we want freedom and democracy to thrive and endure.

It is indefensible that many women in non-governmental organizations who wished to participate in this conference have not been able to attend -- or have been prohibited from fully taking part.

Let me be clear. Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize, and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them, or denying them their freedom or dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions.

In my country, we recently celebrated the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage. It took 150 years after the signing of our Declaration of Independence for women to win the right to vote.

It took 72 years of organized struggle on the part of many courageous women and men.

It was one of America's most divisive philosophical wars. But it was also a bloodless war. Suffrage was achieved without a shot fired.

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We have also been reminded, in V-J Day observances last weekend, of the good that comes when men and women join together to combat the forces of tyranny and build a better world.

We have seen peace prevail in most places for a half century. We have avoided another world war.

But we have not solved older, deeply-rooted problems that continue to diminish the potential of half the world's population.

Now it is time to act on behalf of women everywhere.

If we take bold steps to better the lives of women, we will be taking bold steps to better the lives of children and families too.

Families rely on mothers and wives for emotional support and care; families rely on women for labor in the home; and increasingly, families rely on women for income needed to raise healthy children and care for other relatives.

As long as discrimination and inequities remain so commonplace around everywhere in the world -- as long as girls and women are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, not schooled and subjected to violence in and out of their homes -- the potential of the human family to create a peaceful, prosperous world will not be realized.

Let this conference be our -- and the world's -- call to action.

Let us heed the call so that we can create a world in which every woman is treated with respect and dignity, every boy and girl is loved and cared for equally, and every family has the hope of a strong and stable future.

That is the work before you, that is the work before all of us, who have a vision of the world we want to see for our children and our grandchildren. The time is now. We must move beyond rhetoric, we must move beyond recognition of problems, to working together, to have the common efforts to build that common ground we hope to see.

God's blessings on you, your work and all who will benefit from it. Godspeed and thank you very much.

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what is happening in America today. In today's society, the scapegoat is poor children and their parents. And somehow, we think we can rid ourselves of all our social problems by scapegoating children and exiling them to a wilderness of greater poverty and homelessness.

So today, we find ourselves at a crucial moment in our own history, when the very notion of what we stand for as a society is at stake. Our constitution reminds us that the twin purposes of government are to secure the blessings of liberty and to establish justice. And as the President said last year in the Proclamation for National Legal Services Week, "The very nature of justice demands that it be available to all. True justice cannot be rationed, it cannot be afforded to some while others are denied the full benefit of their rights. Our Founders understood that privilege and responsibility are inextricably linked. The words 'equal justice under the law,' inscribed over the portal of our nation's highest court, represent a sound promise made to every American." I hope all of you will be sure that your voices are heard over the next weeks and months. Because all of us need those voices, but particularly the clients and the potential clients are counting on you. I hope all of you will help remind America that Legal Services is not just about providing legal help, but about offering proof that the American Dream is a promise we are still committed to fulfilling.

Let me conclude by offering a prayer by the South African poet, Alan Payton (phonetic). It seems fitting tonight, and it seems a little sad to me that it does. Here's what he said.

"Open my eyes that I may see the needs of others.
Open my ears that I may hear their cries.
Open my heart so that they need not be without succor.
Let me not be afraid to defend the weak because of the
 anger of the strong.
Nor afraid to defend the poor because of the anger of
 the rich.
Show me where love and hope and faith are needed and
 use me to bring them to those places.
So open my eyes and my ears that I may this coming day
 be able to do some work of peace for Thee.

Protecting legal services for those who need the help of lawyers is a historic cause, and with your help we will continue America's commitment to justice, so that all of us in our own way will be servants of justice. Thank you very much. (Applause)

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