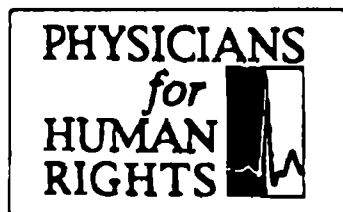


FAX Cover Sheet

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6 pages

Date: No. of Pages (incl. cover):

To: *Christy May*

Fax Number:

From:

Holly Burkhalter

Message:

PHYSICIANS for HUMAN RIGHTS



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12/7/98

Christy Macy
The White House

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How nice that somebody I know is working on this important speech for 12/10. Len Rubenstein, my boss, told me that you'd had a chance to talk about it. I had lunch with Theresa Loar, the Women's Rights Coordinator, and she also encouraged me to get in touch with the White House about the issues.

I am told by Len that you won't be doing hard policy recommendations, but if it is possible to stress the following themes, it would be great:

1. Women's most fundamental human rights are being violated in Afghanistan by the Taliban. The discrimination is so intense -- they can't work or go to school or have access to medical care -- that it is life threatening. Kabul is a city of widows, and they have been denied their very means of providing for themselves and their children by being prohibited from working.
2. Discrimination against women has created a health and human rights crisis for them. Physicians for Human Rights's women's health survey found that a shocking 97% of those we interviewed met the diagnostic criteria for clinical depression. When women are deeply depressed (over their enforced idleness, their worry over providing for their kids, their terror of human rights violations) they are sick and their kids are, too.
3. The world must recognize the gravity of Afghanistan's human rights crisis and take immediate steps to address it. The U.S. should come up with funding for health care and schooling for women and girls both in the Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan and within Afghanistan itself, working through local humanitarian groups which provide services directly to women and girls. The U.S. could start by offering to build a first rate women's hospital, to be run and staffed by Afghan women themselves, and then pressure the Taliban to accept it.

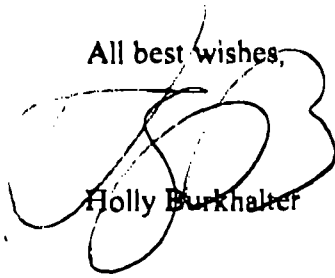
Len said that you were also interested in Zohra Rasekh, my PHR colleague who carried out our work in Afghanistan. She is an Afghan-American who came to the U.S. as a teenager. She is an American citizen and public health expert who conducted this survey in Farsi. She is brilliant, beautiful, and brave. I would like it very much if she could be included in any event involving the First Lady, as a way of dramatizing Afghanistan's human rights and women's health crisis.

1986
10th
ANNIVERSARY
1996

AN ORGANIZATION
OF HEALTH
PROFESSIONALS,
SCIENTISTS AND
CONCERNED CITIZENS

Thanks for your interest. If you'd like to discuss this further, please call me at 547-9881.

All best wishes,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'HB' or similar, written over the printed name.

Holly Burkhalter

PHYSICIANS for HUMAN RIGHTS



FOUNDING MEMBER,
INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN
TO BAN LANDMINES;
CO-RECIPIENT OF THE
1997 NUBEL PEACE PRIZE

Strictly Embargoed for Release, 12:30 am EST. Wednesday August 5, '98

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PHYSICIAN GROUP'S UNPRECEDENTED STUDY CALLS TALIBAN WAR ON WOMEN A HEALTH AND HUMAN RIGHTS CRISIS IN AFGHANISTAN

Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) today released a report of a survey that documents for the first time the widespread physical and psychological suffering inflicted on the women of Afghanistan by the Taliban regime. The survey of 160 women and accompanying in-depth interviews with 40 women show how a society in which women played a prominent role in the health professions, in government, and in teaching, has been replaced by one where:

- women are regularly and brutally beaten for walking on the street without a male chaperone or without a garment (burqa) that covers their bodies from head to toe;
- women who once contributed to the support of their families have become destitute, and must now beg because they are forbidden from working;
- women cannot obtain health care from many facilities and cannot be examined by a male doctor without a chaperone; yet female doctors and nurses are severely restricted from practicing, and many have fled the country; and
- schools for women and girls have closed their doors, with the exception of Qur'anic training for girls under eight, leaving the female population hopeless about their futures.

The report provides the first-ever opportunity for a broad range of Afghan women, whose voices have been silenced by the regime, to describe in detail their health and human rights concerns under Taliban rule since September 1996 when the group's forces took control of Kabul. The 109-page report, *The Taliban's War on Women: A Health and Human Rights Crisis in Afghanistan*, is being published to coincide with an article summarizing the health findings of the PHR survey in the August 5 issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (JAMA).

PHR's health and human rights survey revealed that seventy-one percent of participants experienced a decline in their physical health over the past two years. 87% percent of the forty women interviewed in-depth reported a decrease in their access to health services, citing reasons such as: economic hardship (61%), no female doctor available (48%), restrictions in women's mobility (36%), no

- more -

chaperone available (27%), hospital refused to provide care (21%), and not owning a *burqa* (6%). In addition, 53% of women described occasions in which they were seriously ill and unable to seek medical care.

Participants in the health and human rights survey also reported extraordinarily high levels of mental stress and depression, with 81% reporting a decline in their mental condition over the past two years. 42% met the diagnostic criteria for post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), 97% exhibited major depression and 86% demonstrated significant symptoms of anxiety. 21% indicated that they had suicidal thoughts "extremely often" or "quite often".

The survey demonstrates that harassment and physical abuse of Afghan women and their family members by Taliban officials is extremely common in Kabul. 69% of women reported that they or a family member had been detained in Kabul by Taliban religious police or security forces. Of the respondents who were detained, 72% followed non-adherence to the Taliban's dress code for women.

A physician interviewed by PHR said, "*[The Taliban] beat my husband and myself, because we were working in the same clinic, and they wanted me to shut down the clinic and not work. When I tried to reason with them, they beat me and told me that they would hang me if I showed up again in the clinic.*"

While the Taliban regime claims that their restrictions on women are mandated by a strict interpretation of Islamic law, neither Muslim scholars, nor the women themselves agree. More than 95% of survey respondents stated that women should have equal access to education, equal work, and freedom of expression and movement. More than 95% disagreed with Taliban dress codes and did not believe that the teachings of Islam mandated such restrictions.

Women's fear of being publicly beaten or arrested by the Taliban for being on the street or for not wearing the all-enveloping *burqa*, discourages many of them from even attempting to seek health care. One woman interviewed by PHR was mourning the recent death of her 20-year-old daughter, who had suffered stomach pains for days but could not be taken out because her mother did not possess a *burqa*. Another study participant related how her mother's elderly aunt, was flogged by Taliban police because her ankle was showing from under the *burqa*. She was beaten with a metal cable and her ankle was broken.

According to one of the doctors PHR interviewed, the wearing of the *burqa* itself may contribute to health problems, such as poor vision and hearing, skin rash, headaches, asthma, alopecia (hair loss) and depression.

PHR learned that the Taliban requirement that male physicians may not treat women unaccompanied by close male relatives, has wreaked havoc on the lives of women who do not have male relatives to play this role, particularly for the more than 30,000 widows in Kabul. One woman interviewed by PHR stated: "*I can't see a male doctor since I don't have a chaperone to accompany me; my brother is too young and my father is ill.*" Widows and unaccompanied women are also gravely affected by a Taliban decree of July 20, 1997, which states that women can not pick up food or other aid from distribution centers unless accompanied by a male relative.

- more -

next generation

An Afghan physician described declining nutrition in children, an increasing rate of tuberculosis, and a high prevalence of other infectious diseases among women and children. A 35-year-old professional woman told PHR, "There are no qualified doctors, no medication, and no medical equipment. The patients are not treated properly." An Afghan pharmacist told PHR that most experienced and qualified physicians have left the country and that many medicines are adulterated. A female physician stated, "The training of female physicians has been halted completely so there is no way there will be women doctors for future generations."

next generation

Study participants told PHR how male physicians cannot properly examine women patients because of prohibitions on touching them or looking at their bodies. A dentist said he only examined a woman's teeth if a lookout was posted at the door while he lifted her veil. He told PHR that if he were caught treating a woman, he and his patient would be beaten, and the authorities would likely close his office and throw him in jail. The PHR researcher learned that Taliban guards are ever present in medical facilities and may beat female health personnel who are not covered completely.

Afghanistan's history of civil war and anarchy has contributed to the perception outside Afghanistan that while the Taliban is repressive, at least it has stopped the war and ended violent crimes in the capital. PHR strongly rejects this assessment. "That Taliban officials now claim to be 'restoring peace' to Afghanistan is perhaps one of the cruelest ironies of our time, as they have virtually imprisoned Afghan women in their homes and threatened their very survival", said PHR Executive Director Leonard Rubenstein.

The PHR report calls on the international community to reconsider the situation of Afghanistan and take action aimed at securing a representative government, which is committed to international human rights standards, including the equal rights of women. The organization states that those governments that support the Taliban, notably Pakistan, should be publicly called upon to end their support for the regime. PHR also urges a moratorium on corporate investment in the country, including by the consortium of companies who are proposing a major oil and gas pipeline there. PHR calls on the U.S. to oppose a claim by the Taliban for a seat at the United Nations as the government of Afghanistan. PHR also criticizes the UN's Memorandum of Understanding with the Taliban, which acknowledges that access for women to health care and education in Afghanistan must be "gradual".

The Boston-based medical human rights group undertook the three-month study of women's health and human rights concerns and conditions in Afghanistan at the beginning of 1998. PHR health researcher, Zohra Rasekh, interviewed 160 Afghan women living in the Afghan capital of Kabul and in refugee settings in Pakistan, using a 101-question survey instrument developed with PHR Senior Medical Consultant, Vincent Iacopino, M.D., Ph.D. The researcher also conducted in-depth interviews with 40 Afghan women and interviewed humanitarian assistance providers, health personnel and other experts.

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Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) is an organization of health professionals, scientists, and concerned citizens that uses the knowledge and skills of the medical and forensic sciences to investigate and prevent violations of international human rights and humanitarian law. Since its founding in 1986, PHR has conducted dozens of investigations in countries throughout the world into torture, political killings, prison conditions and the health consequences of armed conflict. As a founding member of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, PHR shared in the 1997 Nobel Peace Prize.

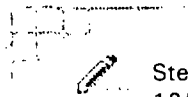


Katharine Button
12/07/98 12:39:55 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Christine N. Macy/WHO/EOP
cc:
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----- Forwarded by Katharine Button/WHO/EOP on 12/07/98 12:40 PM -----



Steven J. Naplan
12/07/98 12:38:49 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Phillip Caplan/WHO/EOP, Sean P. Maloney/WHO/EOP
cc: Katharine Button/WHO/EOP, Ann F. Lewis/WHO/EOP, George G. Caudill/WHO/EOP
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Please share whatever final language you use for the actual certificates so that I may put that very same language into the Fact Sheet that will be released after the event. Also, George Caudill will need to share the final language you choose to use with the mil aid who will read the actual citations at the event.

Also, please advise once WH counsel has formally vetted and approved the awardees.

Robert Bernstein has dedicated his life to giving voice to the voiceless. His human rights activism began in 1971, when he traveled to the Soviet Union as the head of Random House. As a result of that trip, he began publishing banned works from all over the world. He subsequently founded the Association of American Publishers' International Freedom to Publish Committee and the Fund for Free Expression. In 1978, he founded Helsinki Watch to monitor human rights in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Americas Watch followed in 1981, and other Watch committees were organized to cover every region of the globe. In 1987, Mr. Bernstein brought these groups together to form Human Rights Watch, which has grown from a small group of concerned citizens to a large professional organization determined to oppose human rights violations wherever they occur. We honor him today for a life devoted to the active defense of freedom throughout the world.

For forty years **John Lewis** has been at the vanguard of civil rights activism in the United States. As a leader of organizations like the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Voter Education Program, and later as a member of the Atlanta City Council and the U.S. House of Representatives, he has educated and mobilized generations of young Americans in the crusade against injustice. Through sit-ins, freedom rides, protest marches and voter registration drives in the 1960s, he came to symbolize the courage and dedication of thousands of activists fighting for equal rights under the law. He often did so at no small personal risk, suffering more than forty arrests, physical attacks, and severe injuries in the course of his activism. Yet he never deviated from his firm commitment to peaceful change through non-violent direct action, and his perseverance led to a sea change in the way Americans treat each other. We honor him today for his uncompromising heroism in the face of bigotry, and his unswerving commitment to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Born in China, raised in the United States, **Bette Bao Lord** has dedicated her life to the defense of liberty. Since 1991, she has served as Chairman of Freedom House, which was founded by Eleanor Roosevelt and others to serve as "freedom's advocate around the world." Her leadership has revitalized and expanded the work of Freedom House, in the process strengthening the democratic revolution that has swept the world over the past ten years. Her vigorous support for democracy has brought together non-governmental and governmental leaders, leaders of political parties and grassroots activists in the common struggle for freedom. Somehow, she has also found time to author five books, including *Legacies: A Chinese Mosaic*, the story of the time she spent in China in the years leading to the Tiananmen Spring of 1989. In that work, Mrs. Lord tells of a boy who flies a vermilion kite each day so that his imprisoned father will not lose hope. Her work has similarly sustained countless others. We honor her today not just for her own activism but for raising a high standard for thousands of other human rights and democracy activists around the world.

Active on the national scene as a writer and lecturer, **Dorothy Q.**

Thomas has played a leading role in efforts to define and defend women's rights around the world. In 1990, she founded the Women's Rights Division at Human Rights Watch, where she raised international awareness of state-sponsored violence and discrimination against women. The horrors she helped to uncover and document - forced prostitution, female genital mutilation, and the use of systematic rape as a weapon in war - forced the international community to rethink its conception of human rights. At the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, her leadership forced new recognition of women's rights and secured the inclusion of crimes against women in emerging conceptions of international humanitarian law. More recently, she has pushed for the application of international standards to women's rights in the United States. We honor her today for her courageous advocacy of women's rights as basic human rights.

November 4, 1998

Office of the Senior Coordinator
for International Women's Issues

WOMEN AND GIRLS IN AFGHANISTAN

Taliban restrictions

- There has been rapid deterioration of the situation of women and girls in Afghanistan since the Taliban became a military and political force in late 1994. In the 1980s, a growing number of Afghan women, particularly in urban areas, worked outside the home in nontraditional roles. There were female lawyers, judges and doctors in Kabul. This trend was reversed in 1992. This backward trend significantly intensified with the Taliban takeover of Kabul in the fall of 1996. Women and schoolgirls were compelled to stay at home. Women's public bathhouses, which served an important social function as a gathering place for women as well as the chief means of maintaining personal hygiene, were shut down. As a result, women and girls became, and remain today, virtually invisible.
- When the Taliban took control of Kabul in September 1996, they immediately issued edicts forbidding women to work, including female doctors and nurses in hospitals. They later relented on female health workers allowing doctors and nurses to work but under extremely restricted circumstances. Women were discouraged from going outside the home unaccompanied by a male relative. If they did appear in public, they were required to wear a traditional long robe called the "burqa" covering them from head to toe. A small mesh covered opening about three inches square provides the only means to see. A number of women have been struck and killed by cars because of their restricted vision under the burqa. Women have been targeted by the Taliban "religious police" and often beaten, sometimes brutally, on the street for failure to wear the burqa; for allowing a bit of ankle to show under the burqa; or for making noise when they walk. Women who do not have a burqa have had to buy one. This imposes an additional punishment on women who have already lost their jobs for simply being women.
- Before the Taliban, women in Kabul worked as teachers, nurses, physicians, pharmacists, judges and other jobs in society. Since the Taliban have forbidden almost all of them to work outside the home, except for a few health care professionals, they are now relegated to unemployment, destitution and begging.
- The Taliban closed all schools for girls. Despite this, home-based schools were quietly operated by female teachers who lost their jobs in the Taliban crackdown. The Taliban earlier this year, however, ordered closure of all private home-based schools for girls in Kabul, though we understand some were allowed to reopen. We are deeply disturbed by the Taliban's restrictions on girls' education and have made our feelings

clear, both through diplomatic channels and publicly via a VOA editorial, urging that the girls' schools be speedily allowed to reopen.

- The impact of Taliban restrictions on women is most acutely felt in cities such as Herat and Kabul where there are numbers of educated and professional women, compared with rural areas where women do chores, tend animals, get water and fire wood and, when in the fields, do not wear burqas. At one time before the Taliban takeover, Kabul University reportedly had about 8,000 women students while thousands of professional women worked in different capacities in the city. In Herat, about 3,000 women reportedly lost their jobs after the Taliban took control.
- The Taliban edicts have been especially hard on war widows (there are over 30,000 in Kabul). Some of them are the sole providers of the family. They now cannot work and many are reduced to begging on the streets to feed their children.
- Women's access to medical services and hospitals has been drastically reduced. Taliban authorities initially directed hospitals to cease services to women and discharge female staff. This order was later modified to allow for emergency care for women in all Kabul hospitals and non-emergency care in only a few hospitals. However, in one instance, a woman burn victim died after Taliban authorities would not allow her to be treated by a male doctor.
- Under the Taliban regime in Kabul, women and girls cannot visit a doctor unless a male relative accompanies them. They may only be seen by female doctors. Even if a woman is accompanied by a male relative, treatment is limited. Male doctors are not allowed to do surgical procedures, even if a female patient's life is at stake.
- There are credible reports of women severely injured in a car accident being refused treatment in five hospitals because they were females; a woman dying from appendicitis after being turned away by two hospitals because she was a woman; women with diabetes being turned away in an effort to obtain insulin at clinics and dying shortly thereafter; and a young woman dying at home without being taken to see a doctor because her mother did not possess a burqa for her to wear and could not afford to buy one.
- Taliban authorities have forbidden landmine awareness instruction for women and older girls. Young girls and boys are requested to teach their mothers and sisters at home. Landmine injuries for women and girls have increased.
- In summing up the hopelessness felt by the Afghan women, one woman reportedly said that she preferred the rocket attacks and the fighting to the current situation under Taliban, because a rocket or a bomb may kill all members of a family at once, but life under the Taliban is a slow death, which is more painful.

- Women are not merely discriminated against in Afghanistan. They are being brutalized and made invisible by the edicts and punishment inflicted on them simply for being women.
- At the time women are moving forward in most other countries of the world, the Taliban have pushed Afghan women backwards. Since the 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, there has been increasing agreement in the international community on the importance of women's human rights. The situation in Afghanistan presents us with a test of this principle. This is a pivotal moment for human rights. If the international community is steadfast and united in its resolve, the human rights of women will prevail and the lives of women and girls in Afghanistan will go forward.

United States diplomatic efforts.

- Promoting the observance of human rights, particularly the rights of women and girls, is one of our highest foreign policy priorities in Afghanistan. We continue to press the Taliban and its supporters in public and private, at senior levels to extend equitable and humanitarian treatment to women and girls.
- We call upon the Taliban to lift its restrictions on the mobility and employment of women, the schooling of girls and access to medical facilities and medical care. We also call upon the Taliban and all factions to abide by internationally-accepted norms of human rights. We consult with other interested governments and continually raise this issue in international fora - UN General Assembly, UN Human Rights Commission, UN Commission on the Status of Women, etc.
- The United States is neutral toward the various Afghan factions fighting in that country, but our neutrality does not extend to violations of international norms of behavior. We condemn Taliban human rights violations, particularly against women and girls. We do not plan to recognize any government unless it is broad-based, representative of all Afghans and respects international norms of behavior in human rights, including the human rights of women and girls and minorities.
- In our efforts to promote peace in Afghanistan, the United States has taken a leadership role in the region and in the United Nations.
- We believe the United Nations is central to the peace process and we support the efforts of the Secretary General's Special Envoy, Ambassador Lakhdar Brahimi, and the work of the UN Special Mission to Afghanistan. We participate in the Group of Six Plus Two (the six countries bordering Afghanistan: Pakistan, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and China, plus the U.S. and Russia) in a serious attempt to see how progress can be made toward a peaceful negotiated settlement.
- We have actively worked with the UN humanitarian agencies to ensure access to these programs by women and girls.

- Secretary of State Madeleine Albright attended a special Ministerial-level of the Six Plus Two at the United Nations on September 21 to emphasize our commitment to this process. The points of common understanding call on the Taliban to fully respect human rights, including the rights of women and girls.
- We have raised the situation in Afghanistan with countries that have indicated support for the Taliban such as Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.
- Our message to all factions within Afghanistan is the same: cease fire, negotiate, work with the UN and respect international norms of behavior, including the rights of women and girls.

Lois Gochner Nov. 4, 1998

Wretched Art They Amongst Women

The Washington Post, Washington, D.C.; Aug 5, 1998; Nora Boustany;

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Column Name: DIPLOMATIC DISPATCHES
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Subject Terms: Human rights
Women
Sex discrimination
Geographic Names: Afghanistan
Companies: Taliban-Afghanistan
Abstract:

There can be few greater injustices than denying to human beings in the abyss of despair the opportunity to help themselves. In the case of the women under Taliban rule in Afghanistan, many of them widowed or otherwise left to their own devices because of the continuing civil war there, this is an understatement.

In one of the most disturbing and extensive surveys of the plight of women yet to emerge from that troubled nation, a report released today by the group Physicians for Human Rights exposes the punitive measures inflicted on Afghan women of all ages. Entitled "The Taliban's War on Women," the report includes firsthand accounts and interviews detailing the everyday impact of the conservative Islamic movement's policies of discrimination that undermine the health, well-being and economic survival of their female citizens. The Taliban has imposed what they characterize as a strict version of Islamic law in the 80 percent of the country they control.

Despite international admonishment, requests by U.S. officials to the Taliban to ease its suppression of women, the group ordered on June 16 the closing of more than 100 privately funded schools and projects at which thousands of young women and girls were receiving training that would have helped them support their families and themselves. The prohibition against women working -- with the exception of health care personnel employed by international organizations -- has driven many to destitution and begging, the report noted.

Full Text:

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"As a widow, I have no support system in this society, and I am about to lose my mind," said one woman interviewed for the report. "I barely survive without any support or income. There are beatings for showing up in public without a male chaperon or {for} showing your face." Worst of all is not being allowed to work, she added. Physicians for Human Rights researcher Zohra Rasekh said she witnessed two public beatings of women in Kabul, the Afghan capital.

Another widow interviewed, now a refugee in Pakistan, said she preferred the rocket attacks of the civil

war to life under the Taliban: "A rocket or a bomb may kill all members of a family at once, but this is a slow death, which is more painful."

Another woman whose husband died in the factional fighting had this to say: "This was the most bitter part of my life, losing the man of my life. I wanted to die too. But because of my child, I had to live to take care of him. . . . {The Taliban} took away the only thing that kept me from losing my mind -- my job and my income. I lost my income, my future and almost my sanity."

Said yet another: "My mother's aunt, an elderly woman, was flogged by a Taliban militia member because her ankle was showing. She was beaten with a metal cable, and her leg was broken."

Taliban officials who come to Washington and New York to lobby for diplomatic recognition and aid deny that women under their control are held to inflexible rules of dress. But Afghan women told researchers that they cannot go out shopping or even to a doctor without being covered from head to toe and without a male chaperon. "Any slight divergence from the dress code results in beating," the report quoted one woman as saying. "We live in terror."

The report stresses that women's fear of being publicly beaten or arrested on the street by Taliban enforcers discourages many of them from seeking health care. One woman interviewed was mourning her 20-year-old daughter, who had suffered stomach pains for days before she died. She said she was unable to take the young woman for treatment because she herself did not own a burqa, a head-to-toe covering with a mesh cloth through which to see and breathe.

Windows of houses and buildings in public view must be painted over if females are present in the household, according to Taliban edicts, and women are not allowed to wear white socks or shoes, the color of the Taliban flag, or shoes that make noise.

In September of last year, all hospitals in Kabul were ordered to suspend medical services to the city's half-million women, except for one poorly equipped clinic. At the time, the temporary Rabia Balhi facility had 35 beds, no clean water, no electricity, surgical equipment or X-ray machines, no suction devices or oxygen. Two months later, after negotiations with the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Taliban partially rescinded the directive and reopened some hospitals to women with a limited number of beds. But their regulations still prohibit women from moving about freely and interfere with the delivery of health services, the report noted.

At the only maternity hospital in Kabul, Maiwand, Rasekh saw seven to eight beds to a room, and in one room two patients shared one bed. Women housed at Rabia Balkhi clinic said they had received no medical attention, and one told her she had not been attended to for 10 days.

Physicians for Human Rights recommended that a U.N. Memorandum of Understanding with the Taliban be rescinded and renegotiated. The group also urged humanitarian aid providers to reconsider their priorities with respect to women's health and human rights issues and to make every effort to overcome barriers to humanitarian aid for women.

The group also called for a moratorium on investment in Afghanistan, which is directly and indirectly assisting the Taliban regime. This includes oil and gas pipelines projects proposed by a consortium of multinational corporations -- among them UNOCAL, based in California, and Bidas of Argentina.

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Half a Nation, Condemned

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Abstract:

Consider this fatal catch-22. By order of the Taliban, the extremist Islamic movement that controls most of the country, Afghan women are not allowed to work or go to school. That means female doctors, with very few exceptions, cannot practice, and women who want to be doctors cannot be trained. But male doctors are not allowed to see or touch the bodies of female patients. Thus, health care for most women has effectively vanished. Women and girls, including babies, are dying needlessly from illnesses that are left untreated.

Physicians for Human Rights, which shared the 1997 Nobel Peace Prize for its role in the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, recently concluded a study of the conditions confronting the women of Afghanistan under the rule of the Taliban.

Full Text:

Copyright New York Times Company Oct 8, 1998

Even as we overdose on the coverage of the frenzied, sex-based madness in Washington, the tragic subjugation of nearly the entire female population of Afghanistan goes scarcely noticed.

Consider this fatal catch-22. By order of the Taliban, the extremist Islamic movement that controls most of the country, Afghan women are not allowed to work or go to school. That means female doctors, with very few exceptions, cannot practice, and women who want to be doctors cannot be trained. But male doctors are not allowed to see or touch the bodies of female patients. Thus, health care for most women has effectively vanished. Women and girls, including babies, are dying needlessly from illnesses that are left untreated.

Physicians for Human Rights, which shared the 1997 Nobel Peace Prize for its role in the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, recently concluded a study of the conditions confronting the women of Afghanistan under the rule of the Taliban.

The executive director, Leonard Rubenstein, said in an interview yesterday, "We are not aware of any place in the world in recent history where women have so systematically been deprived of every opportunity to survive in the society -- from working to getting an education to walking on the street to getting health care."

The researchers, in their report, described Kabul, the Afghan capital, as a city of beggars, with "women who had once been teachers and nurses now moving in the streets like ghosts under their enveloping burqas, selling every possession and begging so as to feed their children."

They said the restrictions on the examination and treatment of sick and injured women had reached "extreme dimensions." They wrote:

"[Physicians for Human Rights] interviewed a male physician and asked how he would treat an ailing woman patient. He indicated that in some cases a male relative could point on his own body to places where the patient felt pain, and he would prescribe medication for the male relative to procure for her."

A woman who ran a clinic with her husband was ordered by the Taliban to shut it down. She told a

Physicians for Human Rights researcher: "When I tried to reason with them, they beat me and told me that they would hang me if I showed up again at the clinic."

The clinic was closed "within 24 hours."

Zohra Rasekh, a senior health researcher and one of the authors of the report, was chased by a young man wielding a metal cable because her wrists had been exposed in public. She said she narrowly escaped a beating.

Inevitably, large numbers of women and girls are finding themselves in desperately poor health. A woman was reported to have died of appendicitis after she was turned away from two hospitals. Researchers were told in separate interviews of two women who had diabetes and were denied insulin at a clinic. Both were reported to have died.

A nurse told researchers that many women were dying at home during labor. A pharmacist said, "It is very difficult for pregnant women since male doctors are prohibited from seeing pregnant women and performing delivery. A lot of pregnant women die at home and in hospitals and clinics."

Major depression and other psychiatric disorders are widespread. A sense of hopelessness prevails, and suicide is a growing problem.

Said one young woman: "Two years ago I graduated from Kabul University, but now the university door is closed to all female students. Afghan women have no rights today. They are all walking dead."

Women's rights groups in the United States, led by the Feminist Majority Foundation, are trying to mount a campaign on behalf of the women in Afghanistan. They are modeling the campaign on the worldwide effort that helped bring down the system of racial apartheid in South Africa.

"It's so horrific," said Eleanor Smeal, president of the foundation. "We thought that as a group if we could not arouse the public on this, then what are we talking about when we say that women are going forward?"

