

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Hungama Sefi to Eleanor Smeal (1 page)	12/09/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Miscellaneous [1]

2013-0936-S

rc1357

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
WITH BOSNIAN CIVIC TEACHERS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

August 2, 1996

-----release-----

I just want to echo what Joe [Duffy] said when he was saying that in many parts of our own country and really everywhere I go around the world that building of a civil society and teaching people about their civic responsibilities and citizenship is critical to the function of any democracy. When I was in Prague at the Radio Free Europe and speaking about what I think of as some of the contributions that we have made over the last decade and continue to make, I keep trying to elevate that civil society and the work your doing to maintain it and enhance it is critical. And I often tell audiences of America that if you just take Bosnia as an example and Yugoslavia, Hungary - they had an autonomy. And they even had elections. And they, like a lot of other countries that were freed from the Soviet domination, continue to have elections and autonomy. But what they don't have are the values of democracy rooted in the hearts and minds and everyday lives of people.

And that's what so critical about what you're doing because you're going below the radar screen, if you will, into classrooms, into community settings, helping people understand that just because a democracy is proclaimed on paper doesn't mean that people are going to understand their democratic responsibilities.

I saw that so clearly when I visited Bosnia and I had a chance to talk with some of the civilians who had survived those horrific years - the Muslims, the Croates, the Serbs. It was evident how hard it was for them to keep life going, but even more than that, the pain in their voices and in their eyes suggested how they were just profoundly bewildered by how this happened.

And how did society collapse around them? People who have lived next door to each other; they've attended each other's weddings; they've gone to each other for help; and then, all of a sudden, they were turning against one another. I had remembered reading an article by a reporter who had gone into one of the communities that had been ethnically cleansed and had said to the people, "Well, what were you afraid of? Had you not gotten along with these people?" And the people said, "No, we had gotten along fine." And they told this person stories about how "I remember when my daughter was sick and So-n-So came to help take care of her." And so the reporter just said, "Well, how did this happen?" And the response over and over again was, "Well, we heard that they were going to do that to us." "Where did you hear it?" "We heard it on the radio. We read it in the newspaper." "Well, why did you believe that?" "Because we heard it on the radio. We read it in the newspaper." So that the propaganda fell on such fertile

ground because people did not have associations that were more organized and didn't have an alliance of values as to how they could combat the problems that faced them.

I remember being so struck when I went out to outposts and visited - Camp Alicia and Camp Bedrock. When the helicopter landed and I looked out and I saw American soldiers and I saw men and women, black and brown, and white faces, and I met these young people and I heard every accent you can imagine from the Bronx, to south LA, and you could hear everything there and you could see everything there. It was as much of anything they were doing to keep the chance of peace alive - their example of what it means to be citizens of democracy where people can cooperate and take diversity as a strength, not as a weakness.

I said to many crowds, "That is one of our great gifts in the world right now - lead by example what it is that a democracy really means. And I just don't think there is anything more important, and of course as Joe [Duffy] knows, I've been trying to make this case in Congress and elsewhere that now that we have invested billions and millions of dollars to win the cold war, we can't walk away from people because they all of a sudden say, "Oh we're a democracy. And oh, we're trying to get a free market economy." So much more work needs to be done. And that's why what you're doing is of the core importance. The only thing I would ask is that you would also, and I am sure you will, take your experiences back to your American students and colleagues, friends and neighbors because, I don't know how you feel, but whenever I come back from anywhere and particularly from a place like Bosnia, I'm so grateful for what we have, and I feel that often times Americans don't appreciate how lucky we are and how much work has been done for so many years to create the environment that we take for granted.

Thank you very much.



FAX COVER SHEET

American Consulate General, Hong Kong

To: Evan Ryan
Company: Office of the First Lady
Phone: (202) 456-6751
Fax: (202) 456-5340

From: Ann Cody White
Title: American Consulate General, Hong
Kong
Phone: (85)(2) 2841-2481
Fax: (85)(2) 2147-5790

Date: 06/09/98
Number of Pages: 8

Comments:

Evan,

As promised, here are the Consulate General's suggested names of distinguished Hong Kong women who might participate in the First Lady's round table women's forum. We've included some of the Hong Kong government's suggestions.

The first memo, in the form of a site memo, includes our first and preferred tier of proposed attendees. Asterisks indicate that a biography is currently available and attached. We will add bios as available.

The second list, of alternates, is grouped according to type, for example, business, or the arts.

Finally, if you have any information on a possible venue and time for the women's forum, we'd appreciate it if you could let us know. While we understand the President's schedule determines the First Lady's schedule, and that both are now in flux, getting a better idea of possible times and the likely venue would help us greatly. We suggest scheduling the women's forum during the morning of July 3 while the President visits the Sealand terminal. I recall the Convention Center and the Consul General's residence appealed to you all, but perhaps the Court of Final Appeal in Central Hong Kong might also be feasible. Many thanks for your feedback in advance.

Regards, Ann

EVENT: First Lady Roundtable Meeting
with Distinguished Hong Kong Women
SITE/ADDRESS: TBD (Possibly Convention Center or Consul General's Residence
or Court of Final Appeal)
DATE/TIME: TBD (Friday, July 3, possibly 9 - 10:30 a.m.)

PURPOSE/SIGNIFICANCE: The First Lady's roundtable discussion with distinguished and accomplished Hong Kong women in government and the professions would highlight common concerns of and about women, and the public and private sector resources available to deal with these issues.

PROPOSED ATTENDEES:

Hillary Rodham Clinton, First Lady of the United States
Madeleine Albright, U.S. Secretary of State
Carolyn Brehm, Vice President for Asia, Project ORBIS, Consul General's wife
Anson Chan, Chief Secretary of the Civil Service
Cheung Man Yee, Director of Broadcasting, Radio Television Hong Kong
Fanny Mui-Ching Cheung, Chairperson, Equal Opportunities Commission
Lena Chi, Mutual Legal Assistance Office, Department of Justice
Susanna Chou, textile manufacturer and possible first Chief Executive of Macau
Audrey Eu, Chairman, Hong Kong Bar Association
Julita Lee, Honorary Chair of the Federation for Women
Elsie Leung, Secretary for Justice
Anna Tam, Professor of Family and Children's Law, Hong Kong University
Betty Tung, spouse of Chief Executive C.H. Tung
Anna Wu, head of the Hong Kong Consumer Council and solicitor
Lily Yam, Commissioner, Independent Commission Against Corruption
Marjorie Yang, chair, Esquel Enterprises Ltd, Young President's Organization member
Denise Yue, Secretary for Treasury

NOTIONAL SCHEDULE: The meeting would last approximately 75 minutes and could take place as her first event. It would afford the First Lady a chance to discuss substantive issues with a small group of women who have each made a major contribution to Hong Kong in government, law, business, medicine and the arts. The meeting could consist of opening remarks from the First Lady and Mrs. Tung, followed by an open exchange while all are seated.