"We have to care about this. I mean, to what level can women be reduced? What's O.K.? If this is O.K., it means we become this class of people that you can do anything to."

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*Washington Post, The (DC), September 27, 1998, p. A1.***Into the Land of the Taliban****From Kabul to Kandahar, Militia Inspires Devotion -- and Fear**

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Author: Pamela Constable

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"Are you sure you want to take the risk?" The Pakistani border official, about to stamp the exit visa, stops with his hand in midair. "Those people are not educated. They may act before they think. And you might suffocate under one of those veils." He grins darkly, then tosses back the stamped passport.

Across the border lies Afghanistan, a country nearly destroyed by two decades of warfare, sunk in such primitive poverty that the World Bank no longer attempts to measure its economy and ruled by the **Taliban**, a puritanical Islamic militia. The **Taliban**, recognized by only three nations as a government, has provoked widespread international outrage by its Draconian enforcement of its version of Islamic law.

Few Westerners are allowed in Afghanistan today, and all but a handful of foreign relief workers have been evacuated since August, when terrorists suspected of operating from Afghanistan bombed the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania -- and the United States struck back with cruise missile attacks on suspected terrorist camps in the Afghan hills.

An American reporter and a Pakistani photographer are about to embark on a 500-mile journey through **Taliban** territory that will reveal why many Afghans have welcomed the country's radical new rulers -- and why many others have come to fear them.

In Jalalabad, a devout Muslim physician secretly arranges tutoring for his daughter, banned from school by the **Taliban**. Kabul, the once-cosmopolitan capital, seems like an Orwellian ghost town where no woman's face is ever seen and no man dares appear beardless. Along the desert highway, cars proceed at a camel's pace around endless bomb craters, the legacy of two decades of war against Soviet invaders and among rival Afghan militias. And in Kandahar, local ethnic traditions are so conservative that the **Taliban's** medieval ethos seems right at home.

The famed Khyber Pass is a crowded, muddy footpath, and no one notices us in the two-way stream of traffic: donkeys laden with grapes, children bent under loads of scrap metal, hustlers and herders and holy men.

The assuring sense of anonymity does not last long, however.

Not 15 minutes after we climb into a taxi driven by a jovial, chattering man named Habib, we reach

the first **Taliban** checkpoint. Habib yanks a Muslim skullcap onto his head as a stern young man in a black turban approaches us, a Kalashnikov rifle across his shoulder. He peers at our faces, examines our documents, roughly rummages through the glove compartment and back seat. Finally he waves us on with his rifle.

Long Black Ribbons

As we pull away, we notice a cluster of long black ribbons waving prettily from a utility pole. It is a decoration we are to see at dozens of **Taliban** checkpoints along the road. We ask Habib what the turbaned man was looking for. "Music cassettes," he explains. "If they find any, they rip them apart right there and hang them from the poles."

The other passengers are a shoemaker from Jalalabad, a city about 50 miles ahead, and a doctor visiting his family in a village along the way. Their responses to questions about the **Taliban** are much like those we will hear from many ordinary Afghans, at first.

"They have brought us peace and security," says the cobbler. "The people are happy. Islamic law is so beautiful. There is no more corruption."

The doctor says he was once a soldier in the jihad, or holy war, against Soviet occupation in the 1980s. "We had to walk hundreds of miles, there were no beds and little food, but we were glad to do it for Islam," he says. "And now, praise Allah, we finally have an Islamic state."

The **Taliban** -- a home-grown religious militia that seized Afghanistan's capital, Kabul, two years ago this week -- has vowed to create a pure Islamic society free from crime, vice and Western influence. After years of civil war, many Afghans welcomed them and the sense of order they brought to the country. But for many middle-class Afghans -- teachers who are no longer allowed to teach, doctors who have no place to practice medicine, women who never wore a burqa veil and men who never grew a beard -- the **Taliban's** harsh restrictions have begun to chafe, especially since economic and social conditions also have continued to deteriorate.

Even some devout Muslims who conscientiously follow sharia, or Islamic law, are spooked by the **Taliban's** totalitarian means of enforcing it. Once they feel comfortable with a foreigner, they bring out their hidden Hindi music tapes or shortwave radios, complain bitterly that their daughters are prohibited from attending school, or confide that they are in desperate need and feel abandoned by the authorities.

At dusk we reach Jalalabad, where the physician and the shoemaker bid a polite farewell. Habib, taking a deep breath, turns and asks if we would "like to meet some other people." Soon we are entering a refugee camp at the edge of town, a maze of mud huts where ragged children swarm around the car. Many have sores on their faces and arms.

In a small, cave-like room, a gaunt young doctor named Abdul sits at a table with his only equipment: scissors, gauze, iodine and a dusty microscope. He says there are 50,000 refugees from civil conflict zones in the camp, that many have eye diseases and almost half the children have malaria, but that few families can afford treatment.

"The children have nothing to do all day but run in the streets. There is no school, no clinic, no work," the doctor says. "Nobody cares about these people, and most of the foreign aid groups have gone away."

Later, over rice and kebabs in a restaurant swarming with flies, the doctor confides that he is also worried about his own family. He earns the equivalent of only \$6 a month, and the school his sons were attending has closed. His daughter is being taught secretly by a woman in her home.

"Look, I am Muslim, everyone in this country is Muslim by birth. We go to the mosque because we want to," Abdul says. "If people think the **Taliban** have brought Islam to Afghanistan, they are

wrong. They have brought something else, and they are implementing it by force."

Asked about his beard, he says he never wore one until 1996. "If I were to cut it off now," he adds, "they would throw me in prison until it grew back."

As we drive toward Kabul the next day, the desert begins and the highway becomes increasingly pockmarked with craters. One-legged beggars, maimed by land mines, stand by the roadside with arms outstretched. Every few miles, the overturned hulks of Russian tanks litter the stony slopes like the carcasses of huge horseshoe crabs. In every village, warnings with crude depictions of mines are painted on every building.

The entry to the capital is another checkpoint festooned with black ribbons. As ordered, we report directly to the Foreign Ministry, where an official ticks off a list of rules for foreign journalists: no photographs of people, no interviews with women, no visits to private homes. We must stay in a government-run hotel and be accompanied at all times by a government driver and interpreter. The total cost for their services is about \$100 per day, payable only in cash dollars.

Once a cosmopolitan capital, Kabul lies in ruins from years of bombing and shelling. Half the population, once more than a million, has fled to other parts of the country or across the borders as refugees. The **Taliban**, preoccupied with fighting its armed opponents in the countryside and disdainful of the "foreign influence" that once pervaded Kabul, has done almost nothing to rebuild the city. The government is virtually dysfunctional except for the **Taliban** moral police who cruise the streets in pickup trucks, detaining men whose beards are too short and women whose faces are not covered.

Even at midday, the city seems oddly silent. There is little traffic; teams of donkeys or men strain to pull heavily laden carts. There is a 10 p.m. curfew, but by nightfall almost every shop will be shuttered, every street empty except for **Taliban** police pickup trucks. With television, movies and music banned, only the soft sounds of muezzins' voices calling worshipers to prayer disturb the night.

'Please Be Careful'

The hotel is a haunted 500-room hilltop palace in which we are the only guests. Once it was the city's social center. Now the carpet and jewelry boutiques are long closed, the grand salons locked. The "staff members" follow our every move, lingering outside our rooms and surprising us around corners.

At one point we try to leave for dinner in Habib's car, but a guard runs after us, shouting that we are forbidden to do so. The next morning, the driver appears in the lobby, badly shaken. He tells us he was taken to the hotel basement by two men and questioned closely about us, our drive from the border, whom we met and what they told us. Reluctantly we agree to let him go, feeling as if we have lost our only friend in **Taliban** territory.

For the rest of our stay in Kabul, we play cat-and-mouse with our interpreter, a pleasant medical student named Sayed who confides that the **Taliban** police don't like his longish haircut, but who quickly insinuates himself into every conversation we strike up and who periodically reminds us in a gentle voice that if we don't follow the rules, we can be immediately escorted to the border.

Despite his presence, however, a number of Afghans are willing to express their frustrations with **Taliban** rule -- and to confess certain surreptitious deviations from the official line. In a once-popular appliance shop, the manager complains that a recent government order required him to remove all stereo equipment; in the last week, he says, he has sold only one tea flask. In a school-supply store, where slide rules and notebooks are gathering dust, the owner complains mildly that he must walk far, several times a day, to find a mosque. Then he frowns and adds, "Please be careful what you write. If you say I am unhappy, the **Taliban** won't like it."

In a market stall that sells cassettes of Koran recitations and **Taliban** political chants (the latter invariably decorated with drawings of rifles or rocket launchers), a question about Western music draws a swift array of responses. "It's a sin," declares one teenager. "I like Michael Jackson," says his friend, and they both giggle.

And in the office of an agency whose job is to clear minefields and warn the populace about the dangers of thousands of land mines still buried across the country, the director confesses his frustration that women are not permitted to attend public mine-awareness lectures with men. "The only way we can reach them in some areas is to drive by apartment buildings with loudspeakers," he says with a brief frown. "But we try our best."

The only opportunity to speak with women comes at a hospital run by the International Committee of the Red Cross, where war-disabled workers make thousands of artificial limbs for mine victims and other handicapped Afghans. In the women's ward, patients and staff members remove their burqas upon entering, with evident relief.

A beautiful young woman named Suhaila, waiting for her nephew to be treated, says she was an elementary school teacher before the **Taliban** came, and misses it very much. "Now we have only my husband's income, and I am forgetting a lot of my lessons," she says. "People without education might as well be blind." She never wore a burqa before 1996, she says, but has since gotten used to the stifling garment. "If we don't wear it, they will beat us," she points out matter-of-factly.

"They" are the police agents of the Amar-bil-Marooof Nahi-anil-Munker, the Ministry for the Propagation of Islamic Orders and the Discouragement of Islamic Prohibitions -- informally known as the department of virtue and vice. The deputy minister is a mullah in a black turban with ham-size hands named Maulwi Qalmuddin, who answers a foreigner's questions with polite contempt.

"The burqa is very, very important to maintain a society that is free of corruption," he says, and his ministry seeks to promote "dignity" for women by sheltering them from men in public. The practice is nothing new in rural areas, where, he notes, "we couldn't detach women from their burqas." The only problem is in Kabul, where certain "foreign influences" once were allowed to infect the culture.

On the other hand, Qalmuddin asserts, the ban on women's education and work is only a temporary measure that will end once the **Taliban** has defeated its internal armed enemies and can devote its energy to social issues. But Afghan women will clearly continue to be "protected" from the world of men. In Western societies, he lectures, women are used by men when young and discarded when old. "In Islam," the stern mullah declares with pride, "we shelter women for life."

Grit, Jolts and Sun

Heat and dust, heat and dust. The road rises and falls; the car lurches upward and plummets into impossible gullies of frozen sand. The 300-mile highway leading south from Kabul to Kandahar, once a model of American engineering that could be traveled in five hours, is now an agonizing obstacle course that the most seasoned Afghan truckers can barely navigate in 22 hours.

Short stretches of pavement sheer off abruptly into jagged craters gouged by Russian bombs and Afghan antitank mines. In many spots, so many alternative tracks have been forged alongside that the road loses itself in the wasteland. The taxi driver swerves and brakes, dodges and skids. For two days -- with one three-hour napping break on a hard cafe floor -- time passes in a haze of fine grit, nauseating jolts and blinding sun.

The landscape is barren and empty, except for periodic clusters of tents pinioned to the rocky slopes: the camps of nomadic shepherds. Their flocks amble along the silent highway, followed by small boys with wooden staffs. From nowhere appears an turbaned old man on a bicycle, or a caravan of camels led by women with deeply creased faces and swirling, filthy skirts.

It is on this part of the journey that the depth of Afghanistan's economic exhaustion and despair sinks in. In villages along the way, people draw water by hand from wells, plow behind cattle with wooden blades, stand by the highway smoothing holes with a shovel and hoping travelers will pay them a few cents. Small children work all day herding goats, washing dishes, selling fruit. Families walk dozens of miles in a day, looking for a few shrubs for their emaciated animals to graze.

It is also along this tortuous stretch of road that the Afghan tradition of hospitality seems most poignant. At every stop to wash off the dust, people invariably offer cups of tea and dishes of sweets. At a roadside cafe in the town of Kalat, the owner refuses to let us pay for lunch. He shows us his prized shortwave radio, then points with distaste to a handwritten sign taped to the wall. It is a notice advising women to wear veils, men to wear beards and all Afghans to avoid music and drugs. It is signed by the local chief of the Amar-bil-Marooof. "I had to grow a beard too, but my wife doesn't like it," he says with a laugh.

His name is Zaher, and he was once a teacher. Now there are no public schools, so he bought the cafe and reluctantly enrolled his 10-year-old son in a madrassa, or Islamic studies center, because it is "the only place he can go." The local **Taliban** authorities are "well-behaved" in the area, he says, "but they cannot meet the people's real demand -- to end this terrible poverty. We all try to be good Muslims, but that is something not even Islam can cure."

Birthplace of the **Taliban**

Late at night, grimy and bleary-eyed, we reach the city of Kandahar. To our astonishment, the bazaars are teeming with customers, bright with lantern light and bursting with produce. Melons and pomegranates are neatly piled, lamb carcasses swing from ropes, flats of just-baked roti bread are spread out invitingly.

Compared with the paranoia and ghostliness of Kabul, the first impression of Kandahar is one of freewheeling, relaxed urbanity. The impression is dead wrong.

Kandahar is the birthplace and headquarters of the **Taliban** movement, and within two days it becomes easy to understand why. To a large extent, the city's more modern and educated residents fled long ago, across the border with Pakistan to the city of Quetta or beyond. To a large extent, those who remained are not only Muslims, they are ethnic Pashtun folk of rural origins like the **Taliban**, deeply conservative in their social values and behavior. The large majority are illiterate.

Here, there is no need for a curfew, and it is fashionable among young men to adopt the **Taliban** mode of dress: black or white turbans, baggy trousers and robes, casually slung rifles. The day before we arrived, we are told, two murderers were executed by a **Taliban** firing squad in a local stadium, and several thousand people came to watch.

Women, of course, are rarely seen and never heard; on brief shopping excursions they scurry quietly along the sidewalks, anonymous behind billowing sky-blue or pine-green burqas.

"Our traditions are even more strict than Islam," explains a young man named Abdullah, who sells burqas in a shop that his grandfather opened 70 years ago. "Our women like to wear the burqa because every glance has a cost."

Abdullah, 21, was married in 1996 to a girl who was chosen by his parents. In accordance with local custom, they first met on their wedding night. They are very happy, he says, and have a 1-year-old son.

"Every people should live in accordance with their own customs, and the **Taliban** are the system we want," he said. "If you have a tradition of so-called freedom in your country, that's fine, but we have our own traditions."

In another bazaar, our interpreter locates a cousin named Said who sells shampoo and tomato paste; the man promptly invites us for lunch at his modest, mud-walled home. In a cool room lined with rugs, we eat rice and vegetables with his father and sons, talking about duck hunting and pilgrimages to Mecca. When we have finished, the leftovers are gathered up in the tablecloth and taken outside for the women to eat.

"Our life hasn't changed at all since the **Taliban** came," says Said. "It has always been our habit to wear turbans; without them we feel naked. About 90 percent of us wore beards; now the other 10 percent wear them too. And our women have traditionally been at home. So you see there was little that needed to be changed."

The **Taliban** officials we meet are less formal than their counterparts in Kabul; their offices are moldy and collapsing after years of urban warfare, but their manner is casual and open. We are quickly granted interviews with two chief **Taliban** spokesmen, who answer questions with soft-spoken patience. At the local Foreign Ministry office, an aide repeatedly assures us we are welcome in the city.

In the bazaars, we approach several different rank-and-file **Taliban** members, who seem surprised but happy to talk. One describes himself as an "ordinary soldier. I patrol the streets looking for criminals and making sure other **Taliban** deal with the people correctly. We are very proud to serve the people, and we don't want any member to discredit us."

Still, it is hard to ignore the stares in the street, or the knowledge that only two weeks ago, hundreds of thousands of ordinary people mobbed the streets here after a U.S. missile attack on alleged terrorist camps in Afghanistan, chanting anti-American slogans and calling for the death of President Clinton.

On our way out of the country, when we spot the green and white Pakistani flag at Chaman we are suddenly flooded with relief. Night is falling fast, and we have another three hours' drive before reaching Quetta. But when the dapper, officious Pakistani immigration official invites us in for tea while he inspects our passports, we accept without a moment's hesitation.

Graphic:
B&W PHOTO SHABBIR HUSSAIN IMAM FOR TWP

Caption:
A woman in Kabul, the capital, wears the burqa veil required under the strict interpretation of Islamic law imposed by the **Taliban**, which controls most of Afghanistan.

A Kandahar shopkeeper sells Iranian food, offered at many Afghan markets.

Abdul, a physician, serves refugees in a camp at the edge of Jalalabad. Many of the refugees have eye diseases and almost half the children have malaria.

A woman leads a camel caravan along a stretch of the Kabul-Kandahar highway where the extent of Afghanistan's poverty and despair is most noticeable.

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Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton United Nations Economic and Social Council

United Nations Plaza
New York, New York

December 10, 1997

Thank you. Mr. President, your excellencies. I welcome this opportunity to be here as we begin this yearlong commemoration, which is not just a commemoration of the universality of human rights; it is a celebration of the United Nations. I am especially pleased that we are able to gather this morning in the Economic and Social Council, which at its first session in February of 1946, established the Commission on Human Rights.

Forty-nine winters ago the world acknowledged the new common standard for human dignity, a code for the peoples and governments of the world to live by. One of the people who labored to create that code was Eleanor Roosevelt, then the United States representative to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. The place was Paris. The delegates who came together to craft the language hailed from countries as diverse as Lebanon, Chile, France, China, and Ukraine. The dream was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the first international agreement on the rights of humankind.

Some of humanity's greatest lessons emerge only after the deepest tragedies. This Declaration took shape in a world ravaged by the horrors of militarism and fascism. In the wake of the most violent revelations of the depths to which human beings can dehumanize one another, the world as a whole was ready at last to agree upon these standards for human rights.

Let me read a passage from that document:

Disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind. The advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief, and freedom from fear and want, have been proclaimed as the highest aspirations of the common people. Therefore, the General Assembly proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations.

The document goes on to state what should be obvious, but too often is not:

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience, and should act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

How radically idealistic an act it was at first for the nations of the world to subscribe publicly to this Declaration.

That act did not, however, take place in a vacuum. It was a response to evil, and I use that word deliberately. Those who study the Holocaust know that the Nazis were able to pursue their crimes precisely because they were able progressively to constrict the circle of those defined as humans. From the moment they came to power, they proceeded step by step to dehumanize, through laws and propaganda, the mentally ill, the infirm, gypsies, homosexuals, Jews those whom they identified as life unworthy of life.

This cold, dark region of the human soul, where people withdraw first understanding, then empathy, and finally even the designation of personhood from another human being, is not, of course, unique to Nazi Germany. This device, this ability to dehumanize, has been witnessed in all times and places. It is precisely this device that the Declaration attempted to help us resist.

Thankfully, in the half-century since the birth of the Declaration, we have, as a global people, managed progressively to expand the circle of full human dignity. Because of this document, individuals and nations alike have a standard by which to measure fundamental rights. Many of the countries that have emerged in the last 50 years have drawn inspiration from the Declaration in their own constitutions. Courts of law look to the Declaration. It has laid the groundwork for the world's war crimes tribunals. It has prompted governments to set up their own commissions to safeguard basic liberties.

At the United Nations Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993, it was the power of the Declaration that inspired the establishment of a High Commissioner on Human Rights. Let me add, how lucky the United Nations and, indeed, the world is that Mary Robinson fills that post.

At the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, it was the strength of this Declaration that enabled us to say for all the world to hear that human rights are women's rights, and that women's rights are human rights.

And yet, in spite of this half-century of progress, we have not expanded the circle of human dignity far enough. There are still too many of our fellow men and women excluded from the fundamental rights proclaimed in the Declaration, too many whom we have hardened our hearts against those whose human suffering we fail fully to see, to hear, and to feel.

Any look back at history shows that every nation has had its blind spots that have kept people out of the promised circle of full humanity. Take the example of my own country. We in the United States have had our own difficult experiences with the selective or unequal application of the rights established in the American Constitution. Even the founding fathers, whose ideas of human dignity were so far ahead of their time, proclaiming that all men are created equal in the Declaration of Independence, inscribed slavery in our Constitution.

It has taken most of our 220 years, some of them bloody, few of them easy, to

extend the benefits of citizenship to African Americans, to those without property, and to women. Eleanor Roosevelt herself was 35 years old before she could vote.

Even today, we circumscribe the circle in what we choose not to see. Black South Africans described what it was like to work all day in white environments in which one was literally not seen. In the Balkans, people have willed themselves not to see the humanity of those whose heritage is different from their own. We ourselves in the industrialized world often choose not to see the child labor that goes into our beautiful carpets or our comfortable shoes.

In too many places today what we fail to see are the injustices done to women. We choose not to see the injustice of legal systems around the world that continue to treat women as less than complete citizens. In too many places, female heirs are seeing less inheritance than male heirs. Inequitable divorce laws compel women to remain in cruel marriages. And some courts of law require the testimony of two women to equal that of a solitary man.

Our vision is limited in other areas as well. We choose not to see the contribution of women to the economic lives of their families and countries. In too many places, women are discriminated against for bank loans and credit, first jobs and promotions. They are denied pay equal to that of men, or any pay at all. They live disproportionately in poverty, making up 70 percent of the world's poor.

We also circumscribe the circle by what we choose not to hear. Freedom and equality for all depend first on whether a citizen truly has a voice. It is telling that even in the drafting of the Universal Declaration, there was a debate about women's voices. The initial version of the first article stated, All men are created equal. It took women members of the Commission, led by Hansa Mehta of India, to point out that all men might be interpreted to exclude women. Only after long debate was the language changed to say, All human beings are born free and equal.

Today, we still choose not to hear the voices of many women. In too many places women are blocked from participating in the political lives of their countries. Just nine days ago in Sudan, 36 women were arrested while attempting to deliver a petition to the United Nations office there in protest of human rights violations in their country. They were arrested, fined, and at least one woman received 40 lashes.

In too many places girls and women never even learn to project their voices. Two-thirds of the 130 million school-age children out of school are girls. Two-thirds of the 96 million people worldwide who can neither read nor write are women. Even now the Taliban in Afghanistan are blocking girls from attending school. Not only that, they are blocking those like Emma Bonino, the European Union Commissioner for Humanitarian Affairs, who would speak out against this injustice.

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press, the rights to petition the

government and to assemble all these are essential. Just think how much weaker these rights are in a nation where the majority of young women are illiterate. Rights on paper that are not protected and implemented are not really rights at all.

We further constrict the circle of human rights through what we choose not to feel. As Eleanor Roosevelt put it, When will our conscience grow so tender that we will act to prevent human misery rather than avenge it?

In too many places, the suffering of women is defined as trivial, explained away as a cultural phenomenon. Perhaps it is for this reason that women do not receive proper health care, including access to family planning. Perhaps that is why, in some countries where more than 90 percent of women have undergone genital cutting, the practice continues. Perhaps that is why domestic and sexual violence remains the most serious under-reported and widespread human rights violation in the world.

In almost every country of the world, domestic violence is one of the leading causes of injury and death to women. In my country, 30 percent of female murder victims are killed by current or former partners. As Secretary of State Madeleine Albright has said, domestic violence can never again be dismissed, as it often has in the past, as part of a country's norm or as a set of private assumptions about family life. Let us say it loudly for the entire world to hear us: We do not believe that violence against women is simply cultural; we believe it is simply criminal.

Perhaps that is why rape and sexual assault continue to be tactics of war. It is the cruelest injustice that so many wars end not in peace for women and their families, but in refugee crises that trap women and children in lives that go from bad to worse. Women and children make up 80 percent of the world's 23 million refugees.

The full enfranchisement of the rights of women is unfinished business in this turbulent century. What meaning does the language of freedom and human rights have for a young woman forced into prostitution and traffic in the commercial sex trade? What meaning can it have for women forced into involuntary servitude as sweat-shop workers or domestic servants? What meaning can it have for a woman forced either to bear a child or abort one? What about the very ingrained practices that undermine the growth and development of girls from their very first years, such as the common practice of feeding them last or less?

As I have been privileged to travel around the world, I have met countless women who know nothing of this Declaration and its promises. They are, however, eloquent in their belief that they deserve respect and better treatment in their families, workplaces, and societies.

Yet some critics continue to dismiss women's sufferings as minor. But are they? In 1958 Eleanor Roosevelt wrote:

Where do human rights begin? In small places, close to home, so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person the neighborhood he lives in, the factory, farm, or office where he worked. Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere.

Other critics dismiss human rights violations as harmless. A report released this week by the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict proves otherwise. According to the report, an upsurge of egregious human rights violations is almost always a powerful warning of dire events to come, including massive refugee flows and civil wars.

Still others say that human rights are a Westerner's luxury not inalienable, but alien. I believe, and the women I've listened to believe, that human rights are as essential to life as air or water, that they are felt beyond culture and tradition as innate. The women I have met do not feel that human rights are a foreign concept invented by purists. Rather they know in their very hearts and souls, in spite of everything they are told by culture and tradition, that these are God-given rights that they were born with as surely as they were born into the human family.

For if they are not innate, how have people throughout history known to fight for them so valiantly? Paradoxically, the proof of universality lies with the perpetrators of human rights violations themselves. Why would those who have dishonored humanity run to cover their tracks were it not for the knowledge that wrong had been done? The Nazis tried to hide their concentration camps. Communism kept its terrors in the shadow of the Iron Curtain. Scores of bodies are hidden in the hard ground of places like Bosnia and deep in the forests of places like Rwanda.

Throughout my hemisphere, people have disappeared. Why go to the trouble? Because human rights transcend individual regimes and customs. The beliefs inscribed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were not invented 50 years ago. They are not the work of a single culture or country. They have been with us forever from civilization's first light.

Sophocles wrote about them 2,500 years ago when he had Antigone declare that there were ethical laws higher than the laws of even kings. P.C. Chang, who helped draft the Universal Declaration, pointed out that Confucius articulated them in ancient China. The belief that we must respect our neighbors as we would respect ourselves resides in the core of the teachings of all the major faiths of this world.

The principles inscribed in the document whose birth we mark today are not constructed, but revealed. Every great religion exposed and taught their truth. If I were to tear up this declaration, its values would abide. If I were to burn this document, its meaning would remain. If I were to forbid someone from hearing its words, they would still ring as loudly as ever in the hearts of men and women.

It is because every era has its blind spots that we must see to our own unfinished business with even greater urgency now while we stand on the threshold of a new millennium. We must rededicate ourselves to completing the circle of human rights once and for all. We must challenge ourselves to see more sharply, to hear more clearly, to feel more fully.

And we must do something else. We must support democracies new and old that work to fulfill the aspirations of this Declaration. As my husband, the President, said last night: Democracy, the rule of law, civil society those things are the best guarantees of human rights over the long run.

It is time for us as a global community to commit ourselves. We have run out of excuses not to. Here we are at the very close of the 20th century, a century that has been scorched by war time and time again. If the history of this century teaches us anything, it is that whenever the dignity of any individual or group is compromised by the derogation of who they are, of some essential attribute they possess, then we all leave ourselves open to nightmares to come.

Conversely, if the century has a lesson for us that is redeeming, it is that by extending the circle of citizenship and human dignity to include everyone without exception, then we have the basis where new worlds of hope can flourish.

So, let us in this year of commemoration walk toward those new worlds. Let us do so knowing that the path will never be easy. These rights may be eternal, but so too is the struggle to attain them. Though the darkness of the human heart may recede, it will never go away. It must be with realistic eyes that we look for human rights. And it must be with open hearts that in this, the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, we rededicate ourselves to its fulfillment.

Thank you very much.

[Read our Privacy Policy](#)

Ghadiali, Durriya R.

Dari, Copy of PRM Breakdown. Dg.