PHOTO OPPORTUNITIES: Individual and group photos are possible.

LOGISTICS: Access and security already would be controlled if held at the Convention Center; press set-up and parking would be slightly more difficult but possible if held at the Consul General's residence. Other possible sites include the Court of Final Appeal's first-floor reading room or Hong Kong University's seventh floor meeting room.

S:\FirstLady\Women'sRoundTable.Event.6/09/98 1000

**GUEST LIST FOR FIRST LADY ROUNDTABLE MEETING
WITH DISTINGUISHED HONG KONG WOMEN**

Business (2)

Susanna Chou, textile manufacturer and possible first Chief Executive of Macau
Marjorie Yang, Esquel Enterprises, Ltd.

Government Officials (8)

Hillary Rodham Clinton, First Lady of the United States
Madeleine Albright, U.S. Secretary of State
Carolyn Brehm, Vice President for Asia, Project ORBIS and Consul General's wife
Anson Chan, Chief Secretary of the Civil Service
Lena Chi, Mutual Legal Assistance Office, Department of Justice
Elsie Leung, Secretary for Justice
Lily Yam, Commissioner, Independent Commission Against Corruption
Denise Yue, Secretary for Treasury

Law, Journalism, Academia (5)

Cheung Man Yee, Director of Broadcasting, Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK)
Fanny Mui-Ching Cheung, Chairperson, Equal Opportunities Commission
Audrey Eu, Chairman, Hong Kong Bar Association
Anna Tam, Professor of Family and Children's Law, Hong Kong University
Anna Wu, head of the Hong Kong Consumer Council and solicitor

Medicine (1)

Betty Tung, spouse of Chief Executive C.H. Tung

Political Leaders (1)

Julita Lee, Honorary Chair of the Federation of Women

Total: 17

Biographies of Proposed First Lady Roundtable Participants

Betty Tung: Mrs. Tung is the wife of the Chief Executive C. H. Tung of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China. She was born and raised in Hong Kong. She studied at Boston University's School of Nursing in 1955. Mrs. Tung is President of the Hong Kong Red Cross and of the Hong Kong Community Chest. Mrs. Tung has an interest in Japan and speaks Japanese. She has one daughter and two sons.

Anson Chan: Chan is the Chief Secretary for Administration – Hong Kong's top civil servant. She was the first Chinese appointed to this post. Chan rose quickly through the ranks after beginning her government career in 1962. Responsible for Hong Kong's 180,000-strong civil service, Chan enjoys high esteem in the local community for her leadership, efficiency, and determination to speak up for Hong Kong interests. Born in Shanghai in 1940, Chan earned a Bachelor's in English Literature at the University of Hong Kong. Her grandfather was a well-known Nationalist general and World War II hero. Her mother, Fang Zhaoling, is a noted artist and calligrapher. Chan consistently leads Hong Kong public approval polls, ahead of Martin Lee and C.H. Tung.

Cheung Man-ye: Cheung has served as Director of Broadcasting, Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK) – Hong Kong's public broadcasting station – since 1986. Born in 1946, Cheung was raised and educated locally, graduating from the Chinese University with a B.A. degree. She rose rapidly in the bureaucracy, serving as Director of the Government Information Service before joining RTHK in 1971. Cheung is tough and independent. She was in the limelight this winter when she forcefully rejected suggestions to limit the range of opinions voiced on RTHK and turn it into a government mouthpiece.

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

Elsie Leung: Leung, 59, is Secretary for Justice of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. She has pledged to uphold the rule of law and to carry out her duties "fairly, impartially and fearlessly." Born in China in 1939, Leung went to night school to finish her university course in law, while working in a law office during the day. Leung specialized in family law, particularly women's and children's issues. She is a devout Catholic, and comes from a family with long-term connections to progressive causes in China and Hong Kong. She decided in February 1998 not to prosecute the local branch of China's Xinhua News Agency for allegedly violating the Privacy Ordinance,

and in March 1998 not to prosecute Sally Aw, Chairman of Sing Tao Holdings, for fraud. Those decisions, plus the passage of legislation exempting Chinese state organs from some Hong Kong laws, sparked criticism that the Justice Department showing favoritism to powerful, pro-China individuals and groups.

Anna Wu: Wu is head of the Hong Kong Consumer Council. She was an appointed member of the pre-reversion Legislative Council from 1992 to 1995. A lawyer by profession, Wu was one of the prominent human rights activists in Hong Kong calling for the establishment of an independent Human Rights Commission to oversee the implementation of the Bill of Rights, for extending the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women to Hong Kong, and ending discrimination against homosexuals. Wu's tireless efforts to fight discriminatory practices contributed significantly to the establishment of the Equal Opportunity Commission in 1996. A law graduate of the University of Hong Kong, Wu currently heads the Consumer Council.

Lily Yam: Yam was appointed Commissioner of the Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) in April 1997. She has expressed confidence in the ability of the Commission -- a powerful and highly sensitive organ -- to combat corruption under Chinese sovereignty. Born in July 1946 in Hong Kong, Yam has a B. A. degree from the University of Hong Kong (1969) and an MPA from Harvard (1985). Earlier in her career with the ICAC, she served as head of the Community Relations Department (1980) and as Secretary to the ICAC Review Committee (1994). She served as Commissioner for Transport from 1995-1997.

Denise Yue: Yue, 45, has been Secretary for the Treasury since April 1998. Prior to this appointment, she was Secretary for Trade and Industry of Hong Kong from 1995 to 1998. Yue joined the Hong Kong Government in 1974 and served in a number of branches and departments, including Home Affairs Department, Finance Branch, the Chief Secretary's office and Education and Manpower Branch. Yue was born in Hong Kong and, graduated from Hong Kong University in 1974, and studied at Harvard in 1987.