From: McKelvey, Margaret J
Sent: Monday, December 07, 1998 3:24 PM
To: Ghadiali, Durriya R.; Loar, Theresa A.
Cc: HUSHEK, TOM J.; Jury, Allan G; Arriaga, Alexandra M; Gregory, Liza B; McKelvey, Margaret J
Subject: Support for Afghan Women and Girls

Durriya/Theresa -- Per the hallway discussion after today's Open Forum, here is an updated version of a memo we thought we had sent you earlier outlining our FY98 funding. --Margaret

cc: DRL, SA/PAB

December 7, 1998

MEMORANDUM

TO: S/PICW -- Theresa Loar
FROM: PRM/AAA -- Margaret McKelvey
SUBJECT: Status of Funding for Afghan Women and Girls

In FY1998 State's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) and USAID's Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) provided \$3.9 million for projects in health and education for Afghan women and girls. PRM made five contributions totaling \$1.4 million specifically targeted at meeting Women's Day commitments. Despite the disruptions caused by Taliban advances and restrictions and by the strikes at Bin Laden, these five projects began in September.

It is our understanding that humanitarian assistance grants such as those provided by PRM and OFDA would provide roughly \$2.0 million of the \$2.5 million announced on International Women's Day by the Secretary and First Lady with the remaining \$500,000 to come from the Regional Democracy Fund for South Asia or other USG funding resources.

I am providing an attachment which lists the organizations that received funding under this initiative. We would be happy to provide you with additional information about the individual projects if this would be helpful.

cc: AID/BHR/OFDA – Sheldon Schwartz
 SA/PAB - Tom Hushek
 DRL - Lisa Gregory/Alexandra Arriaga

PROJECTS FOR AFGHAN WOMEN AND GIRLS
 FY 1998

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Amount (\$)</u>	<u>Program</u>	<u>Funder</u>
Save the Children	733,556	Health/educ	PRM*
Intl Rescue Committee	131,311	Health/educ	PRM*
Church World Service	22,900	Health	PRM
UNHCR	896,280	Health/educ	PRM
Save the Children	595,500	Education	PRM
Intl Rescue Committee	279,374	Health ed	PRM
CWS (Shuhada)	33,752	Health training	PRM
OCHA	73,442	Afghan NGO, health training	PRM
MCI	426,432	Health	PRM
UNICEF	150,000	Education	PRM
Sub-total PRM	3,342,547		
Save the Children	360,000	Health	OFDA
PARSA	71,515	Comm. Development	OFDA
Shuhada	90,000	Health training	OFDA
Sub-total OFDA	521,515		
TOTAL	3,864,062		

*two cooperative agreements

Drafted: PRM/AAA:JDMueller:MMcKelvey (12/07/98)
(PRM/Offices/AAA/SA/WomenGirls/Women's Day) 11/4/98



The Universal
Declaration
of Human Rights
1948 - 1998



Human Rights Year *why we celebrate*

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims the fundamental and inalienable rights of all members of the human family. It was the first comprehensive agreement among nations as to the specific rights and freedoms of all human beings. Among others, these include freedom from torture and slavery, freedom of religion, expression and assembly as well as the rights to education, social security and medical care, the right to vote, and the right to a fair trial.

The United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration without dissent at 3:00 a.m. on December 10, 1948. Accordingly, we celebrate this date as *Human Rights Day* – not only to mark human rights achievements, but also to strengthen our common commitment to the Universal Declaration, which stands as the radiant banner of today's movement to end human rights abuses.

Each year on *Human Rights Day*, people around the globe affirm their pledge to a world defined by the equal and inalienable rights of all human beings. Through teaching and education they promote the rights and freedoms set forth, helping successive generations to embrace the Universal Declaration with a renewed sense of responsibility. These efforts are crucial to the protection of human rights.

Because December 10, 1998 marks the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1998 will be celebrated as *Human Rights Year*. Over the last fifty years, the Declaration has grown in stature. What began as a statement of shared values bearing moral weight has become a living document that demands the respect of all nations and all people.

Throughout history, men, women and children have given their lives in a long struggle for rights and freedoms. One of humanity's most enduring achievements in that long struggle is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"The destiny of human rights is in the hands of all our citizens in all our communities."

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The Universal
Declaration
of Human Rights
1948-1998

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
December 4, 1998

Contact: Roberta Sklar, 212-907-1331



The Universal
Declaration
of Human Rights
1948 - 1998

**THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS ACROSS U.S. TO CELEBRATE
50TH ANNIVERSARY OF UNIVERSAL DECLARATION
OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON DECEMBER 10th**

**Caroline Kennedy to Open New York City Town Hall Meeting
National *IN YOUR HANDS* Campaign Generates
Commemorative Activities from Albany to San Diego**

On December 10th, thousands of concerned citizens around the country will mark the 50th Anniversary of the landmark Universal Declaration of Human Rights. From Hawaii to Bangor, Maine, Americans will demonstrate their strong support for human rights by participating in citizen actions, community dialogue and celebration.

An historic national celebration to be held in New York City will be at the center of the day. A national Town Hall Meeting will take place at the Community Church of New York, 40 East 35th Street, NYC, on Thursday, December 10 from 2:30 to 4:00 P.M. **Human rights defenders** from throughout the United States will join nationally recognized leaders to speak out at the meeting on key human rights concerns. **Caroline Kennedy** will open the program. Other noted spokespeople who will participate include **William J. vanden Heuvel, President of the Roosevelt Institute, John Sweeney, Pres. AFL-CIO; Mary Robinson, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (invited); Felice Gaer, Director, Jacob Blaustein Institute for Advancement of Human Rights; Charlotte Bunch, Director of the Center for Women's Global Leadership, and Roosevelt family members.** **Personal testimonies** about violence against women, hate crimes, discrimination and immigration issues, women's rights, workers rights and freedom of expression, will highlight the ongoing effort to advance human rights protections at home and abroad.

The New York City Town Hall Meeting will be broadcast live via satellite to Town Hall meetings and gatherings around the nation. In addition, several cities accessing the meeting will then conduct inter-city, interactive discussion through cyberspace.

Many exciting activities -- from vigils and town hall meetings to tributes and interactive video teleconferences -- have been planned by widely diverse organizations with the support of a broad array of sponsors. Taking place

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(More)

throughout this anniversary week, these events represent a high point of the IN YOUR HANDS campaign, launched December 1997 and sponsored by the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. These events present Americans across the social spectrum opportunities to take actions that will help eradicate human rights violations where they live and around the globe.

William J. vanden Heuvel, President of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute said, "On the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we rededicate ourselves to the protection of human rights. As Americans we have a responsibility to help end human rights abuses at home and abroad. Each person can make a difference. As Eleanor Roosevelt stated: *The destiny of human rights is in the hands of all our citizens in all our communities.*"

The 50th anniversary celebration extends to the international level. On December 10th Anne Roosevelt, the granddaughter of Eleanor Roosevelt, will lead a commemorative event in Paris, which is where the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted.

Completed in 1948 as a response to the atrocities of World War II, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights outlined for the first time a clear and comprehensive vision of the basic human rights that all people have, simply because they are human. The human rights expressed in the Universal Declaration encompass the rights of women, children and workers; freedom from discrimination, torture, political imprisonment, and religious persecution; freedom from want, the right to a fair trial and freedom of expression.

Important human rights issues affecting a wide range of communities will be confronted at local town hall meetings. Human rights concerns in the United States include racial and other forms of discrimination, hate crimes and violence against women among others. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is still vitally important for advancing and protecting human rights today. Across the nation the IN YOUR HANDS campaign calls for:

- President Clinton to convene a White House Conference on Human Rights in 1999.
- U.S. Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).
- The arrest and prosecution of indicted war criminals worldwide.
- Strengthening U.S. support of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

A summary of local events is attached.

For more information, visit the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute web site at www.udhr50.org.

To arrange interviews or attend the New York City event contact Roberta Sklar at 212-907-1331.

"The destiny of human rights is in the hands of all our citizens in all our communities."

Eleanor Roosevelt

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FACT SHEET

Communities all across the United States will be celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) on December 10th. Here is a summary of the many exciting events that are planned and supported by a broad array of organizations and sponsors. Thousands of Americans will participate.

These significant activities, taking place simultaneously, represent the culmination of the extensive, year-long IN YOUR HANDS campaign, sponsored by the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. The extent of these celebrations demonstrates the strong commitment millions of Americans have to diverse human rights issues and to eradicating violations of human rights at home and around the globe.

Albany, NY Town Hall Meeting/Annual Human Rights Day Dinner. Featuring Father Peter G. Young, founder of innovative prisoner treatment program, speeches from Eleanor Roosevelt, a "Tell the President" bulletin board, and discussion groups. Contact: Dennis Karius, United Nations Association, 518-456-5791.

Bend, OR Rally, march and celebration featuring candlelight walk from City Hall to Riverfront Plaza. Contact: Phil Randall, Amnesty International Chapter #610, 541-388-1793.

Boston, MA Town Hall Meeting, "50 Years of Human Rights: Has the United States Kept its Promise?" highlighting women's rights, health care, and child labor. Speakers include former Ambassador Dessima Williams, Professor Emeritus at CUNY Jack Geiger, and International Labor Rights Fund Executive Director Pharis Harvey. Contact: Barbara Ayotte, Physicians for Human Rights, 617-695-0041.

Calabasas, CA Educational program will feature the grandson of Mohandas K. Gandhi and Rita Maran, head of Human Rights Advocates. Contact: Deborah diCesare, Soka University of America, 818-878-3778.

Coeur d'Alene, ID Signing ceremony with local leaders and rededication of the UDHR. Keynote speaker is Bill Wassmuth, a leader in the fight to end hate crimes in the Pacific Northwest. A response panel of activists will discuss Mr. Wassmuth's presentation. Contact: D. Tony Stewart, North Idaho College Lecture Series, 208-769-3325.

Denver, CO Live video of national New York Town Hall Meeting, panel discussions of local human rights themes moderated by representatives of PeaceJam, the Colorado Lawyers Association, Metropolitan State College of Denver, and the NAACP. Contact: Julie Imada, PeaceJam Foundation, 303-455-2099.

Iowa City, IA Readings, music, a panel of speakers on the theme, "What the UDHR Means to their Community," and a tribute, "About Eleanor Roosevelt. Contact: Dorothy Paul, Iowa Division, United Nations Association, 319-337-7290.

Janesville, WI Town Hall meeting with keynote address "Protecting Children's Rights" by Susan Kilbourne, Public Interest Law Scholar and activist with Childrights International Research Institute and the American Bar Association. "Rights Expo" will offer displays presented by children's rights groups. Allied events will be broadcast on local public access TV channel. Contact: Judi Kneece, Hedberg Public Library, 608-758-6612.

Lincoln, NE Town Hall Meeting, all day December 5 carries the theme, "Get Up, Stand Up for Human Rights." Keynote address by Lennox Hines, legal representative in the U.S. for Nelson Mandela, and workshops on political prisoners, women's rights, children's rights, sexual orientation rights, workers' rights, and human rights education. On Dec. 10 there will be a viewing of the national New York Town Hall Meeting. Contact: Don Tilley, Prairie Peace Park, 402-466-6622.

Montclair, NJ Town Hall Meeting with the theme, "Violence and Human Rights." Letter-writing campaign for ratification of the Women's Rights Convention and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and proclamations from the Governor and from the Montclair Town Council. Contact: R. Lawrence Turnipseed, Montclair Chapter, United Nations Association, 973-235-0261.

New York, NY National centerpiece event of IN YOUR HANDS campaign, sponsored by the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. Event will be broadcast live via satellite to dozens of other town hall meeting sites. Participants include United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson (invited), President John Sweeny of the AFL-CIO, Caroline Kennedy, Jonathan Demme, and other notables from arts, entertainment, labor, and politics. Contact: Michael Cooper, Roosevelt Institute, 212-907-1343.

Oakland, CA Town Hall Meeting presenting many prominent guest speakers, including Congresswoman Barbara Lee. Readings of UDHR Articles by Girls Scouts, and a commemoration of the life and work of the late John George, a local African-American activist for human rights. Contact: Lee Ratcliff, Oakland Human Relations Commission, 650-871-5855.

Philadelphia, PA Town Hall Meeting featuring interactive video conference with other U.S. cities, proclamation ceremony honoring U.S. Senator Arlen Specter, and panel discussions on torture, war crimes and genocide, persecution of Christian minorities, and the rights of women and children. Large attendance expected. Contact: Wayne Jacoby, Global Education Motivators, 215-248-1150.

Portland, ME Two vigils, a dramatic presentation and a reception. Allied activities are planned for Augusta and Bangor; a coalition of groups will hold press conferences announcing an "Economic Bill of Rights" for Maine. Contact: Thesil Morlan, Amnesty International USA, 207-832-6863. **Portland, OR** Town Hall Meeting featuring resolutions and endorsements, music by Simmons Rose and Emilio Zapata, grandson of Mexican land reform leader Emiliano Zapata, an interactive play by students, speeches by human rights leaders, and an online signing of Amnesty International's "World's Biggest Book." Contact: Steve Freedman, City of Portland, 503-823-5136.

Poughkeepsie, NY Town Hall Meeting, December 9. Themes include racial equality, violence against women, environmental rights, and welfare reform. Contact: Daniel A. Strasser, Eleanor Roosevelt Center at Val-Kill, 914-229-5302.

St. Petersburg, FL Town Hall Meeting focusing on freedom from discrimination. Dr. William Jones of the Florida Commission on Human Relations will be the keynote speaker. Many mayors will be asked to sign proclamations honoring the UDHR. Contact: Paul V. Yingst, Tampa Bay Chapter, United Nations Association, 727-345-4280.

San Diego, CA Town Hall Meeting with guests including Gracia Pick, American Jewish Committee and Dr. Alice Hayes, President of the University of San Diego. Breakout sessions, videos, readings, workshops, an interactive video teleconference linked with other town meetings, and a local issues panel. Contact: Gary Rotto, American Jewish Committee, 619-546-8777.

*For more information, contact Roberta Sklar
Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, 212-907-1331.*

50th Anniversary Universal Declaration of Human Rights

- **Key Resources**

- Roosevelt Family members**

Anne Roosevelt - grandchild, in Paris 12/10 for Universal Declaration Ceremony

Mr. James Roosevelt -grandchild

Ms. Tracy Roosevelt -great grandchild, daughter of James

Curtis Roosevelt -lives in Spain/ in London 12/10

Margie Roosevelt -great grandchild, Anne's daughter

Chris Roosevelt - great grandchild

Sarah Roosevelt- great grandchild

Other: Molly Bruce worked with ER at the UN Secretariat when UDHR was formulated.

Liaison - Roberta Sklar [212-970-1331](tel:212-970-1331)

- **Human Rights Overview**

Amb. William J. vanden Heuvel President, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute
Spokesperson: United Nations, History, Roosevelts [212-339-2579](tel:212-339-2579)

Ms. Felice D. Gaer, Director Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights , Spokesperson: "In Your Hands," Human Rights field [212-751-4000](tel:212-751-4000) x314

David Hinkley, Director, national "In Your Hands" campaign, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. Spokesperson/Resource: National Town Hall meetings, actions, activists [415-561-6820](tel:415-561-6820)

Dr. John F. Sears, Executive Director, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute;
Historian, Roosevelt/Human Rights [914-229-5321](tel:914-229-5321)

Mr. Michael D. Cooper, Director, Human Rights Office Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute [212-907-1343](tel:212-907-1343)

- **United Nations Human Rights Representatives**

Mary Robinson, U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights

contact: Dzidek Kedzia, Special Representative [011-4122-917- 9137](tel:011-4122-917-9137)

- **U.S. Representative to the UN Commission for Human Rights**

Ms. Nancy Rubin Current - [202-244-8247](tel:202-244-8247)

Ms. Geraldine Ferraro Former - [212-226-2965](tel:212-226-2965)

- **Human Rights Historians / Eleanor Roosevelt Biographers**

Ms. Doris Kearns Goodwin, Biographer No Ordinary Time [508-369-5488](tel:508-369-5488)

Ms. Allida K. Black, Biographer, Casting Her Own Shadow [703-536-6058](tel:703-536-6058)

Dr. M. Glen Johnson, Vassar College, Historian [914-437-7200](tel:914-437-7200)

• **Specialists: Specific Categories of Human Rights**

Childrens Rights

Dorriane Beyer, Esq., General Counsel, Nat'l Child Labor Committee 212-228-4773

Ms. Ellen B. Jeronimo Dir., National & Internat'l Relations, Girl Scouts of the USA
212-852-8660

Discrimination

Mr. Richard Foltin American Jewish Committee, Spokesperson: U.S. Human Rights policy, hate crimes, immigration, gay, lesbian, and racial discrimination, non-discrimination policies. 202-785-4200

Women's Rights

Ms. Charlotte Bunch, Exec. Dir., Center for Women's Global Leadership 732-932-8782

Torture and Killing

Mr. John Heffernan Executive Director, Coalition for International Justice
Spokesperson: International Tribunals 202-662-1595

Ms. Joanna Weschler, Representative to the United Nations, Human Rights Watch
Spokesperson: Torture and Political Killing 212-290-4700

Workers Rights

Ms. Barbara Shailor, Director, International Affairs, AFL-CIO 202-835-8230

Freedom of Expression

Ms. Kathy Garmezzy, Artists Rights Foundation 323-436-5061

Ms. Cathy Fitzpatrick, Exec.Dir., Internat'l League for Human Rights 212-684-1221

Religious Persecution

Ms. Felice D. Gaer, Director, Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights
212-751-4000 x314

Freedom from Want

Ms. Suzannah Sirkin, Deputy Director, Physicians for Human Rights 617-695-0041

Protecting Human Rights Defenders

Mr. John Heffernan, Exec.Dir., Coalition for International Justice 202-662-1595

Mr. Reed Brody, Human Rights Watch 212-290-4700

• **Some National Organizations with on-going Human Rights Projects:**

Resource: David Hinkley, Director, National *In Your Hands* Campaign 415-561-6820

Dr. Diane Loughran, American Association of Retired Persons 212-407-3733

Dr. Prema Mathai-Davis, Chief Executive Officer, YWCA of the USA 212-273-7800

December 4, 1998

Contact: Roberta Sklar 212-907-1331

Messages "In Your Hands" Campaign

The "In Your Hands" Campaign has four goals which every citizen can support:

We call for:

1. President Clinton to convene a White House Conference on Human Rights in 1999.
2. U.S. Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).
3. The Arrest and Prosecution of indicted war criminals worldwide.
4. Strengthening support for the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Today on the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we rededicate ourselves to the protection of human rights for everyone, everywhere.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted in 1948.

It is still vitally important for advancing and protecting human rights today.

It is a tool that can be used everywhere:

to educate the public and to move public officials into action.

We have made many important gains, but there are still far too many abuses of the basic human rights outlined in the Universal Declaration.

We must protect human rights for our children and for future generations.

As Americans we have a responsibility to help end human rights abuses everywhere - at home and abroad.

The American Bill of Rights helped set the standard for the Universal Declaration.

Continuing human rights concerns here in the United States include racial and other forms of discrimination, hate crimes, and violence against women among others.

Too many Americans are complacent about protecting their own rights as well as those of neighbors and fellow citizens who are "different."

The rights of many Americans are trampled upon today. This can and must be stopped.

Each person, each citizen can make a difference.

Today citizens across the nation are gathering to mark the 50th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights - but the work does not end there.

Individuals and organizations across the nation have launched campaigns to end human rights abuses. We must all participate in advancing human rights protections.

Eleanor Roosevelt said: " The destiny of human rights is in the hands of all our citizens in all our communities." - The destiny of human rights is in your hands!

National Coordinating Committee

For the 50th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

A growing coalition of over 120 organizations working to mark the Anniversary with special human rights programs.

Among the coalition members who might serve as resources to you are:

American Association of Retired Persons
(Washington, DC)

American Federation of Teachers
(New York, New York)

American Jewish Committee
(New York, New York)

Amnesty International USA
(New York, New York)

Carter Center
(Atlanta, GA)

Center For Women's Global Leadership
(New Brunswick, New Jersey)

Church Women United
(New York, New York)

Committee to Protect Journalists
(New York, New York)

Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
(Chicago, Illinois)

Girl Scouts of the USA
(New York, New York)

Human Rights Watch
(New York, New York)

Maryknoll Mission Association of the Faithful
(Maryknoll, New York)

National Child Labor Committee
(New York, New York)

National Council of Churches in the USA
(New York, New York)

National Council of La Raza
(Washington D.C)

National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of the USA
(Washington, DC)

Presbyterian Church (USA)
(Louisville, Kentucky)

United Nations Association of the USA
(New York, New York)

US Committee for UNICEF
(New York, New York)

Writers Guild of America, East
(New York, New York)

YMCA of the USA
(Chicago, Illinois)

YWCA of the USA
(New York, New York)

In Your Hands

Eleanor Roosevelt

I am here in behalf of thirty-two national organizations representing millions of citizens -- of all faiths; of every complexion; in all parts of the United States. The devotion of so many Americans to human rights is symbolized by this booklet, IN YOUR HANDS. It is a guide to community action. It is a spontaneous and resounding answer to the United Nations' call for world-wide, year-long observances of the Tenth Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home -- so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any map of the world. Yet they *are* the world of the individual person: the neighborhood he lives in; the school or college he attends; the factory, farm or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerted citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world.

Thus we believe that the destiny of human rights is in the hands of all our citizens in all our communities. That is why we have called this guidebook IN YOUR HANDS. We shall do our utmost, in the coming months, to put it in the hands of individuals and groups across the land.

It is our hope that this book may inspire them to strengthen their relations with one another; to acquaint themselves with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; to discuss it with their neighbors; to examine their own practices in the light of the standard it has raised; and to improve these practices wherever improvement is needed. In so doing, all of us together can make a vital and enduring contribution to this Tenth Anniversary observance.

I now have the honor, as spokesman for the organization joined in this effort, to present to you and your colleagues in the Commission on Human Rights these 18 copies of IN YOUR HANDS, one for each commission member -- a token of our faith that, under your leadership, the communities of every country will bring human rights to full reality in the community of the world.

Eleanor Roosevelt at the presentation of *"IN YOUR HANDS: A Guide for Community Action for the Tenth Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."*

Thursday, March 27, 1958 10:00 a.m. United Nations, New York



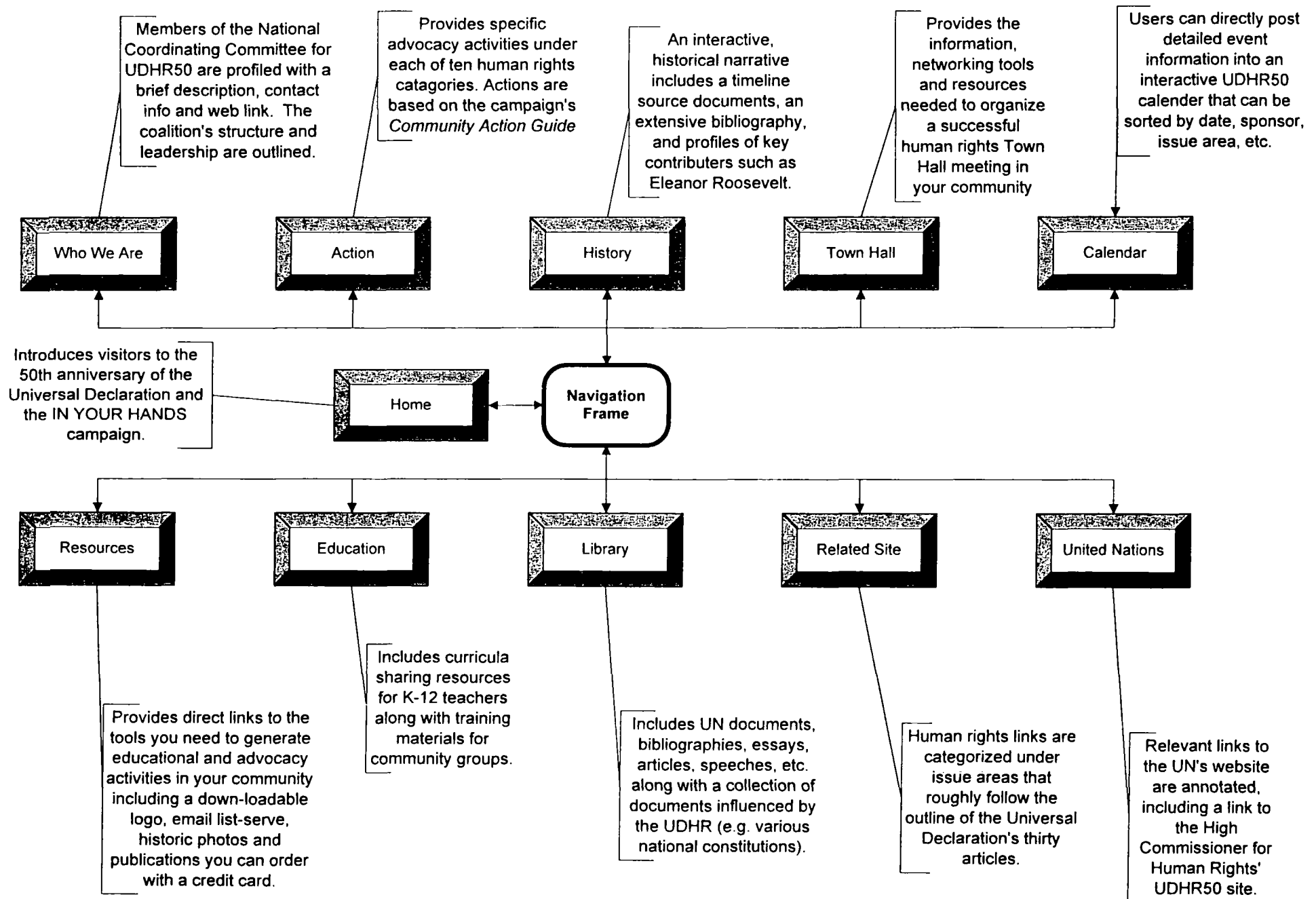
National Coordinating Committee

for the 50th anniversary of the

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

AFL-CIO
Albert Schweitzer Institute for the Humanities
Alliance for Justice - First Monday 1998
American Association for the International Commission of Jurists
American Association of Retired Persons
American Jewish Committee
Americans for Democratic Action
Amigos de los Sobrevivientes, Inc.
Amnesty International USA
Anti-Defamation League
Artists Rights Foundation
Asia Pacific Center for Justice and Peace
Association for Childhood Education International
B'nai B'rith International
Brahma Kumaris World Spiritual University
Bread and Roses
Bread for the World
Business Council for the United Nations
Business, Labor & Community Coalition of NYC
Campaign for UN Reform
Carter Center at Emory University
Center for Constitutional Rights
Center for Global Community & World Law
Center for Human Rights Education
Center for Immigrants Rights
Center for Strategic Change
Center for the Study of Human Rights, Columbia University
Center for Women Policy Studies
Center for Women's Global Leadership
ChildRights International Research Institute
Church Women United
City of Eugene, Oregon - Human Rights Program
Collaborative for Community Trust
Columban Fathers' Justice and Peace Office
Commission to Study the Organization of Peace
Committee to Protect Journalists
Congressional Hunger Center
Consortium for Health and Human Rights
Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations
Council on Economic Priorities
Disabled Peoples' International
Eleanor Roosevelt Center at Val-Kill
Equality Now
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
Fordham Institute for Innovation in Social Policy
Francois-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights
Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute
Free Speech TV
Free the Children
Freedom House
Fund for Peace
Girl Scouts of the USA
Global Education Associates
Global FreedomArts Education Association
Global Lawyers and Physicians
Group Project for Holocaust Survivors and their Children
Guatemala Human Rights Commission/USA
Human Rights Access
Human Rights Center, University of Minnesota
Human Rights Coalition of North Carolina
Human Rights Education Associates
Human Rights Internet
Human Rights USA
Human Rights Watch
Institute for Agricultural and Trade Policy
Institute for Business and Professional Ethics
Institute for Food and Development Policy
International Association for Religious Freedom in North America
International Federation of Settlements & Neighbourhood Centres
International Fellowship of Christians and Jews
International Gay & Lesbian Human Rights Commission
International Human Rights Law Group
International Human Rights Law Institute, DePaul University
International Labor Rights Education and Research Funds
International League for Human Rights
International Service for Human Rights
International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies
Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights
Lawyers Committee for Human Rights
Maryknoll Mission Association of the Faithful
Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights
National Association of Arab Americans
National Child Labor Committee
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA
National Council of La Raza
National Hospice Foundation
National Labor Committee
National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of the USA
National Trust for the Development of African American Men
National Youth Leadership Council
Natural Child Project Society
PeaceJam
People Organized to Win Employment Rights (P.O.W.E.R.)
People's Decade for Human Rights Education
Physicians for Human Rights
Prairie Peace Park
Puffin Foundation Ltd.
Ramapo College of New Jersey
Resource Center for the United Nations
Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights
Soka Gakkai International-United Nations Liaison Office
Soka University of America-Pacific Basin Research Center
The Millenium Monument
The Trinitarians
U.S. Committee for UNICEF
U.S. Committee for UNIFEM
Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE)
Unitarian Universalist Association
Unitarian Universalist United Nations Office
United Federation of Teachers
United Nations Association of the U.S.A.
University of Iowa, International and Comparative Law Program
W.E. A.R.E. for Human Rights
Women's Rights Network
World Federalist Association
World Federalist Movement
World Jurist Association
World Organization Against Torture USA
World Policy Institute
Writers Guild of America, East
YMCA of the USA
YWCA of the USA

IN YOUR HANDS Web Site (<http://www.udhr50.org/>)



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Date: 10:45 AM EST, DECEMBER 10, 1997

Contact: Michael Cooper

Phone: (212) 907-1332

Backgrounder



NATIONAL COALITION REPRESENTING 90 MILLION AMERICANS LAUNCHES CAMPAIGN TO END HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

The Universal
Declaration
of Human Rights
1948 - 1998

Hillary Clinton salutes citizen action for the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

New York, NY, December 10, 1997. More than eighty American organizations today announced formation of a national coalition that will conduct a yearlong campaign aimed at ending human rights violations worldwide. Representing a constituency of some 90 million Americans, William vanden Heuvel, chair of the coalition, announced a national "action agenda" to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1998.