F:\Tam\FirstLadyBlo
5/27/98 1500

**Alternate Names for Round Table
grouped by functional type**

The Arts (11)

Barbara Fei, vocalist

Mona Fong, managing director, Shaw Brothers (HK) Ltd., prominent film producer

Ann Hui, movie director

Alice King, director and owner, Alisan Fine Arts Ltd., and sister of C.H. Tung

Helen Lai, resident choreographer, City Contemporary Dance Company

Josephine Siu, actress

Anna Sui, fashion designer, New York and Hong Kong

Vivienne Tam, New York-based clothing designer and Hong Kong boutique owner

Jean Wong, principal, Jean M. Wong School of Ballet

Frances Yip, singer

Wing See Yip, conductor

Business and Finance (14)

Christine Chao, managing director, (legal), Federal Express Corporation

Choi Ngor Cheung, director and securities analyst, South China Securities Ltd.

Shirley Chong Sok Un, CEO, Shenyin Wanguo (HK) Ltd. securities firm

Susan Chow, Executive Director, Hutchison Whampoa

Katherine HUNG Siu Lin, director, Cheung Kong Holding Ltd.

Elizabeth Kan, managing director, First Eastern Investment Group

Kersti Krepp, vice president, Asia/Evergreen International Airlines, Inc.

Sophie Leung, chairman, Golden Emblem Investment Co., textile industry representative
for the legislative council

Paddy LUI Wai Yu, executive director, K Wah International Holdings Ltd.

Joyce Elena Ma, chief executive officer, Joyce Boutique Holdings Ltd.

Elle SHUM Mun Ling, director, Wealthy Bloom Investment Ltd.

Anna Sohmen, chairman, Starform Service Ltd; council chairman, Hong Kong Academy
for Performing Arts, daughter of late shipping tycoon Sir Yue-kong Pao

Jing Ulrich, director of China research, Credit Lyonnais Securities

Mina Wang, chairwoman, Chinachem Group

Children's and Family Issues (5)

Shirley HUNG Suet Lin, Task Force on Single Parents, Caritas Youth & Community
Service (microcredit project)

Helen Stephens, managing director, Mother's Choice home for orphans and single
expectant mothers

Rosanna Wong, executive director, Hong Kong Federation of Youth; chairman, Hong
Kong Housing

Nora YAU Ho Chun, JP, director, Christian Family Service Centre

Jessie Yu San Chu, chief executive, Hong Kong Single Parents Association

Education (2)

Dr. Gail Schaeffer Fu, Wellesley '64, English Language Teaching Unit, Chinese University of Hong Kong
Helen Yu, director, Education Department

Government (10)

Marion LAI CHAN Chi Kuen, Commissioner for Official Languages, Official Languages Agency
Yvonne Choi, Deputy Director-General of Trade
Katherine Fok, Secretary for Health and Welfare
Regina Ip, Director, Hong Kong Immigration Department
Rebecca Lai, Deputy Secretary for Financial Services
Amelia LUK Siu Ping, Deputy Law Officer (International Law), Department of Justice
Elsie Tu, Provisional Legislative Councillor
Anissa WONG Sean Yee, Deputy Secretary for the Civil Service, Civil Service bureau
Wing Chen WONG, Deputy Director of Urban Services (Administration), Urban Services Department
Patricia CHU YEUNG Pak Yu, Deputy Director, Social Welfare Department

Law (6)

Claire Beeson, District Court Judge
Sally Harpole, consultant, law firm of Deacon, Graham & James
Gladys Li, former chairman, Hong Kong Bar Association
Margaret Ng, legislator, legal constituency, barrister
Sylvia SIU Wing Yee, chairman, Hong Kong Federation of Women's Lawyers
Maria Tam, barrister; member, Basic Law Committee

Media (4)

Joyce Barnathan, bureau chief, Businessweek (invite to cover event?)
Sandra Burton, bureau chief/contributor, Time magazine (invite to cover event?)
Carol Lai, chairman, Hong Kong Journalists Association (invite to cover event?)
Winnie Yu, managing director, Hong Kong Commercial Broadcasting Co. Ltd.

Medicine (4)

Felice Lieh Mak, former executive councillor; doctor
RuLin Fuong, pediatrician, working mother and daughter-in-law of C.H. and Betty Tung
Dr. Rose Ong, family practitioner and medical columnist, South China Morning Post
Rosie Young, Dept of Medicine, Hong Kong University; former chairman of Education Commission

Non-governmental Organizations (5)

Chan Yuen-han, director, HK Federation of Trade Unions Social Affairs Committee; member, Democratic Alliance for Betterment of Hong Kong; Provisional Legislative Councillor
Nellie Fong, executive director, the Better Hong Kong Foundation, and executive councillor
Mona Leong, assistant director, Hong Kong Red Cross (Betty Tung's favorite charity)

Mei Ng, director, Friends of the Earth
Diana Pang Wai Sum, Society for Community Organization

Politics (4)

Selina Chow, Provisional Legislative Councillor; member, Liberal Party
Emily Lau, chairman, The Frontier party
Christine Loh, chairman, Citizens Party
Elsie Tu, Provisional Legislative Councillor

Sports (3)

Lai-Shan Li, Olympic gold medalist, windsailing
Lok-Si Li, first Hong Kong woman to visit the North Pole
Jenny Wallis, Deputy Secretary for Culture and Sport

Women's Interest Groups (7)

Chan Yu, chair, Hong Kong-based Chinese Working Women's Network
Elaine Healey, President, Hong Kong Women Business Owners Club
Evelyn Ng, chairperson, Hong Kong Federation of Women's Centres
Ivich Neuville, president, American Women's Association
Sylvia SIU Wing Yee, chairman, Hong Kong Federation of Women Lawyers
Marina WONG Yu Pok, Hong Kong Women Professional and Entrepreneurs Association
Annie WU Suk Ching, vice chairman, Hong Kong Federation of Women

**Address by the First Lady of the United States of America
Hillary Rodham Clinton
at the
American University in Cairo
Cairo, Egypt
March 23, 1999
(Unofficial Transcript Provided by USIS Cairo)**

Thank you so much, Dr. Gerhart, for that very kind introduction. I must say I have never heard anyone receive an ovation for the acknowledgment of the audience before, but it was well deserved and it introduced me to this distinguished gathering.

Ambassador Kurtzer, thank you for being with us today and for your service. And, thank all of you, your excellencies, distinguished guests, one and all. I also want to thank Mrs. Shoeb, who helped prepare the events today.

It gives me great pleasure to be at this University, which for 80 years has been devoted to education and service not only in Egypt but throughout this region. And, of course, to be in this vibrant and historic city is something that I have looked forward to for many years. I have made very short stops and stays in Cairo before, usually on my way somewhere else. Once my husband and I arrived in the middle of the night, spent the evening with the great hospitality of President and Mrs. Mubarak and left at the crack of dawn without seeing anything. When I spoke with the President this morning, he reminded me that he has yet to even see the Pyramids except from the window of an airplane. I assured him that he could return, perhaps when he no longer travels with eight or nine hundred people, and see the city and the sights and meet the people in a more informal way. Because, for anyone who comes here, we know we are not only looking backward but we are looking forward at the same time. And in the past few days, I've had the great pleasure of seeing some of the sites and meeting some of the people -- on a very superficial level, I admit -- and beginning to get a feeling for the breadth and beauty of this historic place.

I want especially to thank President and Mrs. Mubarak for their gracious hospitality and also the ministers of the government and the people of Egypt for receiving me and my daughter so warmly. It is a great pleasure to begin

this visit to North Africa here in Egypt – a true partner and friend of the United States. And this university certainly symbolizes that remarkable relationship as well.

In just a few days, the people of both our countries will mark the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Camp David accords – peace accords that enabled this country and Israel to live in peace for twenty years, peace accords that clearly laid the groundwork for what came later with Jordan and what we hope will occur in the future with the Palestinian people and Israel. We will never and must never give up on the dream of peace that was really ignited with the Camp David accords. And the leadership and the example of Egypt is one that we will look to, not only for what can be done and must be done here in the Middle East but around the world as well.

Egypt has a special place in the imagination of people throughout the globe. Certainly Americans are reminded of our ties to Egypt every single day. Just look at the back of our dollar bill. It carries two symbols --symbols that have their roots in the symbolism of ancient Egypt. We have an eagle that could look, if you squint like a falcon, like a descendant of the kind of symbolism that one sees in the Egyptian Museum and that I'm looking forward to seeing in Luxor. Certainly, the idea of soaring high, as high as one can go, looking down on the earth arrayed below is one that has special meaning for people everywhere. But we also have on the back of that dollar bill the pyramid, representing man's triumph over death, not with physical life but with the ideas, the values, and the history that one leaves behind.

As I walked through the museum the other day, with the wonderful guidance of some experts who were with my daughter and me, I saw the kinds of things that a pharaoh or a noble person would want to bring with him or her into the next world – everything that was essential as we embark on the final journey of this life. They believe that they were preserving what was necessary so that they could live in the future and the next life to come.

And I thought to myself, what would we take with us? We know so well that we will not, we believe, have use for food or clothing, so what tangible things would we take? Probably, none now. But what of the intangibles, what of the values, what of those things that we cannot necessarily hold in our hand but we leave to our children and our grandchildren?

I was reminded of that as I visited some of the sights here in Cairo. The mosques that I have seen -- mosques that have survived earthquakes, water damage, hot desert winds -- and are still standing because they have been lovingly cared for and are now being restored by successive generations. They, too, symbolize, not in a material way, but in a very deep and profound way, what we want to carry with us, what we may not be able to pack in a box, but which may mean more than anything we could pack -- a priceless material value passed on.

What would we bring with us today? While we stand at a pivotal, and some might even say paradoxical moment in history, an end of a century, an end of a millennium, a time of great promise and opportunity, we can also see as we look around us, a time of anxiety and even of fear at the pace of change that is engulfing us. We would want to bring with us those values, those institutions that can really stand the test of time. We would want to bring with us our human awareness, our knowledge of the past, so that we could be better prepared to navigate through the future.

My husband often says that there is no constant in the world anymore, except the constant of change. And that our challenge as human beings -- Egyptians, Americans -- is to make change our friend, to understand how to harness and deal with the forces that have been unleashed primarily by technology, but also by changing political and economic forces.

So we would want, I believe, to bring with us institutions that would permit us to make this journey into the future, one that we could navigate with some sense of certainty about the direction we are taking. We'd want to bring an economy that provides opportunities for all people -- not only those lucky enough to be in this beautiful and historic hall -- but everyone, everyone who could in his or her way be prepared for that journey. We'd want to bring with us a society in which we not only are consumers, but also citizens, where we recognize the role of spirituality in our lives, not just materialism; in which we would be equipped as best we can, as imperfect beings to be prepared to imagine a better world, not to retreat inward to the past as is the temptation in a time of change.

At the White House, we are attempting to mark the passage of this time by trying to think of ways that we can honor the past and imagine the future. How can we honor this past that is with us, that we have survived in this century? And how can we take from the past what we need? How do we

challenge ourselves to address the top questions that have always been with human beings but which today because of the conditions around the world, seem even more pressing?

I often think of society with a very simple metaphor: a three legged stool. One leg is the government, one leg is the economy, and one leg is what we call civil society. Now, obviously, we could not sit on that stool if there were only two legs or even just one. We could not sit on it if one leg was much more powerful and longer than the other two. Creating that balance in society among these principal institutions that govern and in many ways define our lives together is something we are constantly striving to achieve.

We know we need governments -- effective, competent, functioning governments that can do what individuals cannot do for themselves and can do what market economies cannot do or produce, governments that protect our freedoms and defend our lives, respect human rights and the rules of democracy.

But even a government, no matter how well functioning, cannot in and of itself create citizens. The free market economy can create jobs and wealth and consumers and it needs to unleash the potential that is within so many people to have a better economic life for themselves. But the market economy, which can do many things, cannot create citizens. Only civil society, that third leg of the stool, can fulfill that important challenge.