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New York, NY 10017
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Fax: 212 682 9185
E-mail: udhr50@unausa.org
<http://www.udhr50.org>

The coalition, the National Coordinating Committee for the fiftieth anniversary, called for US ratification of the Convention to Eliminate Discrimination against Women, arrest of indicted war criminals and establishment of a permanent International Criminal Court to prosecute perpetrators of genocide, stronger protection for the rights of children throughout the world, and a White House Conference on Human Rights in 1998.

Mrs. Clinton saluted the coalition for taking "exactly the right approach" to marking the Declaration's fiftieth anniversary. "Certainly governments can play a critical role in promoting human rights, but the real battle that must be waged is carried out in human hearts and minds, and every one of us must be vigilant," she said, adding that the coalition's efforts to "reach deep into communities" would make the words of the Declaration live "here at home and around the world."

Convened by the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, the coalition includes all the major US-based human rights organizations including Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, as well as labor unions, religious groups, women's groups and service organizations such as the American Association of Retired Persons, YWCA, United Nations Association of the USA, National Council of La Raza and the Girl Scouts.

William J. vanden Heuvel, President of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute and chair of the coalition, noted that the Declaration's fiftieth anniversary was "an important opportunity to engage a new generation in promoting human rights." Felice

D. Gaer, chair of the coalition's executive committee added, "core tools developed by the coalition for the 50th anniversary offer opportunities for continuous citizen action throughout the year - to educate, to advocate, and to confront human rights abuses wherever and whenever they occur."

The coalition also introduced its interactive web site for the fiftieth anniversary. The site offers information, news, a calendar of activities, and opportunities for advocacy throughout the anniversary year. An interactive, historical overview of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is provided for educators, organizers, activists and students. The site also profiles each member of the coalition and provides a web link. A human rights education section, complete with a document library, adds to the site's extensive resources.

Web Magazine recently identified the coalition's web site as the "Editor's Choice" – awarding the site a perfect score across the board for content, design and links.

A coalition member, the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, American Jewish Committee, has prepared a community action guide called "IN YOUR HANDS" for the anniversary. "The guide offers 'fifty actions for the fiftieth' – based on the coalition's action agenda," said Felice Gaer, Director of the Jacob Blaustein Institute. "These activities, aimed at ending human rights violations, can be undertaken by local chapters of national organizations, by schools, churches and other community groups." The booklet will be distributed to community organizations throughout the United States.

"While each can stand alone, the fiftieth anniversary web site and community action guide are designed to complement one another," said Michael Cooper, Director of the Human Rights Office at the Roosevelt Institute. "The Institute will begin distributing the community action guide in January," Cooper said. The Roosevelt Institute is acting as secretariat for the coalition.

Adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at 3:00 a.m. on December 10, 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims the fundamental and inalienable rights of all members of the human family. It was the first comprehensive agreement among nations on the specific rights and freedoms of all human beings. Among others, these include freedom from torture and slavery, freedom of religion, expression and assembly as well as the rights to education, social security and medical care, the right to vote, and the right to a fair trial.

Eleanor Roosevelt served as the first Chairman of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, which drafted the Universal Declaration. She regarded her contribution to the Declaration as her "most important public achievement," and called its adoption "a great event in the life of mankind." The coalition's campaign theme – **IN YOUR HANDS** – was inspired by Eleanor Roosevelt's statement that "the destiny of human rights is in the hands of all our citizens in all our communities."

"We're helping American citizens prepare for the Universal Declaration's fiftieth anniversary, because like Eleanor Roosevelt, we're optimistic about the future of human rights," Mr. vanden Heuvel said. For more information, call (212) 907-1332 or visit the Roosevelt Institute's web site for the fiftieth anniversary at "www.udhr50.org."

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THE NEWSLETTER OF THE ROOSEVELT INSTITUTE AND LIBRARY

THE VIEW FROM HYDE PARK



The Universal
Declaration
of Human Rights
1948-1998

W I N T E R 1998

Vol 12, No.1

HILLARY CLINTON HELPS LAUNCH 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The UDHR50 Web site and Community Action Guide will offer opportunities for citizens to educate, advocate, and confront human rights abuses throughout the year.

(Cover)
Hillary Rodham Clinton speaking at the launch of "In Your Hands," a campaign to implement a national human rights agenda.

On December 10, Human Rights Day, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton joined the Roosevelt Institute and a coalition of eighty other national organizations in launching *In Your Hands*, a campaign to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. William J. vanden Heuvel, President of the Roosevelt Institute, noted that the coalition represents a constituency of some ninety million Americans. Under the direction of a National Coordinating Committee which Ambassador vanden Heuvel chairs, the UDHR50 coalition will conduct a yearlong campaign aimed at implementing a national human rights "Action Agenda" adopted by the members of the coalition.

Speaking at the United States Mission to the United Nations where the campaign was launched, Mrs. Clinton saluted the UDHR50 coalition for taking "exactly the right approach" to marking the Declaration's fiftieth anniversary. "Certainly governments can play a critical role in promoting human rights, but the real battle that must be waged is carried out in human hearts and minds, and every one of us must be vigilant," she said, adding that the coalition's efforts to "reach deep into communities" would make the words of the Declaration live "here at home and around the world."

The coalition's Action Agenda calls for US ratification of the Convention to Eliminate Discrimination against Women; the arrest of indicted war criminals and establishment of a permanent International Criminal Court to prosecute perpetrators of genocide, war crimes, and other crimes against humanity; stronger protection for the rights of children throughout the world; and a White House Conference on Human Rights in 1998.

Felice Gaer, Director of the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights and Chairperson of the UDHR50 Steering Committee, presented to Mrs. Clinton a copy of "IN YOUR HANDS," a community action guide, prepared by the Blaustein Institute as a tool for implementing the coalition's Action

Agenda. "The guide offers 'fifty actions for the fiftieth,'" Ms. Gaer said. "These activities, which are aimed at ending a broad array of human rights violations, can be undertaken by local chapters of national organizations, by schools, churches and other community groups." The booklet will be distributed to community organizations throughout the United States.

Michael Cooper, Director of FERI's Human Rights Office which serves as the secretariat for the coalition, introduced the interactive web site which FERI has created for the fiftieth anniversary (www.udhr50.org). The site offers information, news, a calendar of activities, and opportunities for advocacy throughout the anniversary year. An interactive, historical overview of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is provided for educators, organizers, activists and students. The site also profiles all the members of the coalition and provides web links to their home pages. A human rights education section, complete with a document library, adds to the site's extensive resources.

Mr. Cooper noted that Web Magazine recently featured the Institute's web site as the "Editor's Choice" in both its print and on-line versions. The magazine awarded the site a perfect score across the board for content, design and links. To date, the site has logged hundreds of thousands of hits from more than seventy countries, including such "far away" places as Malaysia, Romania, and South Africa.

"The web site and community action guide are the core tools with which we plan to accomplish the goals of the Action Agenda," Ms. Gaer said. "They will offer opportunities for continuous citizen action throughout the year - to educate, advocate, and confront human rights abuses wherever and whenever they occur."

Convened by the Roosevelt Institute, the UDHR50 coalition's National Coordinating Committee includes representatives from all the major US-based human rights organizations including Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, as well as labor unions, religious groups, women's groups and service organizations such as the American Association

of Retired Persons, YWCA, National Council of La Raza and the Girl Scouts. The United Nations Association USA, which provides office support and services for the UDHR50 secretariat, is a major partner in the project.

Ambassador Bill Richardson and US Representative to the UN Commission on Human Rights, Nancy Rubin, attended the launching of UDHR50, as did Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, Democracy and Labor, John Shattuck. Other guests included key leaders in the Institute's national coalition, students from the Eleanor Roosevelt Elementary School (PS 151) in Manhattan, Roosevelt family members and representatives of the major papers, wire services and networks including ABC, NBC, CNN and Fox News.

President Clinton, in a major human rights address at the Museum of Jewish Heritage the evening before the launch, commended the Roosevelt Institute for its "efforts to teach a new generation of Americans that the future of human rights is 'in their hands.'"

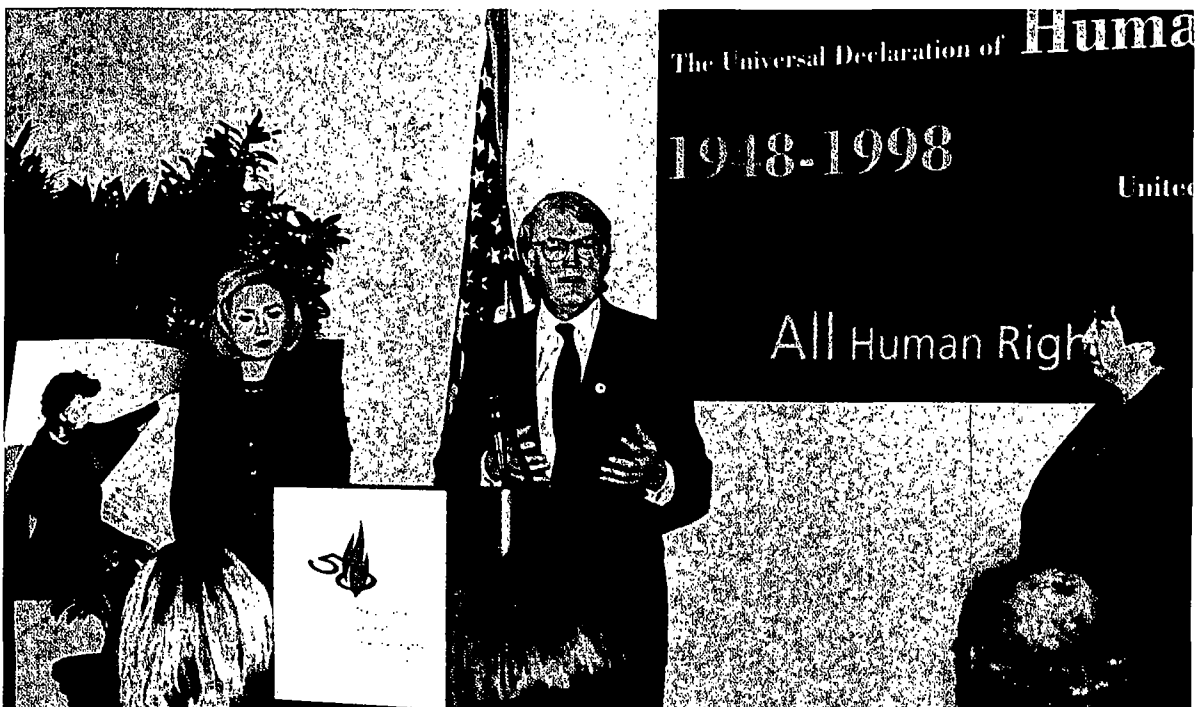
James Roosevelt, a grandson of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, reminded the audience that Eleanor Roosevelt regarded her work on the Declaration as the most important accomplishment of her public life. Mrs.

Roosevelt served as the first Chairman of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, which drafted the Universal Declaration. She called the Declaration's adoption "a great event in the life of mankind." The coalition's campaign theme - IN YOUR HANDS - was inspired by Mrs. Roosevelt's belief that "the destiny of human rights is in the hands of all our citizens in all our communities."

Adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was the first agreement among nations on the specific rights and freedoms of all human beings. Among others, these include freedom from torture and slavery, freedom of religion, expression and assembly as well as the rights to education, social security and medical care, the right to vote, and the right to a fair trial.

"We are helping American citizens prepare for the Universal Declaration's fiftieth anniversary, because, like Eleanor Roosevelt, we are optimistic about the future of human rights," Mr. vanden Heuvel said. For more information, call (212) 907-1332 or visit the UDHR50 web site at "www.udhr50.org."

Hillary Rodham Clinton, William vanden Heuvel, and Felice Gaer at the launching of "In Your Hands."



LIFTING PEOPLE EVERYWHERE TO A HIGHER STANDARD
OF LIFE AND TO A GREATER ENJOYMENT OF FREEDOM



THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION of Human Rights



We stand today at the threshold of a great event, both in the life of the United Nations and in the life of mankind. This Universal Declaration of Human Rights may well become the international magna carta of all men everywhere. We hope its proclamation by the General Assembly will be an event comparable to the proclamation of the declaration of the rights of man by the French people in 1789, the adoption of the bill of rights by the people of the United States and the adoption of comparable declarations at different times in other countries. At a time when there are so many issues on which we find it difficult to reach a common basis of agreement, it is a significant fact that 58 states have found such a large measure of agreement in the complex field of human rights. This must be taken as testimony of our common aspiration first voiced in the Charter of the United Nations "to lift men everywhere to a higher standard of life and to a greater enjoyment of freedom."

— Eleanor Roosevelt, addressing the United Nations General Assembly
December 9, 1948



The Universal
Declaration
of Human Rights
1948-1998

The Birth of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

MICHAEL COOPER

1998 is a year of celebration for advocates of human rights worldwide. It marks the 50th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) by the General Assembly of the United Nations. In recognition of this milestone, Social Education will feature a series of articles on human rights during the 1998-1999 school year. We begin with the accompanying article on the creation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights written by Michael Cooper of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute.

The United Nations is honoring the 50th anniversary with Human Rights in Action, a global teach-in project of the UN CyberSchoolBus. This project introduces students to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with an interactive declaration and a series of questions and answers about how the UDHR undergirds worldwide efforts to improve human rights. For younger students, it offers plain language versions of both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the more recent Declaration of the Rights of the Child.

The heart of the Human Rights in Action project is an invitation to schools to participate in the creation of a Global Atlas of Student Action containing descriptions of actions taken by students in the field of human rights. There are two parts of the project, though schools can choose to participate in only one:

Part 1: *We Have Rights* focuses on rights that are well-respected in the community. Students will provide a brief example of such a right based on guidelines provided by the project.

Part 2: *Taking Action!* requires students to carry out a community-based human rights project. Schools that already have such a project in action can describe it; others are encouraged to undertake such a project in the coming months. The deadline for submissions to the Global Atlas of Student Action is November 1998.

Students and teachers who wish to take part in this project or to make use of other materials on human rights should visit the UN CyberSchoolBus on the World Wide Web at <http://www.un.org/pubs/cyberschoolbus>.

As individual human beings, we each have an innate sense of the basic rights and freedoms that belong to us and cannot be denied by any government. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, signed on December 10, 1948, is the primary international statement of the fundamental and inalienable rights of all members of the human family. As such, it represents one of humanity's greatest achievements.

Prior to the creation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), such a powerful and unequivocal instrument for the protection of individual rights and freedoms had never existed. The promise made when UN member states pledged to "achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms," can never be retracted.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has proved to be a "living document," as Eleanor Roosevelt called it, in that it has grown in stature and respect over the past 50 years. What began as an articulation of shared values bearing moral weight on UN member states has become a primary building block of customary international law that demands respect from the entire world community. Direct reference to the UDHR is made in the national constitutions of numerous countries, and human rights advocates worldwide invoke its principles.

The UDHR has also provided the framework for the adoption of the UN Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; and many other legally binding international human rights treaties. It represents at once humanity's minimal expectations and its greatest hopes for upholding the inherent dignity of all human beings.

"Natural Law" and Other Precedents

The concept of human rights manifests itself in the literary, artistic, religious, legal, and political structures of all societies. Attempts to articulate this innate understanding can be traced from ancient laws and Greco-Roman doctrines through the works of such philosophers as Aquinas, Spinoza, Leibniz, Grotius, Locke, and Rousseau. Many have contributed to the concept of "natural law" based on the belief that people are born innately "good" and supporting the notion that fundamental rights can be reasonably deduced from this law.

Although the philosophy of natural law lent much to the conceptual basis for human rights, it became increasingly important to translate vague concepts of rights derived from nature into specific written laws that would protect individuals within the larger framework of society. Great precedents in the acknowledgment of human rights lie in such documents as the British Magna Carta, the United States Bill of Rights, and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man.

Other important precedents are found in two 19th century developments: the anti-slavery movement and the growth of a body of humanitarian law represented by international conventions. The latter include such examples as the Geneva Convention of 1864, which protected medical workers and installations during war, and the Hague Convention of 1899, which established humanitarian rules for naval warfare. The concept of a state's responsibility to treat foreigners in a just manner also helped advance human rights norms.

Nevertheless, these emerging international standards did little to stop the inhumanity of World War I, with its poison gas and extended trench warfare. Moreover, the nature of modern

weaponry and the "total warfare" produced by it all but destroyed the traditional distinctions between soldiers and civilians in wartime. Many people came to believe in the need for an international organization that could protect individuals and ensure peace.

The League of Nations, established shortly after World War I, was the first attempt to bring together the world's nations in an organization meant to prevent future wars. The League's Covenant created a "mandates system" that obliged its more powerful member nations to promote the "well-being and development" of peoples in the territories over which they had jurisdiction. It also called for "fair and human conditions of labour for men, women and children, a provision which led to the creation of the International Labor Organization in 1920.

These were, indeed, important international developments. But appreciation of human rights as the very foundation of a free, just, and peaceful world was immature, and commitment to these values was thin. The League of Nations proved an ineffective organization and eventually collapsed in the face of the ruthless dictatorships that emerged in post-WWI Europe.

Cataclysm and World Response

Although great progress in defining human rights had been made, events of the late 1930s and early 1940s threatened humanity's most firmly held moral convictions. By the end of World War II, the Nazis had killed six million Jews, and enslaved or destroyed countless other groups—including Poles, gypsies, homosexuals, the mentally and physically handicapped, political opponents, and Soviet prisoners of war. In the middle of the 20th century—at the hands of an educated and technologically-advanced nation—the idea of human rights was simply extinguished.

The Holocaust altered forever the way in which people considered human rights. Prior to World War II, the prevalent attitude had been that protecting human rights was primarily a concern of sovereign governments. For many people, however, efforts to defeat the Axis became synonymous



Eleanor Roosevelt holding a Declaration of Human Rights poster in English.

with a struggle to make human rights a universal concern. And, as a fuller understanding of the extent of the atrocities emerged after the war, leaders and citizens throughout all cultures and societies were galvanized to action by what Winston Churchill called the "crime without a name."

During the war, the momentum toward the universal recognition of human rights was propelled by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's speech on the Four Freedoms before the United States Congress in 1941, and, subsequently, by the Atlantic Charter. In his address to Congress, Roosevelt proclaimed four basic freedoms that could never be legitimately abridged: freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill echoed the American president by asserting that an Allied victory would be marked by the "enthronement of human rights." This message was communicated to people very explicitly in wartime statements like the "United Nations Declaration" and pamphlets like the "United Nations Fight for the Four Freedoms."

A Promise to Humanity

The Allied countries began planning for peace well before the end of World War II. One important event was a conference held at the Dumbarton Oaks estate outside Washington, D.C., in 1944. Here, the Big Four discussed proposals about how to maintain peace in the post-war world. Their ultimate goal was to create an international organization that would have the power to preserve security and foster prosperity. Because much of the negotiations was driven by other geopolitical concerns, this conference produced only modest commitments to human rights. However, as the Big Four would soon discover, the world expected more.

The creation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was largely due to the efforts of a multitude of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) along with some of the world's less powerful countries. A Pan-American conference held in Mexico City in early 1945 consolidated Latin American determination to see human rights included in the charter of any new international organization. At the same time, over 1,300 American NGOs organized to place newspaper ads call-



Eleanor Roosevelt, Chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights, seated with (right) France's René Cassin, Vice-Chairman and author of the draft declaration, and (left) Georges Day, UN Radio Commentator. The photo was taken at Lake Success, N.Y., in June 1947.

ing for human rights to be an integral part of such an organization.

When representatives of 46 nations met in San Francisco in April 1945 to form the United Nations, they brought with them a hatred of war combined with a spirit of respect for human dignity. Still, their work threatened to fall short of the concrete protections of human rights that many people sought. It was the concerted pressure from 42 American organizations, acting as consultants to the U.S. delegation, that was most instrumental in convincing the world's nations of the need for clear protection of individual human rights. And, while many advocates hoped to see a specific "bill of rights" included in the UN Charter, they were pleased overall with the initial commitments made.

Human rights were given a new international legal status through being mentioned five times in the UN Charter. In the Preamble, human rights are identified as one of the four founding purposes of the United Nations. Article 1 of the Charter declares that member states must work to "achieve international cooperation . . . in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, lan-

guage or religion." Article 55 declares that the UN will promote "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms" and Article 56 asserts that members "pledge themselves to take joint and separate action" to achieve that respect.

Finally, Article 68 mandates that the UN Economic and Social Council set up a commission "for the promotion of human rights." This newly created "Commission on Human Rights"—the only such subsidiary body specified in the Charter—would spend the next three years drafting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Force of World Opinion

An event concurrent with the formation of the United Nations—the Nuremberg trials of Axis war criminals—did much to prepare the intellectual climate for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Many American organizations responded to the pending trials by preparing drafts of an international bill of rights.¹ These included the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, the American Jewish Committee, the American Federation of Labor, the American Association of the United Nations, the Federal Council of Church-

es, the American Bar Association, the Women's Trade Union League, and various ad hoc citizen groups. In addition, private citizens from nine countries, along with several international NGOs, offered their own versions.

What put an international bill of rights on the UN's official agenda was a particular document representing the combined efforts of many organizations and nations. It was prepared at an international conference of NGOs, submitted by the American Law Institute, and introduced by the Panamanian delegation at the first session of the UN General Assembly. In order to fulfill the mandate spelled out in the UN Charter, however, the United Nations first needed to organize its human rights decision-making machinery.

Based on the recommendations of a "nuclear commission" chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt, the UN's Economic and Social Council established the official UN Commission on Human Rights in June 1946. The Council chose eighteen members to sit on the Commission. U.S. Delegate Eleanor Roosevelt was elected chairperson, China's P.C. Chang and France's René Cassin were elected as vice-chairmen, and Lebanon's Charles Malik was named *rapporteur* (secretary). The UN Secretariat supported the Commission's work through its Human Rights Division under the direction of John P. Humphrey.

The Commission's principal tasks were (1) to define what human rights should be enumerated, (2) in a document whose nature was yet to be determined. Thus, its members embarked on an arduous journey that lasted almost three years and involved thousands of hours of intensive study, heated debate, and delicate negotiation. The men and women of the Commission on Human Rights strove to forge a declaration that might successfully encompass the hopes, beliefs, and aspirations of people throughout the world.

The Commission first met during a two-week period from January 27 to February 10, 1947. After defining its mission as the preparation of a draft International Bill of Rights, it decided to form a smaller working group. This drafting committee consisted of Roosevelt (U.S.),

Chang (China), Malik (Lebanon), John Humphrey (UN Secretariat), representatives from Australia, Chile, France, the Philippines, the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the United Kingdom, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia.

Drafting the Declaration

The first meeting of the drafting committee took place on June 9, 1947, in Lake Success, N.Y. Its primary task was to contemplate a 408-page outline of human rights prepared by the UN Secretariat. This outline included blueprints presented by the governments of Chile, Cuba, Panama, the United Kingdom, and the United States; elements drawn from the constitutions of 55 nations; and recommendations from many non-governmental human rights organizations and private citizens. A summary of this outline, prepared by René Cassin, became the working draft for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Before creating the final document, the drafting committee had to address its legal nature. Certain nations—including the United States (which wanted to avoid the Senate approval needed for U.S. endorsement of any international treaty)—favored a morally persuasive declaration. Other countries preferred a legally binding treaty. It was Eleanor Roosevelt's political pragmatism that prevailed in the committee's decision to draft both.

The Commission on Human Rights met again from December 2-17, 1947. Although there was still discussion of the legal form, negotiations now focused on the actual content of the document. At the end of the two weeks, a draft Declaration of Human Rights was forwarded to all UN member states for comment. With their responses in hand, the drafting committee worked on a second draft in May 1948.

With the completion of a third draft on June 18, the Commission on Human Rights declared its work done, and passed its report along with the proposed declaration to the UN's Economic and Social Council. After inviting yet further comment from member states, the Council forwarded it to the General Assembly.

A New Standard of Humanity

Now the final process began. In the second half of 1948, the General Assembly's Third Committee held 81 meetings and considered 168 formal resolutions on the draft declaration. General debate was followed by detailed negotiations over each article and the order of articles in the declaration. There was even a sub-committee to make sure that the meaning of every word in the document was clearly translatable into all the official languages of the United Nations. On December 6, 1948, the Third Committee adopted the declaration and sent it to the General Assembly.

A final heroic debate in the General Assembly lasted into the early hours of December 10, 1948. At 3:00 a.m., the call was made to vote on the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Forty-eight nations voted for the Declaration, eight countries abstained (the Soviet bloc countries, South Africa, and Saudi Arabia) and two countries absented themselves—thus allowing for the community of nations to adopt the Universal Declaration of Human Rights without recorded dissent.

At the center of the document was the belief of its framers that "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world." And, they affirmed that "it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law."

The efforts of the Commission on Human Rights had no parallel in world history. Although attempts to describe and protect human rights had been undertaken in many times and places, the outcomes—even at their most inclusive—applied only to members of a particular society. Never before had the community of nations identified those rights and freedoms to be enjoyed by all people of the world for all time. ♦

Teaching Resources

In Your Hands: A Community Action Guide is a resource prepared by the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights

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of the American Jewish Committee. It honors the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by outlining ideas for 50 actions to take in support of human rights globally. For information on how to obtain the guide, contact:

The Jacob Blaustein Institute
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022
Tel. (212) 751-4000
Fax (212) 751-4017

The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute
Human Rights Office
801 Second Avenue
New York, NY 10017
Tel. (212) 907-1332
Fax (212) 682-9185
Website: <http://www.udhr50.org>

Michael Cooper is director of the Human Rights Office at The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute in New York City. He wishes to acknowledge invaluable assistance from members of the National Coordinating Committee for UDHR50.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
December 4, 1998

Contact: Roberta Sklar, 212-907-1331



The Universal
Declaration
of Human Rights
1948 - 1998

**THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS ACROSS U.S. TO CELEBRATE
50TH ANNIVERSARY OF UNIVERSAL DECLARATION
OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON DECEMBER 10th**

**National IN YOUR HANDS Campaign Generates
New York City Town Hall Meeting
and Scores of Commemorative Activities from Albany to San Diego**

On December 10th, thousands of concerned citizens around the country will mark the 50th Anniversary of the landmark Universal Declaration of Human Rights. From Hawaii to Bangor, Maine, Americans will demonstrate their strong support for human rights by participating in citizen actions, community dialogue and celebration.

Many exciting activities -- from vigils and town hall meetings to tributes and interactive video teleconferences -- have been planned by widely diverse organizations with the support of a broad array of sponsors. Taking place throughout this anniversary week, these events represent a high point of the IN YOUR HANDS campaign, launched December 1997 and sponsored by the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. These events present Americans across the social spectrum opportunities to take actions that will help eradicate human rights violations where they live and around the globe.

William J. vanden Heuvel, President of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute said, "On the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we rededicate ourselves to the protection of human rights. As Americans we have a responsibility to help end human rights abuses at home and abroad. Each person can make a difference. As Eleanor Roosevelt stated: *The destiny of human rights is in the hands of all our citizens in all our communities.*"

An historic national celebration to be held in New York City will be at the center of the day. A national Town Hall Meeting will take place at the Community Church of New York, 40 East 35th Street, NYC, on Thursday, December 10 from 2:30 to 4:00 P.M. **Human rights defenders** from throughout the United States will join nationally recognized leaders to speak out at the meeting on key human rights concerns. **Caroline Kennedy** will open the program. Other noted spokespeople who will participate include **William J. vanden Heuvel, President of the Roosevelt Institute; John Sweeney, Pres. AFL-CIO; Mary Robinson, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (invited); Felice Gaer, Director, Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights; Charlotte Bunch, Director, Center for Women's Global Leadership; and**

Franklin and Eleanor
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(More)

TALKING POINTS FOR ANN ROOSEVELT

1. It is fitting that we mark the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by rededicating ourselves to increasing human rights protections around the world.
 - κ While the Declaration was signed on December 10, 1948, it is still vitally important for advancing and protecting human rights today.
 - κ In the spirit of my grandmother Eleanor Roosevelt, who always kept future generations in mind, we must protect human rights for the sake of our children and their children who will inherit our planet.
 - κ We have made many important gains. Around the world, every leader and every government is now expected to observe human rights. Those who do not suffer international condemnation. That by itself is an important advance of the last half-century.
 - κ Even so, every day brings word of some new abuse. Just in the past two weeks we have seen the arrest of more dissidents in China, the murder of a Russian defender of freedom, and more abuses in the former Yugoslavia.
2. That is why we must remember what Eleanor Roosevelt said: "The destiny of human rights is in the hands of all of our citizens in all our communities." That means human rights are in OUR hands.
 - κ The American Bill of Rights helped to set the standard for the Universal Declaration. It drew from the American Four Freedoms--freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom of expression, and freedom of worship. So as Americans, we have a special responsibility to help end human rights abuses everywhere.
 - κ Too many Americans are complacent about human rights. But even in America we have human rights abuses: people who are somehow "different" are made to suffer. Discrimination, violence against women, rape and hate crimes are forms of human rights abuses.
 - κ We now recognize that human rights means more than the rights of political prisoners or freedom from torture.
 - Human rights also means the rights of children, the rights of women, and the rights of workers to be free of abuse.
 - Human rights also means freedom from want, freedom from discrimination, and freedom from religious persecution, and freedom of expression.

- Human rights means the right to a fair trial.
 - And human rights also means the safety of human rights defenders.
3. In preserving these rights, individuals CAN make a difference.
- κ Thousands of individual letters and purchasing decisions helped end apartheid in South Africa. Personal letters have stopped the torture of thousands of political prisoners. They have forced the release of many, many others.
 - κ Today, Americans in 50 cities across the country will gather to mark the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
 - κ Human rights are your rights, and my rights too. Human rights are universal. Here are some things we can do as individuals:
 - We can call upon heads of state around the world, including President Clinton, to launch national dialogues in every country on human rights, and to take these commitments seriously.
 - In the United States, we are calling for ratification of the Convention to Eliminate Discrimination Against Women, CEDAW, and the Convention on the Rights of Children. We urge President Clinton to hold a White House Conference on Human Rights.
 - We call for more arrests of top leaders by the international tribunals on war crimes in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia and more support of efforts to investigate alleged abuses.
 - We can call for arrest and prosecution of human rights violators who are still at large worldwide.
 - We can ask for more support for the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights.
 - And we can point out again and again that it is up to every one of us to make sure human rights are preserved. If we don't do it for others, who will do it for us? On this special day let us remember: The destiny of human rights is truly in our hands.

It is appropriate this week, and a little startling, to step back from the daily news and notice how much of it involves human rights. The fate of former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet hangs in the balance. Two dissidents are arrested for speaking out in China, while a Bosnian Serb general is arrested and charged in the Srebrenica massacres. A human rights activist legislator is murdered in Russia.

Fifty years ago the world would hardly have noticed these situations. But this week [Dec. 10] marks the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and that has changed our public discourse.

Public awareness of human rights has changed too. At first, attention focused mainly on the torture and jailing of political dissidents. But now the murder of a young gay man in Wyoming is condemned as a hate crime. The Taliban in Afghanistan are denounced as violators of women's human rights, creators of gender apartheid. When journalists are silenced in Colombia, Argentina, Serbia, and Burma, we say the right to free expression has been violated. Those who harness children to looms in Pakistan are accused of breaking global standards. Corporations that run sweatshops in Malaysia and China and New York are condemned for violating the human rights of their workers.

Signed on Dec. 10, 1948, after nearly two years of grueling negotiation over every word and semicolon, the Universal Declaration's fundamental concept--that every human being has certain inalienable rights from the mere fact of being human--has come to permeate world affairs. Where international law once concerned only the rights of states, it now also protects the rights of individuals.

That good news might be the one undeniable proof of progress in human history. Despots once slaughtered unnamed millions in erecting colossal monuments to themselves, and even in the 20th century, hate-driven ideologies of fascism, communism and extreme nationalism have taken the lives of millions.

Now, however, individuals worldwide have come to understand the truth stated by Eleanor Roosevelt, who chaired and guided the United Nations Commission on Human Rights when it adopted the Declaration: "The destiny of human rights is in the hands of all of our citizens in all our communities." That is, individuals struggling for their rights under the Declaration are the only real mechanism for enforcing it.

We have moved, therefore, from the Declaration's vague "standard of achievement" toward legally binding treaties: the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. These cover human rights in many categories: the rights of children, women, and workers; the freedoms from want, discrimination, religious persecution, and torture and political killings; freedom of expression; fair trials; and protection for human rights defenders.

No category is more important than any other, for they are interlinked. During the Cold War, for example, western governments said political rights were required before economic and social rights (which they called "needs") could be implemented. The former Soviet Union took the opposite view.

The truth is that people denied one of their rights are often denied other rights too. Where women, for example, are denied the right to education, they have trouble reading ballots or newspapers, finding work, maintaining a standard of living and engaging in political life. People denied free assembly lose their rights to worship with others, to organize labor unions, and to form political groups.

Recognizing this, at least 90 national constitutions drafted since 1948 have included provisions from the Universal Declaration. Court decisions in 28 nations refer to it, 85 cases in the United States alone. And although many nations did and still do claim to honor the Declaration in the breach or without ratifying it, its language has proved incandescent, igniting outrage and indignation that make human rights abuses more and more costly to the violators.

That was the idea--to awaken individual action. When demonstrators stand in the cold outside Pinochet's hospital in London, they are doing what Eleanor Roosevelt and her colleagues hoped.

Today, thousands of non-governmental organizations, campus groups and church-based fellowships are pressing local and national governments worldwide to prevent and stop human rights abuses--even in places never shown on American television. Guarantees begin with public pressure; abuses cease when they get public scrutiny. What nations do to their own people is no longer solely their own affair.

That is why hundreds of groups are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Declaration this week by reaching out to individuals with Eleanor Roosevelt's message: "It's in your hands."

Much remains to be done. The United States has yet to ratify two vital international compacts, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The international tribunals struggling with those responsible for genocidal acts in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda need strong support, as does the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights. The 50th anniversary objectives include a White House summit on human rights to reinvigorate the U.S. commitment and focus public attention.

And that is why Pinochet's case has sparked such public debate. Its various governmental and court decisions will have worldwide repercussions, embedding human rights standards further into international law and practice. For the millions who are yearning for relief from oppression as they celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the attention couldn't come at a better time.

December 7, 1998

Clinton
Bear



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
Old Executive Office Building, Rm. 100
Washington, DC 20500

The Universal
Declaration
of Human Rights
1948 - 1998

Dear Melanne,

We are very pleased that Mrs. Clinton has taken interest in this week's observance of the 50th anniversary of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights. Many thanks for all your efforts. As a special request, would it be possible for her regular column to be on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, with mention of the "In Your Hands" human rights campaign?

Also, we would like to open our town meeting in New York with a video clip from the morning White House event. This will be sent by satellite to our 30-plus events around the country. We obviously are hoping the President and the First Lady will mention the "In Your Hands" campaign in their remarks. Any help your office could provide would be greatly appreciated. Kathy Bonk has spoken to Ann Lewis about this as well. She is also helping to get a copy of the video opening.

Enclosed is a copy of the "In Your Hands" Community Action guide; Ann Roosevelt's talking points for the anniversary address in Paris; an editorial submitted to the New York Times by Felice Gaer; and our kit including a list of the town meetings taking place across the country on this topic. Please call me with any questions at 212/907-1343.

William J. vanden Heuvel
*Chair, National Coordinating
Committee for UDHR50*
Felice D. Gaer
*Chair, Steering Committee
for UDHR50*
John F. Sears
*Executive Director,
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Sincerely,

Michael

Michael Cooper
National Coordinating Committee

Thanks for all your help. You're terrific.



It's In Your Hands

T A K E A C T I O N - A N D M A K E I T C O U N T

"In Your Hands" – a Community Action Guide

One person can make a difference – especially when that one person is joined by thousands of other people in communities across the country! When you work with the "In Your Hands" community action guide, your efforts are echoed by others throughout America. You know you're part of a growing human rights movement that's making a difference.

"In Your Hands" gives you 50 actions for the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights – with additional resources to help you mobilize your community. To order, call the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute at 212 907 1332.

Won't you help:

- Protect Children's Rights
- Stop Torture and Political Killings
- Fight Discrimination
- Advance the Human Rights of Women
- Reinforce Workers' Rights
- Spread the Word about Free Expression
- Halt Religious Persecution
- Advocate Fair Trials
- Secure "Freedom from Want"
- Defend Human Rights Defenders

For each issue, "In Your Hands" gives you five actions:

Request and Read (directs you to relevant books, articles, documents and on-line resources)

Act Locally (gives you concrete things you can do to promote human rights in your own community)

Act Nationally or Internationally (helps you persuade political leaders to strengthen respect for human rights)

Grab a Partner (connects you to a national organization with an ongoing campaign or program)

Raise Your Voice (urges you to speak up for specific individuals suffering from gross human rights violations)

Human rights – in your hands and at your fingertips

The official web site for the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides information, news, ideas and opportunities for meaningful action to protect and promote human rights.

Highlights include:

- ♦ **Action** - specific advocacy ideas and activities (based on the "In Your Hands" community action guide)
- ♦ **History** - photos, essays, bibliographies and analysis of the Universal Declaration in an interactive overview
- ♦ **Calendar** - an international database of events and activities marking *Human Rights Year*
- ♦ **Who We Are** - profiles of national coalition member organizations with email and web links
- ♦ **News** - a searchable database for human-rights-related announcements from around the world
- ♦ **United Nations** - links to relevant areas of the UN including the High Commissioner for Human Rights
- ♦ **Education** - curriculum guides and resources for teachers, students and activists
- ♦ **Related Sites** - links to dozens of human rights and social justice organizations
- ♦ **Library** - a collection of human rights treaties and relevant documents

50 Actions

FOR THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE UNIVERSAL
DECLARATION OF

THE UNIVERSAL

Declaration *of*

HUMAN

RIGHTS

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The President's Interagency Council on Women

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Honorary Chair

Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright
Chair

Secretary of Health and Human Services
Donna Shalala, Immediate Past Chair

DATE: 12/8/98

TO: Ann Lewis

ORGANIZATION: WH

PHONE: 456-2640 FAX: 456-1213

FROM: Dani per Theresa Loar

PHONE: 647-6269 FAX: _____

MESSAGE: _____

Here is some information about
youth leaders. It would be great if
they could be acknowledged at
Thursday's event

Eva Morales spoke before HRC in Uruguay.

cc: Kristy Macy 456-5709

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET): _____

**Language on Young Human Rights Leaders
for International Human Rights Day Event at the White House**

Today we honor the past fifty years of work to protect human rights around the world. But, as we approach a new millennium I would also like to give special recognition to the young people who will continue this work into the next century. I am pleased we have with us today six young emerging leaders from around the world, each of whom are working in their own countries to advocate for human rights and democracy. Recently, they forged a partnership to work together through their organization YouthConnect to support young leaders, raise youth awareness about human rights, and through their stories of reliance and strength mobilize young people around the world to take action. I would like to take a few minutes to recognize these young leaders.

Hafsat Abiola from Nigeria

Arn Chorn Pond from Cambodia

Miki Jacevic from Bosnia

Shamir Khan from Guyana

Marc Kielburger from Canada

Eva Morales from Guatemala

Thank you for the work that you have already done and the work we know you will continue to do in the future. We will all be looking for great things from you.

Biographies for Young Human Rights Leaders for International Human Rights Day

These young leaders and their newly formed organization, YouthConnect will be featured in *Parade* magazine in the coming months.

Hafsat Abiola, 24 - Nigeria

Hafsat is a human rights and democracy organizer. Her father, Moshood, won the Presidential election held in Nigeria in 1993 but served out his term in solitary confinement, incarcerated by the military. He died in prison on the eve of his release on July 8, 1998. Her mother, Kudirat, was also a democracy leader who was assassinated in 1996 in the streets of Lagos. Hafsat established and directs the Kudirat Institute for Democracy (KIND). KIND seeks to promote the development of women and youth as change-makers. She is also the co-founder and first President of the International African Student Association, a Fetzer Fellow, a Board Member of the State of the World Forum, and a speaker for Amnesty International.

Arn Chorn Pond, 26 - Cambodia

Arn grew up in the killing fields of Cambodia and was able to survive the Khmer Rouge occupation by learning to play the flute for generals. Arn is the co-founder of Children of War and over the past 15 years he has led numerous initiatives to improve the rights of Children, especially in war-torn areas and regions faced with oppression and poverty. Arn is currently both running a project for gang members of Asian origin in Massachusetts and building a center in Cambodia where young people will preserve musical traditions damaged by genocide and upheaval.

Miki Jacevic, 28 - Bosnia

Miki is the Coordinator for the Academic LifeLine for Bosnia and Herzegovina and the National Conference for Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution. Currently, he is organizing the First World Summit for Youth Peacemakers and Democracy Builders. Miki is a Member of the Board of the State of the World Forum, a Fetzer Fellow, and a founding member of the Institute for New Leaders. Miki coordinated the First Candle Campaign, an effort to support the non-violent student movement in Kosovo. He holds a Ph.D. in Conflict Resolution Studies.

Shamir Khan, 24 - Guyana

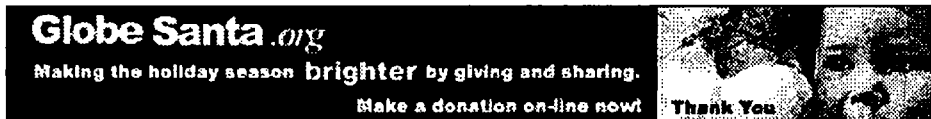
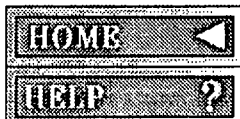
Shamir is a recipient of the Raoul Wallenberg Fellowship at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem which focuses on leadership in democracies. Shamir lived and worked on various youth human rights and conflict resolution projects in Turkey, India, Northern Ireland, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and Ayodhya/Varnassi. Currently, he is a clinical electrophysiology research coordinator at Mt. Sinai Medical Center in New York. He plans to start his doctorate in clinical child psychology in 1999 focusing on the emotional and psychological development of young people from conflicted regions of the world.

Marc Kielburger, 20 - Canada

Marc Co-founded Free the Children with his brother Craig. Free the Children is an international organization with thousands of members worldwide. The organization has two main purposes: to work towards ending exploitation and abuse of children and promote children's rights; and to give youth a voice and develop youth leaders. This past year, Marc spent seven months living and working in the Klong Toey slums of Bangkok, Thailand, where he helped to set up a hospice for mothers and their babies with HIV/AIDS. He has also set up organizations and worked with young people in Africa.

Eva Morales, 29 - Guatemala

Eva is one of the leading human rights activists from Guatemala and has spent the majority of her past seven years in exile in the United States. At thirteen, many of her family members were killed and she was imprisoned for her work to build democracy and peace. Eva was the youngest founder of the first organization for peace and democracy in Guatemala, GAM, when she was just sixteen. In March of 1998, Eva returned to Guatemala and founded the Institute for New Leaders - Guatemala. The organization brings young survivors of the war from 22 different ethnic groups in Guatemala together for the first time. Currently these young people are working in partnership in the community to rebuild their country.



The Boston Globe boston.com

Editorials | Opinions

The hidden suffering of women in Afghanistan

By Ellen Goodman, Globe Columnist, 12/06/98

Zohra Rasekh spreads her snapshots before me as if she were a tourist and these were pictures she'd taken of the colorful natives. "This is a doctor," she tells me, "and this is a teacher."

I nod, although it is hard to tell one of these women from another. They are covered from head to toe under a heavy black burka, looking at the world out of a rectangle of thick netting.

It wasn't always like this. Forty percent of Afghan doctors were once women; more than half the teachers were women. But in 1996 the Taliban took over, and in one day with one stroke they flipped the switch off.

Under the guise of Islamic law they declared a state of gender apartheid.

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Women can no longer hold jobs. They can no longer go out in public without a burka and a male relative. They can no longer go to school. A bare ankle or wrist is cause for a public beating. The teacher in the photograph became a beggar.

So earlier this year, Rasekh, a young Afghan-born public health researcher for Physicians for Human Rights, traveled to the refugee camps in Pakistan and then into Afghanistan to talk to women. She went with her questionnaire and her daring to document what it's like for half the population living under virtual house arrest. For two clandestine months she took first-time, firsthand testimony to document the state of women's health when male doctors are not allowed to *treat* women, and women are not allowed to *be* doctors.

On Dec. 10 we will celebrate - if celebrate is the right word - the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The cornerstone document of human rights was forged under Eleanor Roosevelt's guiding hand in 1948. Back then the world was painfully aware of how quickly an entire population - the Jews of Europe - could be reduced from citizen to murder victim. It was aware of what happens when other nations just watch.

Today we also know how easy it is to roll back rights in places such as Yugoslavia, where assimilation disintegrated into ethnic cleansing. But in no other place has the reel reversed itself so brutally for women. Forbidden to work or learn, with only one primitive hospital allotted for their sex, Kabul makes Margaret Atwood's darkest fantasy of "The Handmaid's Tale" look like a feminist utopia. It is this bleakness that has made groups like Physicians for Human Rights and the Feminist Majority take on the world's compassion fatigue.

The statistics that Rasekh brought home about the consequences for women's health seem coolly academic: Of the 160 women from all walks of life she surveyed, 71 percent had experienced a decline in their physical health, 87 percent a decrease in access to a doctor, and 97 percent exhibited major depression. One-fifth considered suicide.

These figures and the stories behind them debunk the myth that women are content, or at least safe, under the Taliban. Safe? Tell that to the educated woman, an amputee, beaten and jailed because she stepped on the bus through the front door reserved for men, not the back door relegated to women. Content? Tell it to the woman whose daughter died because she couldn't afford a burka to leave home in search of medical care.

Tell it, for that matter, to Rasekh. One day on her rounds, a Taliban carrying a stick with a metal end pointed at her exposed wrist, called her a "shameless woman" and chased her until she jumped a wide ditch and escaped.



It is not just women who are suffering human rights violations under the Taliban. Men are also punished for breaking the rules of the Islamic absolutists down to the smallest detail of the length of their beards.

Nevertheless, many foreign policy-makers have closed their eyes to Afghanistan, writing it off as an international basket case or declaring that at least there is peace under the Taliban. Even in the United Nations, some have declared that the "cultural" matters of burka and gender inequality will take a long time to change.

But if we have learned anything in 50 years, it's the difference between "culture" and politics, between peace and the eerie quiet of hopelessness and oppression.

Today, Rasekh still has one memory that overwhelms the snapshots and statistics. "Day after day for two months I didn't hear a woman happy," she says softly. "I didn't hear a woman talk about her hair or if she wanted to get married. Day after day, I didn't hear a woman laugh."

Fifty years after the world declared human rights for all, the silence of these women is almost as searing as the silence of the world.

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

F A C S I M I L E T R A N S M I S S I O N
BUREAU OF DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND LABOR

DATE: _____

FROM: _____

NO. OF PAGES: _____
(including cover)

FAX NO. 456-5709

TO: Christy Macy

MESSAGE: _____

- ER. quotes

- Declaration

- Background on *In Your Hands*

The Quotable Eleanor Roosevelt

"Are we so weak in the United Nations, are we as individual nations so weak that we are going to forbid human beings to say what they think and fear whatever their friends and their particular type of mind happens to believe in? . . . They may even say things against the United States, but I still think it is their right to say them. . . .

I am not always sure my Government or my nation will be right. I hope it will be and I shall do my best to keep it as right as I can keep it, and so, I am sure, will every other nation. But there are people who are going to disagree and I think we aim to reach a point where we on whole are so right that the majority of our people will be with us and we can always stand having among us the people who do not agree, because we are sure that the right is so carefully guarded among us and the freedom of people is so carefully guarded that we will always have the majority with us."

-- *From a debate between ER and Soviet delegate Andrei Vishinsky, UN General Assembly, 1946*

"We must not be deluded by the forces of reaction to prostitute the great words of our free traditions and thereby to confuse the struggle. 'Democracy,' 'freedom,' 'human rights' have come to have a definite meaning to the people of the world which we must not allow any nation to so change that they are made synonymous with suppression and dictatorship"

-- *From a speech to the UN General Assembly, 1948*

"[T]hroughout the world there are many people who do not enjoy the basic rights which have come to be accepted in many other parts of the world as inherent rights of all individuals, without which no one can live in dignity and freedom. . . .

[The] lack of standards for human rights the world over was one of the greatest causes of friction among nations, and . . . recognition of human rights might become one of the cornerstones of which peace could eventually be based. . . .

Three Articles in the Declaration seem to me to be of vital importance. Article 15 provides that everyone has the right to a nationality.; that is , all persons are entitled to the protection of some government, and those who are without shall be protected by the United Nations. Article 16 says that individual freedom of thought and conscience, to hold and change beliefs, is an absolute and sacred right. Included in this Article is a declaration of the right to manifest these beliefs, in the form of worship, observance, teaching and practice. Article 21 declares that everyone, without discrimination, has the right to take an effective part in the government of his country. This aims to give assurance that governments of states will bend and change according to the will of the people as shown in elections, which shall be periodic, free, fair, and by secret ballot. . . .

[W]e have put into words some inherent rights. . . . [W]e have found that the conditions of our contemporary world require the enumeration of certain protections which the individual must have if he is to acquire a sense of security and dignity in his own person. . . . It seems to me most important the Declaration be accepted by all member nations, not because they will immediately live up to all of its provisions, but because they ought to support the standards toward which the nations must henceforward aim."

-- *From "The Promise of Human Rights," Foreign Affairs 26 (April 1948): 470-477*

"In giving our approval to the declaration today, it is of primary importance that we keep clearly in mind the basic character of the document. . . . It is a declaration of basic principles of human rights and freedoms, to be stamped with the approval of the General Assembly by formal vote of its members, and to serve as a common standard of achievement for all peoples of all nations.

We stand today at the threshold of a great event both in the life of the united Nations and in the life of mankind, that is the approval by the General Assembly of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recommended by the Third Committee. This declaration may well become the international Magna Carta of all men everywhere. We hope its proclamation by the General Assembly will be an event comparable to the proclamation of the Declaration of the Rights of the Man by the French people in 1789, the adoption of the Bill of Rights by the people of the United States, and the adoption of comparable declarations at different times in other countries.

At a time when there are so many issues on which we find it difficult to reach a common basis of agreement, it is a significant fact that 58 states have found such a large measure of agreement in the complex field of human rights. This must be taken as a testimony of our common aspiration first voiced in the Charter of the United Nations to lift men everywhere to a higher standard of life and to a greater enjoyment of freedom. . . .

This declaration is based upon the spiritual fact that man must have freedom in which to develop his full stature and through common effort to raise the level of human dignity. We have much to do to fully achieve and to assure the rights set forth in this declaration. But having them put before us with the moral backing of 58 nations will be a great step forward."

-- *Speech to the UNGA on adoption of the UDHR, 1948*

"[T]he United States, the United Kingdom, the other democracies, they are all open to inspection, so it is very easy to find out what actually goes on and that is one of the reasons why it is so important that we in the democracies make human rights and freedom a reality. . . . [W]e can know about our failures and those of us who care can work to improve our democracy!

. . . All freedom is conditioned by the freedom of other people, but nevertheless there is for human beings something very precious, which we know as freedom, the freedom to help govern ourselves, the freedom to help develop the future. . . . [W]e are determined that all human beings shall eventually have the rights and freedoms set forth in this document, and that we are not going to be intimidated; neither are we going to be despondent."

. . . [T]he challenge of today is the ability to stay in the United Nations and watch ourselves as the leading democratic nation of the world, a nation which all the world watches. If they can see that our beliefs are as strong as theirs and that we are not going backward, they might begin to live in the same world with us and make some compromises. That is almost as important as to have more military power and more economic power."

-- *"Making Human Rights Come Alive," Speech to Pi Lambda Theta, Columbia University, March 1949*

"Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home — so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any map of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person: the neighborhood he lives in; the school or college he attends; the factory, farm or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerted citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world. Thus we believe that the destiny of human rights is in the hands of all our citizens in all our communities."

-- *Speech on occasion of tenth anniversary year of UDHR, March 1958*

DRAFT U.N. DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS

The General Assembly,

Reaffirming the importance of the observance of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations for the promotion and protection of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all persons in all countries of the world,

Reaffirming the importance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights as basic elements of international efforts to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms and the importance of other human rights instruments adopted within the United Nations system, as well as those at the regional level,

Stressing that all members of the international community shall fulfill, jointly and separately, their solemn obligation to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction of any kind, including distinctions based on race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, and reaffirming the particular importance of achieving international cooperation to fulfill this obligation according to the Charter of the United Nations,

Acknowledging the important role of international cooperation for and the valuable work of individuals, groups and associations in contributing to the effective elimination of all violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms of peoples and individuals, including in relation to mass, flagrant or systematic violations such as those resulting from apartheid, all forms of racial discrimination, colonialism, foreign domination or occupation, aggression or threats to national sovereignty, national unity or territorial integrity, and from refusal to recognize the right of peoples to self-determination and the right of every people to exercise full sovereignty over its wealth and natural resources,

Recognizing the relationship between international peace and security and the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and mindful that the absence of international peace and security does not excuse non-compliance,

Reiterating that all human rights and fundamental freedoms are universal, indivisible and interdependent and interrelated, and should be promoted and implemented in a fair and equitable manner, without prejudice to the implementation of each of these rights and freedoms,

Stressing that the primary responsibility and duty to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms lie with the State,

Recognizing the right and the responsibility of individuals, groups and associations to promote respect for, and foster knowledge of, human rights and fundamental freedoms at the national and international levels,

DECLARES

Article 1. Everyone has the right, individually and in association with others, to promote and to strive for the protection and realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms at the national and international levels.

Article 2. Each State has a prime responsibility and duty to protect, promote and implement all human rights and fundamental freedoms, inter alia by adopting such steps as may be necessary to create all conditions necessary in the social, economic, political as well as other fields and the legal guarantees required to ensure that all persons under its jurisdiction, individually and in association with others, are able to enjoy all these rights and freedoms in practice. Each State shall adopt such legislative,

administrative and other steps as may be necessary to ensure that the rights and freedoms referred to in this Declaration are effectively guaranteed.

Article 3. Domestic law consistent with the Charter of the United Nations and other international obligations of the State in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms is the juridical framework within which human rights and fundamental freedoms should be implemented and enjoyed, and within which all activities referred to in this Declaration for the promotion, protection and effective realization of those rights and freedoms should be conducted.

Article 4. Nothing in the present Declaration shall be construed as impairing or contradicting the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations nor as restricting or derogating from the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights and other international instruments and commitments applicable in this field.

Article 5. For the purpose of promoting and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms, everyone has the right, individually and in association with others, at the national and international levels: (a) to meet or assemble peacefully; (b) to form, join and participate in non-governmental organizations, associations or groups; (c) to communicate with non-governmental or inter-governmental organizations.

Article 6. Everyone has the right, individually and in association with others to know, seek, obtain, receive and hold information about all human rights and fundamental freedoms, including having access to information as to how these rights and freedoms are given effect in domestic legislative, judicial or administrative systems; as provided in human rights and other applicable international instruments, freely to publish, impart or disseminate to others views, information and knowledge of all human rights and fundamental freedoms; to study, discuss, form and hold opinions on the observance, both in law and practice, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms and, through these and other appropriate means, to draw public attention to these matters.