So I want for just a few minutes to concentrate this morning on that third leg of civil society, of citizenship. Because if we are imagining this journey, a journey that the pharaohs took into the next world, a journey which we take while living into the world being created around us, we need to bring with us functioning, effective, competent governments that know their limits, but can produce the kinds of services that citizens need and we need to bring with us the unleashed power and energy of a free market economy that can take someone selling in the bazaar and give him as good a chance for the future just as the head of the largest corporation.

But when it comes to civil society, that is a constant act of creation. Because creating citizens who understand democracy, who protect democracy, who appreciate the human rights of themselves and others, can only be done in the space that exists between the government and the economy, the space that, after all, really makes life worth-living, the space we create in our

families, the space that we fill with the associations we freely choose, the space that is the quality of life as we measure it.

We know what we mean sometimes by civil society, but we can't always describe it. We know that it is that element of human association and existence that really defies description because, at the end of the day, it is what makes life worth living.

So how do we nurture this civil society? In our religious associations, with the freedom of the expression of our religious beliefs, with the spirituality that we choose to follow, with the voluntary associations, even the soccer clubs we support, we are creating civil society.

It has never been more essential because we have never had more people living in democracies than we have now at this point in human history. And living in democracies forces us to confront some issues that in the past we didn't have to think about. Government made those decisions for us, a planned economy made those decisions for us, or in the case of some societies, anarchy basically abdicated the space that both government and an organized economy should fill.

And so here we are at the end of this century, thinking about how we will make this journey and wondering to ourselves how we create more, stronger civil societies. I think that there are several lessons that we have been learning around the world as we look to see how we better prepare for the future. First, we know now we have to invest in all people, in their education, in their health care, in providing the credit and economic opportunity to them that allow individuals, both alone and together, to live up to their God-given potential.

It was five years ago that thousands of people gathered here in Cairo for the the International Conference on Population and Development. The further in time we move from that conference, the more remarkable it seems, because for the very first time I've been able to find in history, there was a world gathering which reached the conclusion that we must do more to develop the potential of all people, particularly women, if we expect to live in a prosperous, peaceful, stable world.

So instead of mechanistically focusing on just one aspect of our life, with respect to population control, a broader view was taken, a more human view

that said: "No, we need to look at the entire person, we need to respect the entire woman, we need to educate the minds as well as care for the bodies, we need to provide opportunities so that people feel that they have a future that they can invest in."

With the entire world listening, the results of that conference sent a clear, clarion call. No nation can move forward if half of its citizens are fed last or least, uneducated, under-educated, overworked, denied credit and health cares, subjected to violence inside or outside of the home or are otherwise left behind.

We agreed to a set of goals. We agreed to make family planning a right. We agreed to reduce infant, child, and maternal mortality. We agreed to make education a right for all, not a privilege for the few. And I want to congratulate Egypt publicly, as I congratulated President Mubarak yesterday morning, on the progress that has been made in this country in meeting those fundamental goals. I have been privileged to see just a few of the examples of that progress over the last day and a half, and I expect to see more in the days to come.

Yesterday, I met with three entrepreneurs whose businesses and fortunes have risen because of small, micro-credit loans. As they showed me their shops and the bazaar, as they pointed with pride to the products which they have produced with their own hands and the hands of employees, they could tell me clearly that what they are doing now is giving them a sense of dignity and pride that they expect to be able to use with great effect in they years to come.

One was crafting metal by hand. He had learned his trade from his father who in turn learned it from his father and father's father. And the women that I spoke with said that they had been able to expand their operation, that they now had money to invest in improving their housing and the educational opportunities for their children. Just a small amount of money given to people with the spark of enterprise and the willingness to move forward enables them not only to have dignity but also to support themselves and their families. And all of that at a repayment rate of 97-99%. Now that is the kind of repayment rate that most commercial banks have never seen. But in micro-credit, which is a civil society function, you enable people to move into the larger economy — out of the informal economy into the formal economy — which benefits them and the larger society.

I also visited a brand new health center where women and children were receiving their pre-natal care, their immunizations, their family planning, and the other services that they need. The room that we met in at the new health center was filled with university professors, physicians, nurses, and staff members who were committed to ensuring that poor women had the same access to health care as rich women. That is a change throughout the world that I have observed.

As I walked around the state-of-the-art surgery and intensive care units, the Minister of Health explained how Egypt is attempting to make sure that women in every part of the country have access to quality health care. And the results are there to be seen. The rates for infant mortality, maternal mortality and population are all going down. That is the right direction.

At a youth center, I met with a remarkable group of girls and women who are taking part in a program appropriately called "New Horizons." They are seeing beyond the more limited horizon that had only been available to their mothers and their grandmothers and they're seeing new roles for themselves. I told them that I don't know I've ever been in a group of more lively and dynamic girls and women. They showed me some of the videos that they're making that they use to teach community members about education or nutrition, female circumcision and health care. They were eager to talk about what these programs had meant in their own lives. There was even a woman of 65 who was there who had taken literacy classes and now she can read the street signs and read any newspaper and her children, she told me with pride, are proud of her.

I saw these kinds of important lessons being passed on from one generation to the next. There were three women, the mother, the daughter, and the grandmother, who have each learned how to improve their own options in life.

Time and time again, we have learned around the world that the single best investment any country can make is the investment in education and particularly, in girls' education. I know that Mrs. Mubarak has been a great champion of girls' education and the results are there to be seen. There are more girls going to and staying in school in Egypt, and that is creating a higher level of education, which is one of the principal ways we will be able

to navigate into the future. It is hard to create and maintain civil society, it is hard to create citizenship, if we do not have educated people.

Secondly, if we want to create and strengthen civil society then we have to help people understand and ultimately exercise their rights and responsibilities. I will be travelling to Luxor and tomorrow I will visit a democracy school where I will see at first hand how citizens are helping their children learn the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

From what I've heard, they've begun to put those lessons to work. They've been collecting clothes and donating to the victims of a recent flood. They've even petitioned public officials to clean the city streets. Being married to a public official, I know that sometimes those of you who are in government wish that people would not exercise their rights and responsibilities, because it can become quite a burden when people demand services, when they argue with you, when they claim that they know how to do something better than all those people who are in public life. But that is the way democracy operates. And to have people who before did not understand citizenship all of a sudden realizing they have rights and responsibilities is the way we move ourselves forward both in civil society and ultimately in democracy itself.

That is what each of us does when we are involved in our child's education, when we cast our vote in an election, we participate in an organization or help ourselves or help others. I've heard of so many groups like that throughout Egypt. The burgeoning of NGOs (non-governmental organizations) in Egypt is one of the ways that I can see that civil society is vibrant and that the entire society is moving forward. Groups like the Egyptian Center for Women's Rights, which reaches out to poor and illiterate women and teaches them about their legal rights. I have seen similar groups operating in countries as far away as China or back in my own country where women are given the tools, the legal tools they need to protect themselves and to understand that they are people with rights. They are therefore, citizens.

I've met some of the leaders of the NGO groups here in Egypt, leaders and human rights activists, who have worked very hard on all kinds of issues that really are at the heart of how we empower people and particularly women. And I'm grateful that among the leadership roles that Mrs. Mubarak has taken on is an NGO, the Integrated Care Society, that has given girls in some

of the poorest neighborhoods the chance to open up books and therefore open up their minds.

The Egyptian Red Crescent Society supports low cost medical services and I want to salute Mrs. Mubarak for her tireless leadership and support for NGOs for which she is known and admired around the world. But it isn't only those who are in positions of leadership or high-visibility that are expected to and must do the work of creating civil society. That work has to be done at all levels of our societies wherever we might live. I know that there are many people in this hall today who have touched lives and, literally, transformed them because of the services that you have provided. I read about the services provided at one NGO-run health clinic where one girl wrote about how she envisioned the new life she felt she was creating and the right to claim. She decided she would not get married before 18, but when I do, she wrote, my husband and I must decide together on the size of our family, that girls are as valuable as boys and have a right to education and work just as boys.

Her letter was posted on the wall of the community center but I would like to see it posted on the global Internet because it is not only relevant to girls in Egypt, it is relevant to girls everywhere.

No words could better describe the aspirations dreamed and the progress being made. At the grass roots level, in individual lives, with the millions and millions of decisions that are made every day here in this country, I remain personally convinced and become even more convinced when I see NGOs in action, like the ones I've briefly referred to, that are a critical and necessary component in building open, democratic societies. We have to do more to make sure that they can perform their work. We also, though, have to make sure that NGOs understand they have to be held accountable as well, that if they are going to be players in the civil society, partners with the government and the economy as one of those legs of the stool, they have to also exercise transparency and be willing to have their accountability held and measured as well. We cannot permit any group in any democratic society to have unchecked, unaccountable power.

Third, we have to treat our diversity as a source of strength, not division — a force that binds us together instead of tearing us apart. History is replete with instances of people who believe they could build themselves up by knocking others down, who peddled hatred as an antidote to fear.

We can look around our world today and know that history is repeating itself. There are leaders, there are governments, there are peoples who decide on a daily basis, unfortunately, that they have a right to push others back instead of understanding how we can come together to harness the power that we each bring to any endeavor in order to make life better for all. It is understandable that when societies face rapid change, when so much of what has been familiar becomes different, new, that we have fertile ground for those differences to serve as a pretext for hatred of violence or inhumanity. Hatred may take the shape of terrorism. It may be called ethnic cleansing. It may result, as it did for a few years recently in my own country, in church burnings or racial discrimination and crimes of hatred. But in each case when someone is diminished like that, it takes a toll on all of us. It causes each of us to wonder what is it that we are as human beings that permits us to violate the human rights and selfhood of others.

There are many freedoms and rights that we have to protect in a democracy: freedom of expression, freedom of association, freedom of the press, freedom of religion. All of those are fundamental and cannot be plucked out and held up as only one. They have to work in concert. When we look around the world today, we can see how ethnic and religious and racial differences are fueling violent encounters.

Just yesterday though, I stood on a small and sacred patch of land here in Cairo surrounded by what is believed to be the oldest synagogue in the world, the oldest Coptic church, a Greek Orthodox church and, in the background, the city's many mosques. It gave me a vivid sense of the diversity that exists in this great country. Now that can either be a source of division or a blessing.

That is certainly how I view it in my own country. We are home to countless ethnic groups, religions, and nationalities. We have struggled for more than 220 years to end racial intolerance and discrimination, to provide equal rights under the law to men and women, to welcome our successive waves of immigrants, and we've made a lot of progress. But I could not stand here before you or any audience and say that we are perfect, that we understand how to deal with this wide diversity of humanity. It is a daily struggle. Democracy is never perfected. It takes constant work and I think our founders knew that when they talked about creating a more perfect union that it would be something that every generation would have to confront.

Kennedy
photo

Well, I don't think it is any different in any country. We must look to our history and honor it, but we cannot be imprisoned by it. We have to bring forward those lessons of tolerance and understanding that truly do stand the test of time and we have to reject the calls to violence and prejudice and discrimination.

Here in Egypt, I know that throughout the ages, Muslims and Copts have lived and prospered together. The Coptic Church has hosted annual iftars for Muslim colleagues, Muslims have attended church to share in the joys of the weddings of Coptic friends and each community has reached out to help in times of trouble, as during the terrible flood of 1994.

But we also know that in every religion there are those who would drape themselves in the mantle of belief and faith only to distort its most sacred teachings, preaching intolerance and resorting to violence against believers of other faiths. We know that that kind of enmity that can exist between peoples, stirred up by those who have an advantage to be gained, can rip apart the fabric of communities.

I remember so well visiting Bosnia after the peace accords were signed. I met with a group of Bosnians, Muslims, Serbs, and Croats -- I couldn't tell by looking who was who -- and they began talking to me about how they had lived peacefully together for many years and then, all of a sudden, neighbor turned against neighbor. Now, it didn't happen just by accident. It happened because there were those who stirred up that religious and ethnic intolerance, who used the media to deliver messages of hate instead of unity. And so people who had been friends, who had visited in each other's homes, who had attended the weddings and funerals of loved ones, saw their neighbors going in and pulling out neighbors out of houses, burning homes, burning crops, and they couldn't understand how that inhumanity had been once again sparked after years of knowing one another.