Article 7. Everyone has the right, individually and in association with others, to develop and discuss new human rights ideas and principles, and to advocate their acceptance.

Article 8. Everyone has the right, individually and in association with others, to have effective access, on a non-discriminatory basis, to participation in the government of one's country and in the conduct of public affairs. This includes, inter alia, the right, individually and in association with others, to submit to governmental bodies and agencies and organizations concerned with public affairs, criticism and proposals for improving their functioning and to draw attention to any aspect of their work which may hinder or impede the promotion, protection and realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Article 9. In the exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the promotion and protection of human rights as referred to in this Declaration, everyone has the right, individually and in association with others, to benefit from an effective remedy and to be protected in the event of violation of these rights. To this end, everyone whose rights or freedoms are allegedly violated, has the right, either in person or through legally authorized representation, to complain to and have that complaint promptly reviewed in a public hearing before an independent, impartial and competent judicial or other authority established by law, and to obtain from such an authority a decision, in accordance with law, providing redress, including any compensation due, where there has been a violation of that person's rights or freedoms; as well as enforcement of the eventual decision and award; all without undue delay. To the same end, everyone has the right, individually and in association with others, inter alia: (a) to complain about the policies and actions of individual officials and governmental bodies with regard to violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms by petitions or other appropriate means to competent domestic judicial, administrative or legislative authorities or any other competent authority provided for by the

legal system of the State, which should render their decision on the complaint without undue delay; (b) to attend public hearings, proceedings and trials, to form an opinion on their compliance with national law and applicable international obligations and commitments; (c) to offer and provide professionally qualified legal assistance or other relevant advice and assistance in defending human rights and fundamental freedoms. To the same end, and in accordance with applicable international instruments and procedures, everyone has the right, individually and in association with others, to unhindered access to and communication with international bodies with general or special competence to receive and consider communications on matters of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The State shall conduct a prompt and impartial investigation or ensure that an inquiry takes place whenever there is reasonable ground to believe that a violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms has occurred in any territory under its jurisdiction.

Article 10. No one shall participate, by act or failure to act where required, in violating human rights and fundamental freedoms, and no one shall be subjected to punishment or adverse action of any kind for refusing to do so.

Article 11. Everyone has the right, individually and in association with others, to the lawful exercise of his or her occupation or profession. Everyone who, as a result of his or her profession, can affect the human dignity, human rights and fundamental freedoms of others should respect those rights and freedoms and comply with relevant national and international standards of occupational and professional conduct or ethics.

Article 12. Everyone has the right, individually and in association with others, to participate in peaceful activities against violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The State shall take all necessary measures to ensure the protection by the competent authorities of everyone, individually and in association with others, against any violence, threats, retaliation, de facto or de jure adverse discrimination, pressure or any other arbitrary action as a consequence of their legitimate exercise of the rights referred to in this Declaration. In this connection, everyone is entitled, individually and in association with others, to be effectively protected under national law in reacting against or opposing, through peaceful means, activities and acts, including those by omission, attributable to States which result in violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms as well as acts of violence perpetrated by groups or individuals that affect the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Article 13. Everyone has the right, individually and in association with others, to solicit, receive and utilize resources for the express purpose of promoting and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms, through peaceful means, in accordance with article 3 of this Declaration.

Article 14. The State has the responsibility to take legislative, judicial, administrative or other appropriate measures to promote the understanding by all persons under its jurisdiction of their civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. Such measures shall include, inter alia: (a) the publication and widespread availability of national laws and regulations and of applicable basic international human rights instruments; (b) Full and equal access to international documents in the field of human rights, including the State's periodic reports to the bodies established by the international human rights treaties to which it is a party, as well as the summary records of discussions and the official reports of these bodies. The State shall ensure and support, where appropriate, the creation and development of further independent national institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms in all territory under its jurisdiction, whether they be ombudsmen, human rights commissions or any other form of national institutions.

Article 15. The State has the responsibility to promote and facilitate the teaching of human rights and fundamental freedoms at all levels of education, and to ensure that all those responsible for training

lawyers, law enforcement officers, the personnel of the armed forces and public officials include appropriate elements of human rights teaching in their training program.

Article 16. Individuals, non-governmental organizations and relevant institutions have an important role in contributing to making the public more aware of questions relating to all human rights and fundamental freedoms through activities such as education, training and research in these areas to further strengthen, inter alia, understanding, tolerance, peace and friendly relations among nations and amongst all racial and religious groups, bearing in mind the various backgrounds of societies and communities, in which they carry out their activities.

Article 17. In the exercise of the rights and freedoms referred to in this Declaration, everyone, acting individually and in association with others, shall be subject only to such limitations as are in accordance with applicable international obligations and are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

Article 18. Everyone has duties towards and within the community in which alone the free and full development of his or her personality is possible. Individuals, groups, institutions and non-governmental organizations have an important role to play and a responsibility in safeguarding democracy, promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms and contributing to the promotion and advancement of democratic societies, institutions and processes. Likewise, they have an important role and a responsibility in contributing, as appropriate, to the promotion of the right of everyone to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other human rights instruments can be fully realized.

Article 19. Nothing in the present Declaration shall be interpreted as implying for any individual, group or organ of society or any State the right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of the rights and freedoms referred to in this Declaration.

Article 20. Nor shall anything in the present Declaration be interpreted as permitting States to support and promote activities of individuals, groups of individuals, institutions or non-governmental organizations contrary to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

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persecution, end child exploitation, promote democratic governance, and urge compliance with international human rights instruments.

Announcement of Human Rights Initiatives ("Deliverables")

The President would then announce new human rights initiatives to be implemented by various agencies. Currently, the NSC is considering the following: (1) Human Rights Executive Order directing federal agencies to implement U.S. obligations under the international human rights treaties (DOS, DOJ, HHS, NSC, others); (2) Early Warning task force that would expand and coordinate the identification of potential and occurring genocide and mass abuses (DOS, DOD, CIA); (3) "On the Ground" Attention to Sexual Violence and Genocide, funding local NGOs in the prevention of sexual violence and the rehabilitation of victims of genocide or other mass abuses (DOS, AID); (4) Rapid Response to Human Rights Emergencies, facilitating NGO presence in crisis situations (DOS, AID); and (5) Child Asylum Claims, to improve the adjudication of children's cases (DOJ). The NSC may also consider deliverables on the right to democracy and on human rights education.

Eleanor Roosevelt Medal

The President would honor up to five Americans with an Eleanor Roosevelt Medal in recognition of Americans who have made significant contributions to human rights either at home or abroad. Their human rights work would be emphasized as an example of the work of so many Americans promoting the many rights of the UDHR. Details on the creation of this award are being submitted in a separate memorandum.

Guests

The White House gathering would include 200 guests, such as Members of Congress, congressional staff, human rights advocates, religious leaders, women's rights advocates, minority leaders, and others who have worked, for example, to uphold the rights of women and minorities, fight for religious freedom, combat racism, or oppose child exploitation. The audience would also include immigrants and refugees who arrived in the U.S. in search of freedom and whose stories the President would cite to highlight the importance of the freedoms enjoyed in the U.S. In addition, other Administration principals could include the Vice President, cabinet officials, and relevant Assistant Secretaries.

Press Coverage and Video to Town Meetings

In addition to receiving coverage by the White House Press Corp, the event would be telecast to up to fifty town meetings

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SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

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scheduled across the country the week of December 10. These town meetings are part of the "In Your Hands" campaign, organized by The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute for Human Rights and The Jacob Blaustein Institute for Human Rights of the American Jewish Committee. "In Your Hands" is comprised of over 90 organizations, including the Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., American Association of Retired Persons, American Federation of Teachers, Amnesty International, Center for Women's Global Leadership, International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, National Council of Churches, National Council of La Raza, YMCA and YWCA. The President's statement either could be broadcast live or recorded and distributed by video to the town hall meetings. The Secretary of State, other cabinet officials, relevant Assistant Secretaries and Administration officials could attend town meetings in various states as locations might fit into schedules.

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

THE QUOTABLE KOFI ANNAN

Human Rights

* I am aware of the fact that some view [the concern of human rights] as a luxury of the rich countries for which Africa is not ready. I know that others treat it as an imposition, if not a plot, by the industrialized West. I find these thoughts truly demeaning, demeaning of the yearning for human dignity that resides in every African heart. A

--- Address to the Annual Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, Harare, 2 June 1997 (SG/SM/6245)

* Do not African mothers weep when their sons or daughters are killed or maimed by agents of repressive rule? Are not African fathers saddened when their children are unjustly jailed or tortured? Is not Africa as a whole impoverished when even one of its brilliant voices is silenced?

--- Address to the Annual Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, Harare, 2 June 1997 (SG/SM/6245)

* Freedom knows no borders ... a fiery voice of liberty in one country can raise the spirits of another far away..] A

--- Address at the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library, Boston, 6 June 1997 (SG/SM/6249)

* Many thought ... that the horrors of the Second World War ... could never happen again. And yet they have – in Cambodia, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Rwanda. Our time ... has shown us that man's capacity for evil knows no limits.

--- Address to the International Bar Association, New York, 11 June 1997 (SG/SM/6257)

* We are dealing with a situation [in Algeria] which for a long time has been treated as an internal affair, and yet as the killing goes on and the numbers of victims rise, it is extremely difficult for all of us to pretend that it is not happening, that we do not know about it and that we should leave the Algerian population to their lot. I think that as compassionate human beings, as people with conscience and moral concerns, I think we all are moved and concerned by what is happening in Algeria. Words may not be enough, but it is a beginning to let the victims know that third parties care, and sometimes it gives them courage.

--- Press conference at the Venice Film Festival, Italy, 30 August 1997

* Violence against women has become the most pervasive human rights violation, respecting no distinction of geography, culture or wealth.] A

--- Address to the General Assembly on the opening of the fifty-second session, New York, 22 September 1997 (SG/SM/6334)

* Let there be no doubt: there are some very basic standards of human behaviour, violations of which are simply unacceptable. Fundamental human rights are a product of human nature – indeed human life – itself.

--- Address to the Facing History and Ourselves benefit, New York, 14 October 1997 (SG/SM/6359)

* Raoul [Wallenberg]'s life and achievements highlighted the vital role of the bystander, of the third party amidst conflict and suffering. His intervention gave hope to victims, encouraged them to fight and resist, to hang on and bear witness. It aroused our collective consciousness. The mystery remains, however: why were there so few Raouls?

--- Address to the Facing History and Ourselves benefit, New York, 14 October 1997 (SG/SM/6359)

* Where slavery exists, human dignity itself is denied, and brings shame to all who claim to be compassionate or committed to the weak and the vulnerable of our world. Human rights are nothing if not the insistence on freedom from bondage and coercion in all aspects of life. And yet, on the threshold of a new millennium, we still find the old and, sadly, also new forms of slavery. Hundreds of thousands of people the world over live and die as slaves in one form or another.

--- *Message on the International Day for the Abolition of Slavery, 2 December 1997 (SG/SM/6411)*

* Allow me to pay tribute to the great faith and civilization of Islam. It has ennobled and enriched humanity throughout its history. Today, it inspires the belief of almost a billion men and women, and is a universal spiritual force for mankind. This fact makes it all the more distressing to witness the increasing resort to violence and terror by extremist groups in the name of Islam. They are sully the image of a religion whose very name signifies peace and whose Almighty is the Compassionate, the Merciful.

--- *Address to the Summit of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, Tehran, 9 December 1997 (SG/SM/6418)*

* Human rights are the foundation of human existence ... Human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent ... Human rights are what make us human. They are the principles by which we create the sacred home for human dignity ... It is the universality of human rights that gives them their strength. It endows them with the power to cross any border, climb any wall, defy any force.

--- *Address at the University of Tehran on Human Rights Day, 10 December 1997 (SG/SM/6419)*

* When we speak of the right to life, or development, or to dissent and diversity, we are speaking of tolerance. Tolerance promoted, protected and enshrined will ensure all freedoms. Without it, we can be certain of none. In the words of one wise man: "Faith elicits respect, and fanaticism provokes hate."

--- *Address at the University of Tehran on Human Rights Day, 10 December 1997 (SG/SM/6419)*

* Human rights are the expression of those traditions of tolerance in all cultures that are the basis of peace and progress ... Human rights ... are foreign to no culture and native to all nations ... Tolerance and mercy have always and in all cultures been ideals of government rule and human behaviour. Today, we call these values human rights.

--- *Address at the University of Tehran on Human Rights Day, 10 December 1997 (SG/SM/6419)*

* Human rights are what reason requires and conscience commands. They are us and we are them. Human rights are rights that any person has as a human being. We are all human beings; we are all deserving of human rights. One cannot be true without the other... One cannot pick and choose among human rights, ignoring some while insisting on others. Only as rights equally applied can they be rights universally accepted. Nor can they be applied selectively or relatively, or as a weapon with which to punish others. Their purity is their eternal strength.

--- *Address at the University of Tehran on Human Rights Day, 10 December 1997 (SG/SM/6419)*

* Who can deny that we all share the same horror of violence? Who can deny that we all seek lives free of fear, torture and discrimination? Who can deny that we all seek to express ourselves freely and pursue our aims in life? When have you heard a free voice demand an end to freedom? Where have you heard a slave argue for slavery? When have you heard a victim of torture endorse the ways of the torturer? Where have you heard the tolerant cry out for intolerance?

--- *Address at the University of Tehran on Human Rights Day, 10 December 1997 (SG/SM/6419)*

* There is no single model of democracy, or of human rights or of cultural expression for all the world. But for all the world, there must be democracy, human rights and free cultural expression.

--- *Address at the University of Tehran on Human Rights Day, 10 December 1997 (SG/SM/6419)*

* Human rights are your rights. Seize them. Defend them. Promote them. Understand them and insist on them. Nourish and enrich them ... They are the best in us. Give them life.

--- *Address at the University of Tehran on Human Rights Day, 10 December 1997 (SG/SM/6419)*

* When we talk of human rights being a Western concept, doesn't the Iranian mother or the African mother cry when their son or daughter is tortured? Don't we all feel when one of our leaders is unjustly imprisoned? Don't we all suffer from the lack of the rule of law and from arbitrariness? What is foreign about that? What is Western about that? And when we talk of the right to development; the need to live their lives to the fullest and to be able to live their dreams, it is universal. When you talk to the individuals, have you ever come across a victim, somebody who has been tortured, talking against human rights? Do you hear the people generally rejecting human rights which are intended to protect them? Everything we do, whether it is economic development, whether it is security or whatever, it is a human being that is at the centre. And that is what we mean when we talk about human rights, when we talk about cultural expression, political rights, economic rights.

--- *Press conference at the Summit of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, Tehran, 11 December 1997*

* We should reaffirm the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and get the public to understand, the individual to understand, that those rights are his. It is not something that is given to him by a government, like a subsidy that can be taken away. It is intrinsic, it is inherent, and [I hope] we can really use this fiftieth anniversary to get that message across.

--- *Press conference at UN Headquarters after briefing the Security Council on the Memorandum of Understanding signed in Baghdad, 24 February 1998 (SG/SM/6470)*



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THE QUOTABLE KOFI ANNAN

Development

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* The South is the driving force of economic change ... Today, there is a clear and demonstrated link between profitability and raising living standards for the world's poorest people.

--- *Address to the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, 1 February 1997* ([SG/SM/6153](#))

* In every country of the North, there is a bit of the South; in every "South" there is a "North".

--- *Address to the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, 1 February 1997* ([SG/SM/6153](#))

* There is a growing compelling evidence that the poor can solve their own problems if only they are given fair access to financial and business development services.

--- *Address to the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, 1 February 1997* ([SG/SM/6153](#))

* Today, market capitalism has no major ideological rival; its biggest threat is from within itself. If it cannot promote both prosperity and justice, it will not have succeeded.

--- *Address to the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, 1 February 1997* ([SG/SM/6153](#))

* We must bury the myth that development cooperation is no longer needed in light of private sector flows, trade opportunities and other benefits of globalization. Eighty per cent of direct foreign investment in the developing world goes to only a dozen countries - all middle-income countries with the exception of China. Just 5 per cent goes to Africa and 1 per cent to the 48 least developed countries. By contrast, United Nations assistance goes predominantly to low-income countries, where it can pave the way for private sector development.

--- *Address to the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, 1 February 1997* ([SG/SM/6153](#))

* The United Nations has played its part in creating special economic zones, removing trade barriers, supporting entrepreneurs, and in the development of small and medium-sized enterprises. In all of these areas, we have a proud record. The United Nations system has often been the principal, if not the sole, source of financial and technical support to over 100 States since the end of the Second World War. Our record is clear; we have made a difference by helping to build new societies, by acting to cease human misery, and by contributing to the peaceful transition from repressive to free and democratic societies.

--- *Address to the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, 1 February 1997* ([SG/SM/6153](#))

* Today, development is a global concern that transcends ideology and immediate interest. It is now as much a moral as a political challenge ... proving that stability and prosperity are indivisible.

--- *Address to the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 22 April 1997* ([SG/SM/6218](#))

* South-South cooperation should be more than a slogan ... It should be not only a source of solidarity and strength but also a powerful force for development.

--- *Address to the Academy of Social Sciences and Institute of International Relations, Shanghai, 10 May 1997* ([SG/SM/6234](#))

* With curiosity comes concern, and with concern comes the desire to right the wrongs of oppression and reverse the tide of poverty throughout the world.

--- Address at the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library, Boston, 6 June 1997

* We are all here because ... we believe ... poverty to be intolerable in a world of plenty. And we are all here because we are convinced -- indeed we know -- that this poverty can be ended in our lifetime, with our own hands, with our own minds.

--- Address to the World Bank Conference on "Global Knowledge '97", Toronto, 22 June 1997 (SG/SM/6268)

* We know that the global dilemma of squalor amid splendor is a creature of human agency, and that it can be reversed by human agency.

--- Address to the World Bank Conference on "Global Knowledge '97", Toronto, 22 June 1997 (SG/SM/6268)

* The same technological means that foster globalization and the transnational expansion of civil society also provide the infrastructure for expanding global networks of "uncivil society" -- organized crime, drug traffickers, money launderers and terrorists.

--- Renewal Amid Transition: Annual Report on the Work of the Organization, 3 September 1997 (A/52/1)

* The world has enough food. What it lacks is the political will to ensure that all people have access to this bounty, that all people enjoy food security.

--- Statement on World Food Day, 16 October 1997 (SG/SM/6362)

* So long as every fifth inhabitant of our planet lives in absolute poverty, there can be no real stability in the world.

--- Video message on the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty, 17 October 1997

* In today's world, the profit motive and the development motive go hand in hand. They have become two sides of the same coin.

--- Address at the Chicago World Trade Centre, 20 October 1997 (SG/SM/6365)

* There is a new universal understanding that market forces are essential for sustainable development.

--- Address at the Chicago World Trade Centre, 20 October 1997 (SG/SM/6365)

GLOBALIZATION

* We live in an era of realignment ... As is true of all transitional periods, very different expressions of the human predicament coexist in uneasy tension today: globalization envelops the world even as fragmentation and the assertion of differences are on the rise; zones of peace expand while outbursts of horrific violence intensify; unprecedented wealth is being created but large pockets of poverty remain endemic; the will of the people and their integral rights are both celebrated and violated; science and technology enhance human life at the same time as their by-products threaten planetary life-support systems. It is not beyond the powers of political volition to tip the scale in this transition, towards a more secure and predictable peace, greater economic well-being, social justice and environmental sustainability. No country can achieve these global public goods on its own, however, just as none is exempt from the risks and costs of doing without them.

--- Renewal Amid Transition: Annual Report on the Work of the Organization, 3 September 1997 (A/52/1)

* Globalization ... is perhaps the most profound source of international transformation since the industrial revolution ... The adjective "global" refers less to a place than to a space defined by electronic flows and a state of mind.

--- *Renewal Amid Transition: Annual Report on the Work of the Organization, 3 September 1997 (A/52/1)*

* In an age of globalization, the United States needs the United Nations, and the United Nations needs the United States. This is one of the pivotal relationships of our day.

--- *Address at Princeton University, 24 November 1997 (SG/SM/6404)*

* Economic interdependence among nations places a premium on frameworks and institutions. I am sure we would all prefer the rule of law over the law of the jungle. I am confident that we would choose sustainable gains, within a stable and predictable system, over an unstructured and unregulated global environment. We need rules of the road and norms to guide relations between individuals and communities. This is as true of the global village as it is of the village each of us may have come from ... Technical standard-setting, for example, in areas such as aviation, shipping and telecommunication, provides the very foundation for international transactions: the system's "soft infrastructure".

--- *Address to the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, 31 January 1998 (SG/SM/6448)*

* Every society, from Asia to the Americas, is the product of values, of shared bonds and ideals. Global society, if it is to flourish, must also work from shared norms and objectives. Fortunately, the basis of that common understanding already exists; it is found in the United Nations Charter.

--- *Address to the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, 31 January 1998 (SG/SM/6448)*

* Without rules governing property rights and contracts, without confidence based on the rule of law, without an overall sense of direction and a fair degree of equity and transparency, there could be no well-functioning markets, domestic or global. The United Nations system provides such a global framework – an agreed set of standards and objectives that enjoy worldwide acceptance, and within which markets are able to function.

--- *Address to the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, 31 January 1998 (SG/SM/6448)*

BUSINESS

* Business and the United Nations are natural partners.

--- *Address to the Business Council for the UN, New York, 23 April 1997 (SG/SM/6220)*

* A true partnership between governments, the private sector and the international community holds great promise.

--- *Address to the Business Council for the UN, New York, 23 April 1997 (SG/SM/6220)*

* Our untiring efforts to codify international law, and build societies based on the rule of law, also promote regulatory consistency and peaceful change. International law also has a strong preventive aspect: the Law of the Sea, for example, was put in place before the unbridled exploitation of the world's marine resources could occur.

--- *Address to the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, 31 January 1998 (SG/SM/6448)*

* Leaders of government and business continue to have choices. So let us choose to unite the power of markets with the authority of universal ideals. Let us choose to reconcile the creative forces of private entrepreneurship with the needs of the disadvantaged and the requirements of future generations. Let us ensure that prosperity reaches the poor. Let us choose an enlightened way forward towards our ultimate, shared goal: a global market place that is open to all

and benefits all.

--- *Address to the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, 31 January 1998 (SG/SM/6448)*

ENVIRONMENT

* Safeguarding the environment ... is a guiding principle of all our work in support of sustainable development; it is an essential component of poverty eradication and one of the foundations for peace.

--- *Message to the high-level segment of the nineteenth session of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme, Nairobi, 5 February 1997 (SG/SM/6155)*

* The threat to our environment has taught us that privilege and prosperity cannot protect any nation if poverty and pollution are destroying another.

--- *Toast at the luncheon for heads of State and Government attending the nineteenth special session of the General Assembly, New York, 23 June 1997 (SG/SM/6270)*

* Nearly one half the world's population now lives in urban areas ... Increasingly, in terms of the problems they face, the world's cities are becoming more alike than not.

--- *Message on World Habitat Day, 6 October 1997 (SG/SM/6350)*

* Effective, transparent, accountable and responsive government, subject to the rule of law, is the very foundation for sustainable development, not the result of it.

--- *Address at the University of Chile, Santiago, 6 November 1997 (SG/SM/6384)*

* Considering the environmental consequences of our actions must become second nature to us all, in every choice and every decision we make; if it does not, all the laws and regulations, government programmes and market incentives in the world will not be enough to save us from environmental disaster.

--- *Address at the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) Sasakawa Environment Prize Ceremony, New York, 12 November 1997 (SG/SM/6390)*

* The risks of climate change pose the most critical and pervasive environmental threats ever to the security of the human community and to life on Earth as we know it ... On an issue that could have such a decisive effect on the future of humanity, we must act on the principle that precaution now is wiser than panic later.

--- *Message to the third session of the Conference of Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, Kyoto, 8 December 1997 (SG/SM/6415)*

AFRICA

* When Africa speaks with one voice, the world listens, but if Africa speaks with a cacophony of confused messages, few will listen and no one will hear.

--- *Address to the Central Organ of the Organization of African Unity Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, Lomé, 26 March 1997 (SG/SM/6192)*

* Africa has, in the past five decades, been through a series of momentous changes: first came decolonization and the struggle against apartheid, then came a second wave, too often marked by civil wars, the tyranny of military rule and economic stagnation ... A new era is now in prospect, Africa's third wave. Let us make [it] one of lasting peace, based on democracy, human rights and sustainable development.

--- *Address to the Annual Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity Harare, 2 June 1997 (SG/SM/6245)*

* Africa is the only region of the world where – if present trends continue – poverty is expected to increase in the next century. We have dissected and debated Africa, and studied and summarized its challenges, for decades. Now is the time for action. We – and I speak not only of [the Security] Council, but of the United Nations and the international community generally – must respond promptly and effectively to Africa's call.

--- *Statement delivered at the Security Council's ministerial meeting on the situation in Africa, 25 September 1997 (SG/SM/6335)*

* Because the best way of ensuring peace and security in Africa is to promote sustainable development, I urge you to do all in your power to increase official development assistance to African countries ... Another urgent priority is to relieve African countries of their heavy debt-service burden. The initiative of Bretton Woods institutions for the Highly-Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) is a step in the right direction. But more needs to be done.

--- *Statement delivered at the Security Council's ministerial meeting on the situation in Africa, 25 September 1997 (SG/SM/6335)*

* Despite progress, performance in industry has been weak. Africa continues to be constrained by poor physical infrastructure, weak institutional capacity, inadequate regulatory and incentive systems, and a widening technology gap among nations. Thus it has been difficult for Africa to benefit fully from globalization and from the liberalization of trade, and to integrate fully into the world economy.

--- *Statement on Africa Industrialization Day, 20 November 1997 (SG/SM/6402)*

* My programme of reform, my "quiet revolution" of change and transformation at the United Nations, should be judged in part on how well it enables the Organization to respond to the needs of the poorest people in Africa and elsewhere.

--- *Message on the occasion of the second anniversary of the United Nations System-wide Initiative on Africa, March 1998*

WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT

* Full equality [for women] means more than the accomplishment of statistical objectives: the culture has to change. A

--- *Address to the Group on Equal Rights for Women in the United Nations, New York, 7 March 1997 (SG/SM/6178)*

* Women's equality must be a central component of any attempt to solve the world's social, economic and political problems.

--- *Message on International Women's Day, 8 March 1997 (SG/SM/6176)*

* In war-torn societies, women often keep society going ... They are often the prime advocates of peace.

--- *Address to the forty-first session of the Commission on the Status of Women, New York, 10 March 1997 (SG/SM/6179)*

AIDS

* New therapies and drugs offer hope for fighting and living with HIV and full-scale AIDS. But the costs are often

exorbitant, and access to care and support remains all too limited, especially in the developing world. This must change, for it is within human capacity and ingenuity to ensure that treatment is available to all.

--- *Message on World AIDS Day, 1 December 1997 (SG/SM/6400)*

* Children with HIV/AIDS and children orphaned by the disease are often stigmatized, and denied services, education and care ... Poverty fuels the spread of the virus even as it undermines efforts to cope with its repercussions. Children may be vulnerable, but they are neither helpless nor beyond help. Children themselves are effective communicators, not only among their peers but within their families. Indeed, education and information are among our most powerful weapons in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

--- *Message on World AIDS Day, 1 December 1997 (SG/SM/6400)*

* AIDS has changed the world for children. We must now change the world for them.

--- *Message on World AIDS Day, 1 December 1997 (SG/SM/6400)*

EDUCATION

* Many years of service in the world Organization have convinced me that the first ingredient of political stability is an informed citizen; the first ingredient of economic progress is a skilled worker, and the first ingredient of social justice is an enlightened society. Education is the key to global peace and well-being.

--- *Address to the American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., 24 February 1997 (SG/SM/6165)*

* Education not only enriches a culture ... it is the first condition for freedom, democracy and sustainable development.

--- *Address on receiving an honorary degree from Chuo University, Tokyo, 14 May 1997 (SG/SM/6239)*

* Knowledge is power. Information is liberating. Education is the premise of progress, in every society, in every family.

--- *Address to the World Bank conference "Global Knowledge '97", Toronto, 22 June 1997 (SG/SM/6268)*

* An educated electorate is a powerful electorate ... An informed citizenry is the greatest defender of freedom ... An enlightened government is a democratizing government.