One of the women who was there said to me, "You know, I said to one of my neighbors, we know each other, we've lived with each other, we've practiced our faiths side by side. Why have you joined these people?" And the neighbor responded, "Because of what I saw in television, because of what I read in the newspaper. They told me that you were going to come after me and that we had to come after you first." So we not only have the age-old problems of inhumanity, we now have new tools of communication that can stir up divisiveness in the blink of an eye. Someone can go on the

Internet and put out a message of hate that with the press of a button can be everywhere in the world. And that is why leaders and citizens together have to work even harder at tolerance and to prevent discrimination so that we seed the bed of citizenship with those values.

And so when the leader or the advocate or the fanatic tries to stir up hatred, it will not fall on the ears of receiving people but it will be rejected as it should be. Egypt has long been a symbol of tolerance, and I applaud you for that. And I applaud you for continuing to stand against it in every way possible. We've been working on that in my own country as well. Islam is the fastest growing religion in the United States, but until my husband and I came to the White House, we had never celebrated or recognized the great celebration of Ramadan. We'd had all kinds of celebrations for Christmas and Hanukkah and we'd had people bringing their children to the White House to see the Christmas decorations or the menorah that was displayed. And so starting a few years ago, we began holding Eid celebrations at the White House, bringing in hundreds of Muslim women and men and children to celebrate the Eid and to share with us the stories and values embodied in Islam: love of family and community; mutual respect; the power of education. These three great monotheistic religions that come from this part of the world have so much to give one another as well as to people everywhere. But that can only happen if we respect and we listen and we care about the traditions and values that each of us hold dear.

Think if you will, about the values you would take to the next world. What would you pack if you were to go? If a tomb were to be built for you today and you didn't bring any of the seed that you needed or the clothes that you would wear, what would you take with you?

I hope that all of us think about that as we approach the end of this century. I hope among the values we take and the lessons that we've learned are to respect the dignity of all individuals, and particularly, to give women and girls the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, to work to make sure that our societies are balanced with functioning, effective governments, strong and vibrant economies and civil societies that bring people together, not drive them apart.

I hope we will bring with us our respective religious beliefs and faiths and we will also bring with us the tolerance and respect we should have for others. As we move into that uncharted terrain of the next century,

navigating our small boats, I hope we will recognize that we are blessed indeed, to live at the end of this century -- the most violent in human history -- because I hope we will have learned how to honor the past, rejecting the lessons of history we do not need to take with us anymore, and carrying the ones we should value and hold dear as we work to create a better present and future for ourselves and our children.

When Dr. Gerhart introduced me, he referred to Um Kulthum. I was told of a line in one of her famous songs, "I am the people, I am the people," she sang. "I do not know an impossible." Those are words that we should think about as well.

This extraordinary country and its citizens have proven over thousands of years that the impossible can be rendered possible and I look to you to continue to demonstrate that, not only here at home, but abroad as well. It would be a tragedy of great dimension were we to lose this opportunity in human history to do more to realize our own humanity and to create the conditions that will enable us, well into the next century, to look back and say, "I lived my life as well as I could, I made my contributions. And when I left on my final journey, I hope I left behind those values and ideals that will enable people to live more peacefully, with prosperity, respect, dignity, and tolerance well into the future."

Thank you very much.

FIRST LADY ANNOUNCES LARGEST INCREASE IN FUNDING FOR CANCER RESEARCH, NEW BREAST CANCER CLINICAL TRIAL, AND OTHER NEW STEPS TO FIGHT BREAST CANCER

October 21, 1998

"We are facing a critical juncture in the fight against breast cancer. Our national commitment-- in the form of increased federal investment, additional private support, and a dose of heart and hard work -- is beginning to pay off as we witness enormous progress against the disease. With more investments at this critical time, we can truly hope for successful ways to prevent, detect, treat, and one day cure to this cancer that strikes so many women."

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

Today, in honor of Breast Cancer Awareness Month, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton announced: the largest funding increase in the history of the National Cancer Institute (NCI); the largest clinical trial of drugs with the potential to prevent breast cancer; and an expanded mammography outreach campaign. The First Lady also released a landmark five-year report from the Federal Coordinating Committee on Breast Cancer charting extraordinary progress in breast cancer research, prevention and treatment. The First Lady:

Announced Record Funding Increases for the National Cancer Institute. As part of the recent budget agreement, Congress passed a significant down-payment on the President's 21st Century Research Fund. Today, the First Lady announced that the National Cancer Institute will receive a total budget of over \$2.9 billion in FY 1999, a \$375 million increase that will enable NCI to fund critical new research activities. The First Lady also note that this increase was strongly advocated for by the Vice President. Over ten percent of this increase will go to fund initiatives to increase patient participation in clinical trials; efforts to meet the President and Vice President's challenge to translate progress into better genetics to create diagnostic techniques for every major cancer by the year 2000; and other investments to develop new early detection methods. This increase will also fund seven new breast cancer treatment clinical trials, including a trial to expand the use of Herceptin to treat breast cancer earlier. This budget will build on historic increases in breast cancer at the NCI during the Clinton Administration from \$283 million in FY 1993 to \$433 million in FY 1998. The Department of Defense will spend an additional \$135 million in FY 1999 on innovative peer-reviewed breast cancer.

Announced Largest Clinical Trial of Drugs With Potential to Reduce the Risk of Developing Breast Cancer. The First Lady also announced a new clinical trial to compare tamoxifen, a drug that has been shown to reduce the risk of developing breast cancer, to raloxifene, which researchers believe may also reduce risk, but

with fewer side effects. The unique STAR trial will involve 22,000 women at increased risk of breast cancer and is scheduled to open at approximately 400 sites across the United States and Canada early next year. Underscoring the need to examine all aspects of breast cancer, the First Lady also highlighted an important trial underway at NIH examining the relationship between low-fat diet and prevention of breast cancer.

Expanded Awareness Campaign To Help Ensure Women Get Recommended Mammograms. The First Lady also unveiled an expanded outreach and education campaign to encourage women ages 65 years and older to get regularly scheduled mammogram screenings. This year's campaign will emphasize the new mammography Medicare benefit that the President proposed and signed into law that covers annual mammograms and makes them more affordable. HHS is also expanding outreach efforts to special populations -- low-income and minority women -- who tend to have the highest breast cancer mortality rates. For example, the Health Care Financing Administration has initiated a pilot program to provide free mammogram screenings and air public service announcements in key cities targeted to minority communities, while the Food and Drug Administration has developed and distributed educational materials to underserved communities around the country.