--- *Address to the World Bank conference "Global Knowledge '97", Toronto, 22 June 1997 (SG/SM/6268)*

* Literacy is a bridge from misery to hope. It is a tool for daily life in modern society. It is a bulwark against poverty, and a building block of development, an essential complement to investments in roads, dams, clinics and factories. Literacy is a platform for democratization, and a vehicle for the promotion of cultural and national identity. Especially for girls and women, it is an agent of family health and nutrition. For everyone, everywhere, literacy is, along with education in general, a basic human right ... Literacy is, finally, the road to human progress and the means through which every man, woman and child can realize his or her full potential.

--- *Message on International Literacy Day, 8 September 1997 (SG/SM/6316)*

* Once, I remember, Reverend Branful took out a large white sheet with a black dot in the middle, draped it over the blackboard and asked us: "What do you see?" We all answered: "The black dot." "Why only the black dot?", he responded, "why only the negative? What about the vast white spaces around?" He was reminding us to always look beyond the obvious and beneath the surface, to bear in mind the larger picture, not to focus just on the blemishes. He was teaching us also to remember that there is more than one side to a story, and more than one answer to a question.

--- *Message to Mfanstipim Secondary School, Ghana, 25 October 1997*

* The different, the displaced, the refugees are the ones who enrich all our lives, and your tolerance and openness towards them will open new worlds for you, and make you welcome wherever you go.

--- *Message to Mfanstipim Secondary School, Ghana, 25 October 1997*

* Without education, we cannot see beyond ourselves and our narrow surroundings to the reality of global interdependence. Without education, we cannot realize how peoples of other races and religions share the same dreams, the same hopes. Without education, we cannot recognize the universality of human aims and aspirations.

--- *Address at the University of Chile, Santiago, 5 November 1997 (SG/SM/6384)*

* Education is one of the most effective forms of defence spending there is.

--- *Address at Kuwait University, 13 December 1997 (SG/SM/6421)*



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THE QUOTABLE KOFI ANNAN

Democracy and Good Governance

| INFORMATION | INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW |

* Some may argue that military regimes bring stability and predictability, that they are helpful to economic development. That is a delusion.

--- *Address to the Annual Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, Harare, 2 June 1997 (SG/SM/6245)*

* Africa can no longer tolerate, and accept as faits accomplis, coups against elected governments, and the illegal seizure of power by military cliques ... Armies exist to protect national sovereignty, not to train their guns on their own people.

--- *Address to the Annual Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, Harare, 2 June 1997 (SG/SM/6245)*

* Crucial to the new politics is a redefinition of the role of the State. The State, it is increasingly understood, is not a creator of wealth, but a facilitator and catalyst of development. An essential function of the State is to provide an enabling environment in which investment can take place, wealth can be created, and individuals can prosper and grow. Civil society can then form and express itself, involving individuals in decisions affecting their own lives.

--- *Address to the International Conference on Governance for Sustainable Growth and Equity, New York, 28 July 1997 (SG/SM/6291)*

* The will of the people must be the basis of governmental authority. That is the foundation of democracy. That is the foundation of good governance. Good governance will give every citizen ... a real and lasting stake in the future of their societies – politically, economically and socially.

--- *Address to the International Conference on Governance for Sustainable Growth and Equity, New York, 28 July 1997 (SG/SM/6291)*

* You have understood – and more importantly you have demonstrated – that good governance must be built from the ground up. It cannot be imposed, either by national authorities or by international agencies. It cannot be created overnight, nor can it take root in one day. Good governance is an accomplishment. It is the fruit of true dedication, selfless leadership and a politics of integrity.

--- *Address to the International Conference on Governance for Sustainable Growth and Equity, New York, 28 July 1997 (SG/SM/6291)*

* No country is immune from corruption, and many are especially vulnerable because of their weak laws and institutions. Corruption also has an international dimension. The same open borders, technological advances, transnational communications and commercial transactions that are the hallmark of today's global society can also allow corruption to take root and flourish. International cooperation – among governments, the private sector and civil society – is thus essential if we are to defeat this menace.

-- *Message to the Eighth International Anti-Corruption Conference, Lima, 7-11 September 1997 (SG/SM/6318)*

* The future well-being of humankind rests increasingly on the courage and foresight of its leaders to realize the full meaning of interdependence, and to translate it into practical actions.

--- *Address to the Second Committee of the General Assembly, New York, 1 December 1997 (SG/SM/6409)*

* Without good governance – without the rule of law, predictable administration, legitimate power and responsive regulation – no amount of funding, no short-term economic miracle will set the developing world on the path to prosperity. Without good governance, the foundations of society – both national and international – are built on sand. *(Original in French)*

--- *Address to the United Nations Association of Canada, Toronto, 3 December 1997 (SG/SM/6412)*

* Our duty ... is not only to make talented and courageous people believe that their contribution to public service will make a difference; it is to make them understand that without them, the mission of good governance will fail.

--- *Address to the United Nations Association of Canada, Toronto, 3 December 1997 (SG/SM/6412)*

INFORMATION

* No democratic society can exist without a free, independent and pluralistic press.

--- *Address on World Press Freedom Day, New York, 2 May 1997 (SG/SM/6229/Rev.1)*

* Information and freedom are indivisible. The information revolution is unthinkable without democracy and true democracy is unimaginable without freedom of information.

--- *Address to the World Bank conference "Global Knowledge '97", Toronto, 22 June 1997 (SG/SM/6268)*

* If information and knowledge are central to democracy, they are the conditions for development.

--- *Address to the World Bank conference "Global Knowledge '97", Toronto, 22 June 1997 (SG/SM/6268)*

* We at the United Nations are convinced that information has a great liberating power waiting to be harnessed to our global struggle for peace, development and human rights. We believe this because we are convinced that it is ignorance, not knowledge, that makes enemies of men. It is ignorance, not knowledge, that makes fighters of children. It is ignorance, not knowledge, that leads some to advocate tyranny over democracy. It is ignorance, not knowledge, that makes some argue that human conflict is inevitable. It is ignorance, not knowledge, that makes others say that there are many worlds, when we know that there is one. Ours.

--- *Address to the Communications Conference at the Aspen Institute, Colorado, 18 October 1997 (SG/SM/6366)*

* With the help of television, we can shine a light into ever more pockets of intolerance; there is nothing those dark recesses fear more than light. Through television, the world can be brought alive, so that we may care about it enough to help make it a better place. With the power of television, we can help ensure that our young are the first to benefit from this knowledge, and to make it their partner in the pursuit of a better future. Help us to use your power to achieve a better world for them, and for those who come after them.

--- *Address to the Second United Nations World TV Forum, New York, 19 November 1997 (SG/SM/6401)*

INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

* There can be no global justice unless the worst of crimes – crimes against humanity – are subject to the law. In this age more than ever do we recognize that the crime of genocide against one people truly is an assault on us all – a crime against humanity ... The international criminal court is the symbol of our highest hopes for this unity of peace and justice. It is a vital part of an emerging system of international human rights protection. It will ensure that indicted criminals suspected of genocide in any country can be tried and convicted.

Chinese Poems with English Translation

乃生男子
載寢之床
載衣之裳
載弄之璋
其泣喤喤
朱芾斯皇
室家君王

When a son is born,
He is cradled in the bed,
He is clothed in robes,
Given a jade sceptre as toy.
His lusty cries portend his vigor,
He shall wear bright, red knee-caps,
Shall be the lord of a hereditary house.

乃生女子
載寢之地
載衣之裼
載弄之瓦
無非無儀
唯酒食是議
無父母詒罹

When a daughter is born,
She is cradled on the floor,
She is clothed in swaddling-bands,
Given a loom-whorl as toy,
She shall wear no badges of honor,
Shall only take care of food and drink,
And not cause trouble to her parents.

Book of Songs



*Christy - I found this amidst my files.
maybe useful for China speech?
probably not?
jue*

SUNDAY, JUNE 7, 1998

Village by Village, Circumcising a Ritual

By VIVIENNE WALT

A DIABOUGOU, Senegal
Issa Tou Sarr thought she would never see the dreaded moment. Then late last year, from a far-off village, came an old Muslim priest. He had walked for days in his rubber thongs and white robe to urge the community to stop Sarr from doing her life's work: cutting out the genitals of young girls.

"In the beginning, people were shocked, and shouted in anger," said Sarr. "This was our tradition! Some walked out of the meeting."

Sarr was about to get caught up in a small revolution that has gusted through rural Senegal like a hot dust storm. In the past year, village after village has declared an end to female circumcision, a practice that has existed in parts of Africa since the pharaohs.

Sarr, in her fifties, had been the ritual circumciser for the village for decades, using

Vivienne Walt has written about Africa for Newsday and U.S. News & World Report.

a razor blade to perform the procedure on about 200 girls every rainy season. She learned the trade from her grandmother, who had circumcised her at 15 and, in turn, had excised the genitals of her daughters, granddaughters and great-granddaughters.

Initially, Sarr feared she would not have the emotional resilience to do the job. Not

everyone, she said, has the stamina to do it. Not only is she proud of her skill, it has provided her with a decent living: about \$8.60, lunch and a bar of soap for each operation. "I couldn't stop thinking, 'How am I going to take care of my family? What am I going to do?'" she said.

After weeks of bitter argument, the villagers gathered in February and vowed never again to circumcise

their girls. Kept alive through wars, migration and slavery, a centuries-old tradition was abolished within minutes. And Sarr, who now depends on her brothers' charity, resigned herself to near-destitution.

Sarr's hardship is just one of the consequences of this quiet rebellion. Since last

See CIRCUMCISION, C2 Col. 1



BY LAUREN BLAKE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

It Takes Many Villages to Stop This Ritual

CIRCUMCISION, From C1

July, 29 Senegalese communities have declared an end to female circumcision, and begun pressing others to join them. In the process, their leaders have become local legends—even Hillary Rodham Clinton hailed them during her visit here in April.

In recent years, Americans have joined an international campaign to end female genital mutilation, as the opponents call the custom, in which a girl's clitoris, and sometimes the inner and outer vaginal lips, are removed. The State Department granted asylum last year to a woman from Togo, now living in Alexandria, who had fled her home rather than undergo circumcision.

About 130 million African women in about 28 countries are circumcised, and thousands die each year as a result, in childbirth, or from infections and hemorrhaging, according to the World Health Organization. Yet until now, Western exhortations have had little effect in Africa. In fact, they have often been met with defensive hostility by millions who believe the tradition is required not only by Islam, but for hygiene and sexual prudence, too.

Traveling around Senegal, one still hears the traditionalists recite old convictions identical to those heard across Africa: that the clitoris smells bad, that it's unclean and grows too large for women to walk comfortably, and that uncircumcised girls are likely to get pregnant before marriage.

But now, in this small West African country, with barely 8 million people, one education program is having some success, highlighting how other Western campaigns might have gone awry. In remote areas with neither electricity nor paved roads, the villagers here have achieved what years of pleading from international agencies, health officials—and, more recently, a few African governments—have failed to accomplish.

Ending female circumcision wasn't on the agenda 10 years ago, when Molly Melching, an American, founded an organization called Tostan ("Break-through"). Melching, who came to Senegal in 1975 as an exchange student from the University of Illinois and never left, designed an intensive literacy and skills training program for women, built around group discussions. Funded largely by UNICEF, she hired villagers to teach the classes and



PHOTOS BY UNIVERSAL WALT

At left: Alisa Tou Sarr, center, sitting with friends, lost a job when her village did away with circumcision. Right: Maimouna Troare, head of a women's group, refused to back down on the need to end the practice.

published workbooks in local languages.

Rather than confront issues like circumcision directly, Tostan took several months before broaching the subject of women's health. Even then, Melching said: "We never spoke about sexuality. We only spoke about health, and rights." Villagers, say months of discussing infections, childbirth and sexual pain inevitably led them to question circumcision.

Melching said she's learned from some critical mistakes made by international organizations and Western feminists.

She believes that making a political issue of female circumcision, or declaring it a barbaric act, does not convince many Africans. "These women really love their children," said Melching, adding that many Africans counter Western indignation by likening the pain of circumcision to Western women suffering face-lifts and anorexia. Although Melching stresses human-rights violations, the health risks are what really hit home. "That's something everyone gets," she said. "Without health, they can't do anything."

Too often, Melching said, Western organizations hope to persuade individuals to abandon female circumcision without understanding that such independence could leave an African woman with no marriage prospects and expose her family to scorn or ostracism. Demba Diawara, the imam, or priest, who arrived in Diabougou to plead the case against circumcision, said: "Even if you learn something is bad, if it's your tradition, you can't just get up and stop it."

But by getting entire villages to sign on to the plan, no one carries a stigma. Indeed,

Tostan's experience shows the movement gains momentum as news of the villagers' decision spreads across the country.

Yet, even within villages that have vowed to stop circumcision, it has been a struggle. In Malicounda, a village of 3,000 located 55 miles southeast of the capital, Dakar, women argued bitterly with men, who feared that their public renunciation of circumcision would deeply embarrass them.

"We would not back down," said Maimouna Troare, 60, an imposingly tall woman who heads Malicounda's women's organization. "We told them we would continue talking against female circumcision." She advised the village men that "when the drumbeat changes, the dance has to change, too."

In most operations, crude instruments are used without anesthetic. If the vaginal walls are removed, the opening is often sealed, save for a small hole for urine and blood. On wedding nights, circumcisers are then summoned to reopen virgin brides for their husbands. And yet, until recently, a mix of secrecy, discretion and shame kept women from linking health problems to circumcision.

Until now, the peer pressure supporting circumcision has usually been too intense for individuals to resist. In Diawara's village, Ker Simbara, about 60 miles from Dakar, a woman named Dousu Konate says her adopted daughter begged her for months to let her undergo the operation.

"The girls mocked her. The boys said, 'You'll never find a husband.' " The girl was married last year at 15, shortly after being circumcised and just before the village



**"We would not
back down. We told
them we would
continue talking
against female
circumcision."**

— **Maimouna Traore,**
head of women's organization in Senegal

scrapped the practice.

The people of Ker Simbara needed agreement from their clansmen scattered far across the area, both to allay their possible fury and to ensure that girls could still find husbands.

So Diawara walked for three months in the blistering heat, from village to village. The fact that he was an older man, and religious, helped sway the other imams, whose consent was crucial—90 percent of Senegalese are Muslim. "We went back and forth, until everyone agreed," said Diawara, who recently learned to read and write in Tostan's classes.

This grass-roots movement has provided protection for politicians. One month after Malicounda's decision was reported in Senegal, President Abdou Diouf made his first-ever declaration against circumcision (after 32 years in power) and is now pushing to make it a crime, punishable by six years in jail. (On Wednesday, the government of Ivory Coast made the procedure a prosecutable crime carrying up to five years in jail and a hefty fine.)

But it won't be easy. The tradition has defenders everywhere. When Melching broached the subject with a group of women near Malicounda, she immediately got an earful of complaints.

"It was only when white people came and

said you shouldn't do this anymore, that those women said they didn't believe in circumcision," said Mame Fatou Diatta, 33, her eyes blazing. "I saw Mrs. Clinton come and denigrate our culture!" she shouted, referring to the first lady's embrace of the Malicounda women at a televised celebration in Dakar.

And near Ker Simbara, a group of elderly men sat under a big tree, arguing with Diawara. "Circumcision is normal, according to Mohammed," said the local imam, cross-legged on a mat, with a heavy Koran open on his lap. "We could not stop it."

So, too, thought Sarr, who lost her job as a circumciser. Yet months of discussion won her over. Now, the same peer pressure that makes scrapping female circumcision impossible elsewhere makes it equally untenable to continue it here. As Sarr said: "When I learned that this might cause sterility, infections, I didn't want to be the cause of all that."

If the idea is to take hold throughout Senegal, let alone the rest of Africa, it will need hundreds more villages to join the fight. But word has already carried clear across this country. Last Tuesday, hundreds of miles south of here, 15 more villages gathered in celebration, to declare they would never again practice female circumcision.

Statement of

The Honorable John Shattuck
Assistant Secretary of State
Democracy, Human Rights and Labor

"Organ Harvesting in China"

Before the
House International Relations Committee
and
House Government Reform and Oversight Committee
June 16, 1998

Chairman Burton, Chairman Gilman, and members of the Committees, thank you for the opportunity to appear today to address the issue of trafficking in human organs in China. I welcome the opportunity to appear at this important hearing to discuss the efforts the Clinton Administration has undertaken thus far to address this very serious issue. We also look forward to working with all of you as we continue our efforts.

Organ harvesting is a serious, disturbing subject that raises a number of profoundly important human rights issues. Indeed, as former Secretary of State Christopher recognized in 1995, the practice of organ harvesting would be the grossest of human rights violations imaginable.

As you know, reports of this practice in China are not new. The Hong Kong and London press carried reports as early as the 1980s. Nor is the concern of the United States Government. We have been raising our concerns with high-level Chinese officials for years, pressing for information about Chinese policy, and pressing for improvements in China's legal system to better guard individual rights and due process. We have also regularly

like Congress, are committed to obtaining the information that would confirm or refute reports that organ harvesting is practiced in China and to press the Chinese authorities to take strong action to address this human rights abuse wherever it occurs.

I would like to use my remaining time to detail for you the steps that we have taken in recent years to try to determine exactly what the facts are, what Chinese policy is, and how effectively Chinese authorities have implemented existing regulations governing the practice; to press the Chinese authorities to end all such human rights abuses; and to investigate and prosecute to the fullest extent of our own law any criminal acts over which the United States has jurisdiction.

1995

- In January, during the last round of the human rights dialogue in Beijing, I had extensive discussions with Ministry of Health officials. I inquired into the existence of any safeguards in China that would prevent the removal of organs without the donor's or the donor's family's consent as well as prevent prison managers and other non-

and carried out 4,367 executions. A high court nominally reviews all death sentences, but the time between arrest and execution is often days, and reviews have consistently resulted in confirmation of sentence.

The issue of what constitutes meaningful consent also raises serious concerns. According to Article 3 of China's Provisional Regulations on the Use of Executed Prisoners' Corpses or Organs (1984), a corpse may be used for other purposes if it falls into one of three categories: nobody claims the body or the family refuses to bury it; the prisoner voluntarily donates the body for use by medical facilities; or the inmate's family consents to its use after death. Many have expressed the view that condemned prisoners and their families cannot make free and fully-voluntary decisions on organ donations because of the very nature of incarceration. Our own laws presume that this is so and prohibit prisoners from donating organs except in cases where the recipient is a member of the donor's family. Other countries have similarly strict laws regarding organ donations by prisoners to ensure that such acts are completely voluntary.

Clearly, these issues and the credible reports about this practice raise serious human rights concerns. We,

had participated in the execution of Chinese prisoners, on charges of conspiring to sell organs, including the kidneys, corneas, livers, skin, pancreases, and lungs for transplant.

There are also reports, which the Department of State cannot independently confirm, of other, even more egregious practices, such as removing organs from still-living prisoners and scheduling executions to accommodate the need for particular organs. In addition, allegations have been made that doctors, in violation of medical ethics codes, have performed medical procedures to prepare condemned prisoners for execution and organ removal.

Our concern about the abhorrent practice of removing organs from executed prisoners without consent is compounded by our concern about the lack of due process in death penalty cases and the inconsistent and arbitrary application of the death penalty. A 1995 law raised the number of capital offenses from 26 to 65, and included financial crimes. In May 1996, the Chinese Supreme People's Court ruled that crimes resulting in death should be punished by death regardless of extenuating circumstances. According to a 1997 Amnesty International report China sentenced more than 6,100 convicts to death

and the secrecy that surrounds prison executions and the removal of organs. Nonetheless, the Department of State finds credible much of the substantial anecdotal and circumstantial evidence that organs are removed from executed prisoners and sold to foreigners and wealthy Chinese. Credible sources include public statements by patients who have had transplants in China and testimony by doctors and former Chinese officials who claim to have witnessed or taken part in such practices or to have seen incriminating evidence. The 1997 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices stated, "credible reports have alleged that organs from some executed prisoners were removed, sold and transplanted." Allegations include claims that organs of executed prisoners are used without their consent. China's stated policy is that human organs may not be sold and are transplanted with the consent of donors or their families.

The credibility of reports on trafficking in organs, and U.S. actions to address them, were dramatically illustrated on February 23, 1998, when the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York announced the arrest and indictment of two Chinese nationals, including a former Chinese official in Hainan Province, who

spotlighted the issue of organ harvesting in our annual human rights report on China. The problem of organ harvesting is squarely on our human rights agenda with China.

Starting in 1994, I have been the first Assistant Secretary of State to raise the issue repeatedly and at high levels in the Chinese Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Health. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific Stanley Roth and his predecessor Winston Lord also both actively have pursued this issue with the Chinese, as has our Embassy in Beijing. Secretary Christopher raised the issue with the Chinese government in 1996. Secretary Albright discussed organ harvesting with her counterpart during President Jiang's October 1997 state visit to Washington and during her May 1998 trip to China. The issue will be raised in the context of our human rights discussions during the upcoming summit in Beijing.

Despite our best efforts, as well as those of human rights activists like Harry Wu, human rights organizations, and concerned medical professionals, there is much that we do not know and cannot judge conclusively because of the lack of transparency in the Chinese criminal justice system

family members from benefiting from the sale of organs. Chinese officials responded that organs for transplants are not "a commodity to be traded" in China. The Chinese acknowledged no law governed organ donation, but maintained that "in accordance with Chinese tradition and ethics, no organ can be used without the individual's or family's consent."

- In June the director general of the Chinese Ministry of Health provided an explanation of "stringent standards" for organ transplants and refuted allegations made in a BBC documentary in response to Embassy inquiries.

October 1997

- We requested clarification in Washington and Beijing of Chinese policy on organ transplants. Chinese unequivocally denied allegations of organ harvesting and called a "Primetime Live" broadcast a "fabrication".
- Secretary Albright raised the question of the allegations with then Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.

- The Department of Justice referred allegations raised in "Primetime Live" broadcast to the FBI Health Care Fraud Unit for investigation.

November 1997

- Deputy Secretary Strobe Talbott and A/S Roth raised allegations with Vice Foreign Minister Liu Huaqiu. Chinese government provided copies of two 1996 regulations prohibiting the sale and export of human organs and tissues.

January 1998

- Embassy Beijing requested information about whether any investigations have been conducted regarding allegations of organ harvesting in China.

February 1998

- The Chinese government informed Embassy Beijing that there have been no investigations and/or arrests for illegal trafficking in human organs by the People's Liberation Army or anyone else in China.

- The U.S. Attorney in New York arrested two Chinese nationals, Wang Chengyong and Fu Xingqi, for conspiracy to sell human organs. Wang claimed that he had, in his former role as prosecutor in Hainan Province of China, participated in the execution of Chinese prisoners.
- A/S Roth met with Harry Wu to discuss allegations about organ harvesting.

March 1998

- The Chinese government informed Embassy Beijing that information in a Xinhua press report about Wang Chengyong was correct and that Wang formerly worked at the Office of the Hainan Procuratorate. Authorities stated that Wang had resigned and maintained that the Hainan Procuratorate was not involved in the activities of which Wang stands accused.
- Deputy Assistant Shirk raised the issue in Beijing, requesting information relating to the arrest of the

former Hainan prosecutor in New York and the implementation of Chinese regulations.

April 1998

- The Embassy conveyed a copy of Senator Jesse Helm's March 26 letter to the Chinese Government and requested a response to the questions enumerated in the letter.
- Secretary Albright and Deputy Assistant Secretary Shirk raised allegations with the Chinese government and pressed for information on implementation of Chinese regulations.

June 1998

- The Department of State forwarded a formal request for China's legal cooperation in the case of the U.S. v. Wang Chengyong et al.
- Embassy Beijing again requested information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on implementation of Chinese regulations on organ transplants.

- Embassy Beijing followed up with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the request for answers to Chairman Helm's letter.

We have actively pursued this issue over an extended period of time. The Chinese have responded by providing us with considerable information on their official policy, including two internal documents on regulations governing organ donation. As a result, we have a clear picture of official Chinese policy governing the removal of organs from executed prisoners. However, the Chinese have not responded to our inquiries about the extent and scope of the practice and about Chinese authorities' efforts to implement regulations are unsatisfactory.

As Assistant Secretary Roth has said on several occasions, we consider this a very serious issue, and we do not consider the matter closed. We continue to pursue answers to unresolved questions, including those we submitted to the Chinese on behalf of Senator Helms. We continue to voice our strong opposition to the repugnant practice of coercive organ harvesting and to press the Chinese to enforce all laws governing organ transplants and

prosecute those who violate these laws. We will investigate and prosecute all violaters over whom the United States has jurisdiction to the fullest extent of the law. We also will continue to press for and encourage continued reform of China's legal system. In the end, such reforms hold the greatest promise for ensuring and protecting the individual rights and due process of all Chinese citizens.

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Senior Coordinator for
International Women's Issuesfo.
(Christy)**Vital Voices: Women in Democracy**

The Vital Voices conferences are events in a process which support Secretary Albright's mandate to actively integrate issues affecting the lives of women into American foreign policy.

"We know that we cannot build the kind of future we want without the contributions of women. And we know that around the world, women will only be able to contribute to our full potential if we have equal access, equal rights, equal protection and a fair chance at the levers of economic and political power. Advancing the status of women is the right thing to do; and, frankly, it is the smart thing to do."

- Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright

Vital Voices: Women in Democracy Conference July 9, 1998

"We are here to advance the cause of women, to advance the cause of democracy, and make it absolutely clear that the two are inseparable.

There cannot be true democracy unless women's voices are heard.

There cannot be true democracy unless women are given the opportunity to take responsibility for their own lives. There cannot be true democracy unless all citizens are able to participate fully in the lives of their country."

- First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

Vital Voices: Women in Democracy Conference July 11, 1998

Overview

The first Vital Voices: Women in Democracy Conference convened women leaders from governmental and private sectors of central and eastern Europe, the United States, and the European Union from July 9 - 11, 1997 in Vienna, Austria. Three hundred participants explored ways to strengthen the role of women as democracy-builders through three tracks of workshops:

- Law and Leadership
- Politics and Public Life
- Economics and Business

The First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton affirmed the U.S. government's support for women's role as democracy builders when she announced a USG commitment of three million dollars for projects that directly support the objectives of the Vital Voices Conference.

The Conference, which built global networks and forged partnerships among women, serves as a model for future Vital Voices conferences in other regions. As a result of these new collaborative efforts, U.S. government and private sector support for programs and policies that support the advancement of women and girls has significantly increased. U.S. follow-up to the conference is more than just providing assistance to women in the region, it is the process of integrating these issues into our broader foreign policy agenda.

Vital Voices of the Americas: Women in Democracy

The U.S. government and the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) will co-sponsor a hemisphere wide, Vital Voices of the Americas: Women in Democracy conference - to be held in Montevideo, Uruguay on October 1 - 3, 1998 which will bring together women from Latin America and the Caribbean with women from the United States and Canada. Enrique Iglesias, President of the Inter-American Development Bank has agreed to speak at the conference. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is exploring the possibility of attending. In addition to the three day conference, the U.S. Agency for International Development and the U.S. Information Agency will co-sponsor a pre-conference, hands-on media and political training day.

To ensure effective conference follow through, public and private sector sponsors will commit to funding or donating in-kind services for democracy building programs for women in Latin America over the next three years.

Vital Voices of Northern Ireland: Women in Democracy

On May 7, 1998, as part of the U.S. government's new initiatives in support of peace in Northern Ireland, President Clinton announced that the U.S. government in cooperation with regional partners will sponsor a Vital Voices conference in Northern Ireland in the Fall of 1998.

"I am pleased to announce a Vital Voices Conference to be held in Belfast in early Fall, with co-sponsorship from the United States and regional partners. This conference will showcase and support women's role in the economic and political life of their society. The women of Northern Ireland -- wives, mothers and daughters -- have borne an enormous share of the trauma of The Troubles. Now, their participation will be essential to build a future of peace and reconciliation. I've asked the First Lady to travel to Belfast to take part in this important conference."

- President Bill Clinton
May 7, 1998

This conference will bring together women from Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales, England, and Ireland, as well as other EU countries and the United States. The conference will address issues of concern to women in the areas of politics, business, law, and leadership. These issues will be examined in context of the April 10 political agreement approved in referenda held in Northern Ireland and Ireland on May 22 and in light of the experience of other relevant post-conflict societies. Vital Voices will seek to build on existing ties, establish new relationships, develop mechanisms to sustain and intensify ongoing and new partnerships, and identify and secure resources to accomplish these goals.

For more information contact:

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VITAL VOICES: Remarks after roundtable discussion in Beijing

I want to thank all of you who have come here today, especially the women who have just shared with us their stories and worries and plans for the future. You may be only eight women -- but yours are the vital voices of those who are working tirelessly here and in countries around the world to improve the status of women and girls. And your voices will echo -- from village to village, from city to city, and from house to house -- and they will be heard.

As many of you know, I first came to Beijing three years ago, when I had the privilege of participating, as did many of you, in the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. It was an extraordinary gathering of women from 180 nations who had come together to discuss our common concerns, and our common future. And I listened to women like yourselves -- giving voice to the voiceless, and strength to the powerless; and hope to those who have been marginalized and brutalized in their homes and communities.

And as I think back on that conference, and the Platform of Action that both our countries joined on to; and as I think about the fact that this year we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights -- that both of our countries helped craft and then signed so many years ago, I think about what is in the minds and the hearts of all of us in this room. And I'm convinced that while we speak different languages; and live in different corners of the world, that you and I and women of every country share a common mission to lift up our families and communities; and we believe in a universal cause: the cause of human rights -- particularly women's rights.

We know that human progress depends on the often neglected and too often silenced half of the global population that is women. And we know that such progress depends on women and girls having life's basic tools of opportunity: health care; education, access to credit; the freedom to live free of violence; and the freedom to participate fully in the political, social and economic life of their countries.

When I listened to the women who were speaking with us today, I heard the echoes of the voices from Beijing, and I felt the energy that is unleashed whenever women find their voices, and are empowered to use them. And as a result, China and so many other countries have experienced the flowering of non governmental and other organizations -- that many of you represent here today -- that are working to secure and support the expanded rights of women.

But what's also clear from our roundtable discussion is that we still have a long way to go. And in many places, we have just begun. When I was last on this continent three years ago, I was given a poem by a student who attended the Lady Sri Ram college in New Delhi. And she began her poem with the words: "Too many women in too many countries speak the same language -- of silence."

And as a result of that silence, women still make up the vast majority of those who are illiterate in this world; who are the victims of domestic abuse; who are paid less and fired first; who are underfed and undernourished; who are victims of rape; who are trafficked and sold; and who are denied the basic rights of health care, and education, and economic independence.

Handwritten signature: "New A" with a large bracket to the left.

But the voices of the women here today -- and so many others across China -- have broken that silence -- by speaking out against conditions that keep women four times more likely than men to be illiterate; by speaking out against economic and cultural practices that make women far more likely to commit suicide than men; by speaking out against girls being pulled out of school early in bad economic times; by speaking out against the continued violence against women in their homes; by speaking out against coercive abortions and sterilizations. You have broken that silence by speaking up for valuing the contributions of girls in your society; for giving women greater equality at the workplace and in the home; for giving women more control over their bodies and their lives; and for giving women the skills and the opportunities and the self confidence to move forward.

Today, we meet here in Beijing at a critical time in the history of this nation, and all others, as the accelerating pace of change around the world hurls us into a new century. The global economy makes us even more interdependent as individuals and nations -- yet places greater strains on many of our relationships. And while science and technology are opening up worlds even our parents could never imagine -- they continue to provide humankind with the power to destroy itself. And here in China, you are in the midst of a staggering economic and social transformation. These are times of fear and anxiety. But also a time of extraordinary opportunities for women and men to fulfill their true potential.

We've heard today about some of the very real challenges facing women in this time of great change. And we've heard about how you are engaged in finding solutions and meeting those new challenges head on. And I'm looking forward to the opportunity to see more of your efforts first hand -- whether it's a woman's legal center; or a job retraining center for women; or a girls school. And hearing more about how women are being educated about their legal rights -- and the rule of law -- through education campaigns, and about the growing democratization efforts in the rural areas.

Yet we know that real progress can't be made -- in China or in my country or in any nation -- until girls are truly valued -- by their families, by society, and by themselves. I've read about one Chinese girl who said: "I have a father, but I lost his love the day I was born." Changing minds and deep seeded traditions is one of the most difficult tasks. But every daughter should be given the same love, support and opportunities afforded to her brother and father. And no mother should ever be ashamed or blamed for bearing a girl.

We come here today as women who share the same love for our children; who feel the same joy at seeing them grow and flourish and reach their full potential; and who share the same deep commitment to building them a better future. But we all know that we can't create the kind of future we all want to live in -- until we create a world that respects the dignity of every citizen; and provides the basic tools of opportunity for every individual; that values the contributions of

very girl and boy; that upholds basic freedoms of speech; religion; and political activity; and that vigorously protests the denial of any of these basic human rights.

Almost eighty years ago, the man who would become the dean of the National University of Peking -- T'ao Meng-ho -- said that when women were educated, "and the fence is broken, women will mount society's platform." The voices of the young intellectuals of that May 4th movement were loud and clear: women must gain equality in the social, economic and political life of their communities -- if China was to survive and prosper in the 20th century.

We are now at the dawn of a new century. And while real progress is being made -- many of those fences are still standing, denying women their rightful place as equal partners in the rebuilding of their communities and in the progress of their nation. So we must continue to work together, and learn from each other, as women and as nations, to ensure these promises -- still denied -- are finally fulfilled. And perhaps most importantly, we must continue to be the vital voices for progress and freedom -- in our own countries, and around the world.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
U.S. COLLABORATION ON HEALTH
BEIJING MEDICAL UNIVERSITY
JUNE 27, 1998

- Thank you, Dr. Zhang, for that kind introduction. I am delighted to join you and Dr. Berry of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and Dr. Wang, and all of you today, to witness the signing of a new agreement to expand U. S. -China cooperation in the areas of medical and scientific research. I'm also very pleased to have this opportunity to be here at Beijing Medical University, one of China's great medical institutions. For it is here where you heal the citizens of this nation, and confront the diseases that plague humanity. And it is here that today we reaffirm our joint commitment to tackle the neural birth defects that rob too many children of their health, and their lives.
- I was very moved, as I know we all were, to hear the story of [
] And to see her beautiful healthy baby girl. Her story is one that should be told across China, and around the world. Because until every woman understands the benefits of taking folic acid during the early months of pregnancy, we will continue to see tragedy and loss of life, instead of hear the sounds of a healthy, happy baby.

- As we have heard today, Spina Bifida and other neural tube defects affect hundreds of thousands of pregnancies -- more than 50,000 of them in China alone. And in many regions of China, these defects are the leading causes of deaths in infants in the first weeks of life. And as we all know, at least half of these defects can be prevented if women get enough folic acid before they become pregnant.
- This is message that women need to hear – in your country, in my country, and in every community around the globe.
- Here in China, through this historic collaboration between CDC and this University, we've learned to put that knowledge into practice. And not only have you shown that prevention works. You've also discovered that there may be another health benefit of folic acid – a marked decreased in congenital heart defects in newborns.

- Today, the CDC and the Beijing Medical University come together again to announce a new and expanded framework for collaboration -- that will build on the progress we've already made.
- The signing of this Declaration of Intent calls for collaboration on prevention of birth defects, disabilities, and health effects resulting from environmental factors, such as exposure to lead, radiation, and water pollution.
- We look forward to the same far-reaching successes from the collaboration we begin today, as we usher in a new era of cooperation between the U.S. and China to promote the health of women and children in both of our countries..

- This unique partnership goes beyond making positive changes to public health practices in the U.S, China, and around the world. It has also strengthened goodwill and scientific collaboration between our two countries. And it has confirmed, once again, that when we lift up women's health, we lift up the health of families, communities and nations.
- I want to commend all of you at the Beijing Medical University and CDC for all your hard work, and look forward to your future collaboration. By working together, we are bringing closer the time when our grandchildren will look to the history books, not to the medical books, to learn about diseases like spina bifida.

Thank you.

...the authors of "To Discriminate Against
 ...our Own Mother" and "Four Questions"
 ...the multiple forms of discrimination they
 ...in their critiques. For example, the woman
 ...Too Powerful'" objects to the increasingly
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 ...oon" eloquently argues that women should
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 ...alysis of 'Long-Haired, Short-Sighted,'" a
 ...ie the narrowness of their lives, so that they
 ...nes a woman's major obstacle to equality
 ...ncing a husband to respect her career was a
 ...he author of "Discussing Women's Libera-

men Is to Discriminate Against

...both born of their mother's flesh to be
 ...girls being killed and abandoned? One
 ...bad habit of looking down on women,
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 ...e Zhangyu County Knitting Factory,
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 ...adership used the excuse that they had
 ...fficulty male workers had finding mates
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 ...only a few "particularly outstanding"

...nation against women happens every

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where. The examples are too numerous to mention. In 1948, at a conference on women's work held at Pingshan county in the Xibabo Liberated District, I had the opportunity to hear with my own ears Comrade Zhou Enlai say something like this: How can one discriminate against women? Our mothers are women. From now on, if someone looks down on women you can say to him: To discriminate against women is to discriminate against your own mother!

Those who want to achieve women's liberation—and that includes everyone who wants human liberation—should remember Comrade Zhou Enlai's teaching.

SOURCE: Liu Heng, "Qishi funü jiushi qishi ni ziji de muqin" (To discriminate against women is to discriminate against your own mother), *Renmin ribao*, January 19, 1984, 4.

Four Questions

Times have changed,
 Men and women are equal.
 Then why, in a certain production brigade,
 Are men and women not treated equally?
 They get different pay for the same work.
 So men and women are different.

Times have changed,
 Men and women are equal.
 Then why in a certain factory
 That is recruiting workers are they not treated equally?
 If a man is hired the terms are flexible,
 If a woman is hired the terms are strict.

Times have changed,
 Men and women are equal.
 Then why in a certain family
 Do they respect boys and look down on girls?
 If a baby boy is born the mother is happy,
 If a baby girl is born she does not like it.

Times have changed,
 Men and women are equal.
 Then why is it that when a certain school
 Admits students they are not treated equally?
 To admit women they look at the score,
 To admit men the score can go down.

Times have changed,
 Men and women are equal.

It is natural to have both men and women.
The old feudal thinking
Must be eliminated to the core!

SOURCE: Wang Fuhua, "Si wen" (Four questions), *Renmin ribao manhua zengkan*, March 5, 1983.

A Reply to "Women Are Too Powerful"

I have heard it said that at present Chinese men admire weak women who are "meek, submissive, sweet, and neat," and that they are wary of strong women who have personality, vibrancy, and talent. They are afraid to marry strong women, fearing damage to their self-respect and prestige.

Therefore some "old maids" . . . must hide their loneliness and search for happiness in their profession. Therefore those heroic husbands who cannot stand the virtue of "being on an equal footing" first quarrel with, and then leave, their wives. Therefore, "real men" (*nanzihan*) cry out, "Women must not be too powerful!" "Return to the stove!" "Men plant, women weave, this is an unalterable principle!" "You must stand behind your husband's success!"

Women's liberation is so difficult; being a woman is difficult, and being a strong woman is even more difficult! How many women, in order to launch a career, have had to worry about all kinds of things, face all kinds of competition, struggle day and night, and still bear the pressure that comes from society, home, and even relatives? Imagine if women returned to the stoves and depended on their husbands—all day following their husbands, waiting on them. Men would still sigh, "Ah, those women, those women."

Of course, I do not agree with the notion of a kind of "manlike woman" or "womanlike man." Strong women are not crude shrews. The feelings of Eastern women are very introverted and deep. The traditional virtue of gentleness must still be cultivated. It is not necessary to pit women against men in an antagonistic relationship. In society, women and men should receive the same pay for the same work; in the family, the couple should respect and love each other. The duty of being a wife and mother is also important.

SOURCE: Chen Bin (female), "Wei 'nüren taiwei' dabian" (A reply to "Women are too powerful"), *Fujian qingnian*, 5 (May 1985), 18.

Woman Is Not the Moon

The play "The Return of an Old Acquaintance on a Rainy Night" (*Fengxue guren lai*) contains the following words: "Woman is not the

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY
THE WHITE HOUSE
MARCH 11, 1998

Thank you and welcome to the White House. The President and I are very pleased to be joined today by so many people who have worked tirelessly to lift up the lives of women and girls. [See Acknowledgment Card]

In honor of International Women's Day, we have come together this afternoon to celebrate what we've done and what we must still do to ensure that all over this earth women's rights are protected, women's voices are heard, and women's full participation is guaranteed.

Next week, the United Nations Human Rights Commission will gather in Geneva to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and honor those who are fulfilling its promise. Woven into that Document are timeless beliefs that must always set the standard for how we treat each other in every home, every community, every pocket of the world.

The Declaration puts it simply: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." Listen very carefully to these words: all human beings. Not just men. Not just those with particular skin colors or religions. On International Women's Day and always, we must expand the circle of human dignity to encompass all human beings -- men **and** women, boys **and** girls.

At the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, I remember looking out at delegates from 189 different countries, all united by a common vision: that a country's progress, a country's economy, a country's civic life all depend upon the inclusion of women. That women's rights are human rights and human rights are women's rights -- once and for all.

Even in the short time since Beijing, governments, non-governmental organizations, and individuals have made tremendous progress throughout the world. All around the globe, I have seen women coming together. They want to become full participants in their societies. They want to build democracy and turn their lives and communities around. And they are doing it.

In Costa Rica, I met women working to end domestic violence and others opening an astonishing array of businesses through the magic of microcredit. In Africa, I saw women beating the odds to bring health care to rural Senegal, to construct homes in Capetown, and to speak out on women's rights in Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Uganda. And in Thailand, I met Dr. Saisuree [Sigh-Soo-Ree] and learned firsthand about what they're doing to stop girls from being sold and to care for those -- some as young as 12 -- who are dying of AIDS.

Everywhere I go, I am reminded of how much **our** nation's assistance -- and our leadership -- contributes to this progress. I've seen women's health care clinics opened in Central Asia, women's lives being rebuilt in Rwanda and Bosnia, a joint campaign to warn women and girls in Ukraine about those who might exploit them through trafficking -- all, in large part, because our government, universities, businesses, NGOs, and citizens decided to help.

So on International Women's Day we must not only celebrate, but also challenge ourselves. For there is more that must be done. If the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is going to keep its promise to all women, then all women must live free from the ugly shadow of violence and fear. And today we take another step forward to ensure that they will.

When I was in New Delhi, a college student named Anasuya Sengupta [Anna-Suya Sun-Goop-Ta] gave me a poem she had written. In it, she writes: "Too many women in too many countries speak the same language, of silence...There must be freedom -- if we are to speak. And, yes, there must be power -- if we are to be heard."

We must give voice to women in Afghanistan. Where women are brutalized and silenced by the Taliban. Where girls are barred from school. Where thousands of women cannot go to work, leave home alone, or get the health care they need. And where those who don't follow every rule of attire or conduct are punished with beatings, with whippings, even with death.

We must give voice to more than a million women trafficked every year. In the former Soviet Union and all over the world, women and girls are desperate for economic opportunity. They think they're applying for jobs as babysitters, waitresses, and sales clerks in the U.S. and elsewhere. Many think they're simply following their dreams. Instead, they find themselves in a nightmare -- sold as part of an international trade in human beings and forced into modern-day slavery. Imprisoned by employers, they are often not seen. Scared to come forward, they are often not heard. Lured by organized crime operations, they represent an international problem that -- like drug trafficking -- requires an international solution.

We must give voice to women plagued by violence in all its forms. It doesn't matter if it's by law or custom, ignorance or inaction. It doesn't matter if it's in war or peace, in our homes or streets...no woman should ever be degraded by violence. Violence against women must never again be pushed aside as trivial or explained away as cultural. Let us call it what it is -- a violation of human rights.

And as we work to give voice to all women, let us judge ourselves not only by what we choose to say. Not only by what we choose to see. But by what we choose to do -- in our nation and around the world.

No one has **done** more for women and girls than our next speaker. Through her words, deeds, and leadership, Secretary Albright has ensured that the issues affecting women are exactly what they should be -- an international priority. It is my great honor to introduce Secretary Albright.

INTRODUCTION -- SECRETARY GENERAL KOFI ANNAN

On this special day, it is a great honor and privilege to be joined by an international champion of women's rights – UN Secretary General Koffi Annan [ANN-IN] Because of his leadership, more women than ever as serving the UN at the highest levels. And because of his leadership, so many steps forward for the health and dignity of women and children around the world have had one thing in common: the signature of the UN. It is my great honor to introduce the Secretary General of the UN and a voice for women and girls everywhere: Koffi Annan.

INTRODUCTION -- DR. SAISUREE CHUTIKUL

I first met our next speaker in Thailand. I remember how passionately Dr. Saisuree Chutikul [Sigh-Soo-Ree Jew-Dee-Cool] spoke about improving the plight of women and children in her country. And that's exactly what she's done. As a Cabinet Minister, the chair of an NGO, and currently a Senator, she has worked to ensure that women in Thailand get maternity leave. That they participate in every level of politics. And that more children have access to an education. As a former educator, she knows how important it is to take these success stories and pass them on all over the world. She's been in New York attending meetings of the UN Commission on the Status of Women -- and it is our good fortune to have her here with us today. It is my great honor to introduce Dr.. Saisuree. [Sigh-Soo-Ree]



**Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and
First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton**

Remarks at special program in honor of International Women's Day
Dean Acheson Auditorium, Department of State
Washington, D.C., March 12, 1997
As released by the Office of the Spokesman
U.S. Department of State

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Tim, for that exceptionally warm and friendly introduction. Mrs. Clinton, Dame Eugenia Charles, Geraldine Ferraro, Members of Congress, Excellencies, and Friends:

I am delighted to welcome the First Lady and all of you to the State Department's observance of International Women's Day.

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

Let me begin this morning with one very simple statement. Advancing the status of women is not only a moral imperative; it is being actively integrated into the foreign policy of the United States. *(Applause)* It is our mission. It is the right thing to do, and, frankly, it is the smart thing to do.

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

Towards these goals, we have made progress. I said once that if I had been born a generation or two earlier, and if I had wanted to make a definitive statement on American foreign policy, my only option would have been to enter society and then pour tea into an offending Ambassador's lap.

Today, women are engaged in every facet of international affairs, from policymaking to dealmaking, from arms control to trade, from a courtroom of the War Crimes Tribunal to the farflung operations of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to the top floor of the State Department.

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

During my recent around-the-world trip, I met with six Presidents, four Prime Ministers, eight Foreign Ministers, three Defense Ministers, two Premiers, one Chancellor, one Secretary General and one Trade Minister. And if you put us all in one room, you would have 26 suits and my skirt.

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

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

In each case, we can't get from where we are to where we want to go if women are left on

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

Consider, for example, the pursuit of peace.

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

The Beijing Conference has created new momentum for women to speak out, get involved, organize, vote and become candidates for office. The vast network of non-governmental organizations that women have built is focused on these tasks.

Greater participation translates into richer democracy and more representative policies. And in those regions where democracy makes the greatest difference for peace, women are hard at work creating and expanding the institutions for freedom.

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

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

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

During and since the Women's Conference, I have seen representatives of groups from around the world--African, Asian, Latin; Jewish, Islamic and Christian--joined in the common cause of sustaining the global momentum towards more open and representative political systems.

That is their goal, and as Americans, it is our goal.

So is economic growth.

Since 1993, under President Clinton's leadership, we have negotiated more than 200 trade agreements, given a tremendous boost to international commerce and created millions of new jobs.

But for the world's economy to keep growing, women everywhere must have increased access to the building blocks of economic opportunity and power.

A growing economy requires a modern economy. And as Turkey's Kemal Ataturk said seven decades ago, you cannot "catch up with the modern world by modernizing only half the population."

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

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

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

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

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

We also serve the future when we stand up for basic values of law and respect for the dignity of every human being.

A half century ago, a great American First Lady was the driving force behind the adoption of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. In Beijing, another great First Lady eloquently reaffirmed America's commitment to that Declaration and to its application to all people--specifically including women and girls.

Now, I don't know whether this resulted from a conversation between these two First Ladies.

But I do know that the Universal Declaration reflects spiritual and moral values that are central to all cultures, respecting both the wondrous diversity that defines us and the common humanity that binds us.

The Declaration obliges all governments to strive in law and practice to protect the rights of those under their jurisdiction. And by its very existence, it shows that whether a government fulfills that obligation is a matter not simply of domestic, but of universal, concern.

Unfortunately, today, around the world, appalling abuses are being committed against women. There are those who suggest that many of these abuses are cultural and there's nothing we can do about them. I say they're criminal and it's the responsibility of each and every one of us to stop them. *(Applause)*

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

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

In the effort to advance the status of women, the United States is a leader; but a leader cannot--and we are not--standing still. At President Clinton's initiative, we are incorporating concerns related to women into the mainstream of American foreign policy. What does that mean?

For one thing, it means that the President's Inter-agency Council on Women, created last year to implement the Beijing Platform for Action, will be chaired this year by the Department of State.

It means that our overseas aid programs will continue to emphasize projects that expand the ability of women to participate economically and politically; to gain access to education and

health care, including reproductive health care; and to protect themselves against violence and disease.

It means that we will place special emphasis on the institutions of civil society that include women and refugee relief that is designed to meet women's needs.

It means that we will continue to report honestly and thoroughly on violations of human rights, and that we will denounce those violations whether they are sins of omission by those who refuse to investigate or prosecute domestic abuse, or sins of commission by dictators such as those in Burma or extremists in Afghanistan.

It means that we will continue to back the international war crimes tribunals, because we believe that the authors of ethnic cleansing should be held accountable, and those who see rape as just another weapon of war should pay for their crimes. *(Applause)*

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

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

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

The integration of women into our foreign policy is an active, ongoing, worldwide process. It requires working not only with other governments, but also with non-governmental organizations and other agents of progress. It affects everything from the design of AID programs, to policy decisions made by our bureaus here in Washington, to Embassy activities around the globe.

And it reflects our understanding that progress requires not simply opening doors, but a vigorous effort to reach out and spread the word that the old era of injustice and repression must end so that a new era of opportunity and full participation may dawn.

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

During the past four years, Hillary Rodham Clinton has become America's most respected and valued--albeit unofficial--Ambassador.

She has advocated America's agenda of peace, democracy, economic growth and law from India to Indonesia, from China to Copenhagen, and from Ukraine to a memorable diplomatic and culinary experience in Ulan Bator.

She brings to her assigned tasks enormous energy, brains, commitment and volumes of eloquence.

Those of you who have done public speaking know how hard it can be to excite an audience, at least without getting into trouble. Imagine how hard it is when that audience comes from 150 different countries and when most of them are sitting there with earphones on, wires going every way, listening to emotionless and not always accurate translation.

And yet, this woman, the honorary chair of our delegation, electrified precisely that kind of audience in Beijing.

Her message still echoes; her contributions to American leadership continue to build; her wisdom has become an international force for good. All this, and a Grammy Award, too.
(*Laughter*)

As Secretary of State, I can think of no greater blessing than to have the First Lady at my side and on America's side.

This weekend, at my request, she will travel to Africa, a region of great importance to the United States and to the progress of women.

I look forward to hearing about her trip, and I know we all look forward to hearing from her now.

Please welcome our terrific First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton. (*Applause*)

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

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

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

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

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

While all of these require our attention and commitment, today I have come to advance a simple idea, that is: the seamless inclusion of girls and women's needs in American foreign policy. Despite the work they do, the families they raise, the communities they hold together, too many of the world's women, particularly in developing nations, live on the outskirts of opportunity and equality.

But let me be clear. This challenge is not confined to the developing world. We still have plenty of work to do here in the United States and in other advanced economies of the world to ensure that women have a full stake in democracy. One goal in every country should be to see that all citizens, regardless of race or gender or ethnicity or religion, have a full place at their society's table.

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

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

They had heard the message that is even still too often conveyed in America: that they weren't worth very much; that nobody really cared too much about them. As one young woman said, "Five years ago, I was in a battered woman's shelter in Fayetteville, Arkansas. I had nothing. I not only didn't have a car, I didn't have a driver's license, and my face looked as though it had been run over by a truck. All of a sudden there were people there who convinced me that I could make something of myself and care for my nine-month-old son. I thought to myself, how can these people believe in me, that I could go to college, that I could support myself. How could these people care about me when my own husband didn't care about me."

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

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

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

What the Secretary said and what this Administration believes is that if half of the world's citizens are undervalued, underpaid, under-educated, under-represented, fed less, fed worse, not heard, put down, we cannot sustain the democratic values and the way of life we have come to cherish. If as a nation Americans care about opening foreign markets for American goods and services, if we care about making our country secure in the face of new threats, if we care about widening the circle of peace and prosperity, then we must address the conditions and circumstances of the world's women.

You in this room know better than anyone else that our world is in a time of great transformation, heralding ever more democracy, leading, we hope, to ever more peace. But the great promise of this time is not without its challenges. Global competition, the information revolution, the rapid pace of change create pressures on every society, from governments down to families. These pressures pose unavoidable questions for us as we approach the 21st century. How do we figure out ways to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities? How do parents raise children in the face of the influences of the

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

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

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

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

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

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

These issues are central to our global democratic interests, for what distinguishes democracy is fair and genuine participation in every aspect of life. It should be too obvious to point out, but unfortunately it isn't, that giving women a strong voice and fuller say over their futures is intimately related to the health of democracies, because women are the majority in most countries and the world over. America's credo should ring clearly: a democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms. To reach its full potential, it must include all of its citizens.

Clearly, whether we succeed in strengthening democratic values around the world is of special consequence to women, who in our country and elsewhere are still striving to attain and even define their rightful place in government, the economy and civil society, and to claim their rightful share of personal, political, economic and civic power. Raising the status of women and girls and investing in their potential means insuring that they have the tools of opportunity available to them: education, health care, credit and jobs; legal protection, and the right to participate fully in the political life of their countries; and that is why the United States must continue its bipartisan tradition of supporting initiatives that move our world closer to these goals.

Today, more than 600 million women worldwide are denied the opportunity of an education. Women make up two-thirds of those who can neither read nor write. Yet the single most important investment any developing nation can make is in the education of

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

I have seen how the support of the United States for the education of women and girls worldwide is paying off. I have seen how similar social investments, also many supported by the United States, can make a difference in countries as diverse as Brazil, the Philippines, Nepal and Pakistan. Certainly, as I travel around the world and as many of you do likewise, we have seen with our own eyes that investing in girls and women helps to transform communities, which in turn can transform society. Women will not flourish and neither will democracy if they continue to be under-valued inside and outside the home.

I have had many experts in economic development around the world say to me that women's work is not part of the economies of countries; that women do not participate in the economic markets of the countries. And yet I have seen with my own eyes as I've traveled through urban areas and remote rural ones that women are bearing often the bulk of the load of the work that must be done to plant crops, to harvest them, to make it possible for small enterprises to flourish in market stalls.

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

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

I want to say a special word about family planning and its importance in this larger effort. Family planning is fundamental to letting women take responsibility for themselves and their children. Right now, however, roughly 100 million women worldwide cannot get or are not using family planning services because they are poor, uneducated or do not have access to care. Some 20 million women will seek unsafe abortions. Of these women, some may become disabled for life; some will have other health problems.

But fundamentally, the rate of unsafe abortions is in itself a tragedy. High abortion rates do not represent women's equality. They represent a failure on all our parts to help women prevent unwanted pregnancies in the first place. If we really care about reducing abortion and fostering strong families, we must not back away from America's commitment to family planning efforts overseas. *(Applause)*

And if we really care about making women equal partners in societies the world over, we must do everything in our power to fight violence against women, whether it is a hidden crime of domestic abuse or a blatant tactic of war. No single social investment is a panacea for women or for developing countries, nor should every just cause in the world be America's to embrace. But I do believe that as long as discrimination and inequities persists in a broad-scale way against women, a stable, prosperous world will be far from a reality.

Taken together, our investments in social development are vital to strengthening free market interests, spreading our democratic ideals, and enhancing our security. Over time, America has learned that our ideals and interests cannot be divorced from the political, economic, and social cross-currents swirling around us.

I hope that we have also learned that engagement with the world represents opportunities at

home as well as obligations abroad.

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

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

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

It is moving toward democracy. In the last six years, the number of democracies have jumped from five to 23. Africa is growing economically, moving from suffocating state-controlled economies to open markets that can give full life and scope to human endeavor. Last year, 30 countries recorded positive economic growth.

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

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

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

I hope to witness firsthand and to highlight each country's efforts to build democracy and a strong, civil society. I will focus particularly on grassroots initiatives and on efforts that affect women and children. I hope this trip will give the American people a renewed sense of the importance of our commitment to Africa. I hope it will lay out exactly why we must do our utmost to support democracy and social investment in Africa, and to strengthen Africa's place in the community of nations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you very much.

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