Unveiled Landmark Report on Progress Against Breast Cancer in the Last Five Years. The First Lady also released a new report from the Federal Coordinating Committee on Breast Cancer highlighting the accomplishments in breast cancer over the past five years, since the Administration took office. This report underscores critical progress the Administration has made, including:

- A significant investment in research--reaching over \$550 million in 1998 that has led to historic advances in breast cancer, such as the identification of new breast cancer genes, and promising new treatments, such as Taxol and Herceptin;
- Improved the quality and availability of prevention tools like mammograms, through efforts such as a new Medicare mammography benefit, an unprecedented outreach campaign to encourage older women to get mammograms, as well as improvements in the quality of mammograms through the Mammography Quality Standards Act;
- Enhanced access to treatment and quality of care for women with breast cancer by increasing access to cancer clinical trials, new projects to improve detection and care among low-income and minority women; and launching
- Innovative interagency and public-private partnerships that have made remarkable strides, such as applying the latest in defense and space technology to better detect cancerous tissues and to develop less intrusive surgery methods for patients.

Highlighted That Congress Has Adjourned Without Passing Critical Legislation to

Advance the Fight Against Breast Cancer. The First Lady also outlined the agenda that has yet to be finished by this Congress, including:

- **A Patients' Bill of Rights.** The Clinton Administration has repeatedly urged the Congress to pass a strong, enforceable patients' bill of rights that would assure Americans the quality health care they need. A patients' bill of rights contains critical patient protections for women with breast cancer, such as assuring access to specialists, continuity of care so that women are not required to change doctors in the middle of treatment, and an independent appeals process to address concerns that health plans are unfairly delaying or denying care.
- **Legislation to End Genetic Discrimination.** Studies show that a leading reason women do not get new genetic testing for susceptibility to breast cancer is because they worry about discrimination. To ensure that new advances in genetics are used to improve health rather than to discriminate against individuals, the President has called for legislation prohibiting health plans and employers from discriminating against individuals on the basis of their genetic information.
- **Bipartisan Initiative Authorizing Coverage of Cancer Clinical Trials for Medicare Beneficiaries.** Americans over the age of 65 make up half of all cancer patients, and are 10 times more likely to get cancer than younger Americans. Older Americans, however, frequently cannot participate in cutting-edge cancer clinical trials because Medicare does not pay for experimental treatments. The Congress has adjourned without passing the Administration's proposal, similar to legislation supported by Senators Mack and Rockefeller, that authorizes coverage of clinical trials for Medicare beneficiaries without harming the Trust Fund.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of The First Lady

Office of the Press Secretary
(Jerusalem)

For Immediate Release

December 13, 1998

VISIT OF FIRST LADY
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TO NEVE SHALOM/WAHAT-AL-SALAM
ARAB-JEWISH VILLAGE

December 13, 1998

MRS. CLINTON: I am very honored and personally privileged to be here with you. Mrs. Netanyahu and I have both looked forward to my visit and being able to spend time together and my husband and I are delighted that we are back here in Israel. I am especially pleased to be at this special place with all of you.

Just a few minutes ago, when I was being given a short explanation of the many different activities that go on here, I looked out across the Ayalon Valley, and I know how often that valley has seen war and conflict going back thousands of years. And it seems particularly fitting that your village would sit here above that valley, looking down, being reminded of the cost that violence and conflict takes on all of us, but particularly on children. When Father Bruno had this idea to establish this village, I think he was very wise to appreciate how important it is that people actually live together and share experiences together to learn from and about one another. As a young girl growing up in the United States, I lived in a community that was all white. I knew no black Americans. And it was because of another person of faith that I began as a teenager to meet black Americans, Americans who came from Spanish speaking countries. And for the first time, to sit and talk with them, and to understand that we had so much in common, that I had never understood before. When I was in the classroom with the kindergartners and three of the children came forward to light the Menorah, and the Christmas tree, and the Ramadan lantern together, I felt as I felt as a young girl: that religion should not be an instigator of war, but a bridge to peace. That children should learn to respect their own traditions, and also to understand the traditions of others. It is particularly appropriate that we would gather here, today, at the beginning of

MORE

A ?? p. 2 ?? Sharlat

- 2 -

become the first teachers of their own children. It struck such a chord with me because one of the challenges we face in my country, as in any country, is how to help those parents without a lot of education themselves, who perhaps are immigrants, for whom, in my case, English, in your case Hebrew, would not be their first language. How do we help them prepare their own children to be successful, not only in school but in society? I was immediately taken with what I saw as the emphasis on assisting the parent to be someone who could then in turn support her child.

Sara and I talk about our children, and of course we try to do everything we can to prepare -- in my case my daughter, in her case, her sons -- so that they can be successful. But so many families don't have that support and need that extra assistance that comes from other helping members of the community. With the kind of structure that HIPPY brings, so that parents can quickly learn how to read to their children, how to interact with their children. I saw transformations occur in the families that I worked with in Arkansas. So many of the families there did not have a mother or a father who had even finished what we call high school. They were not very comfortable with education; they had not been successful; they didn't know even how to read very well in many instances. Along came HIPPY, which convinced them that they could, not only feel good about what they provided for their child, but also begin to feel good about themselves, and to understand the importance of education for a better future.

With the work that the National Council of Jewish Women has done all of these years, Hebrew University and the Center there have been able to disseminate the model of HIPPY literally throughout the world. So again I want to thank Nan, my friend, and I want to thank NCJW, and I believe that the President-elect of NCJW, Nan Schneiderman, is also with us. I want to thank her and all of you who are here as part of the NCJW mission.

Nan, Avima and I have talked many times, the three of us together, one of us with the other, about the importance of providing support for families. That is what I wrote about in my book, *It Takes A Village*, and to see that in action here is particularly gratifying. The White House recently held last spring a conference on early childhood development and learning, and what we talked about at that conference is what many of us have always known, because perhaps we had a parent or a grandparent who either read to us or sang to us or told stories to us and so it came as something quite natural to those of us who had that experience to try to pass that on to our own children. We knew it was something we enjoyed doing. We thought it was something that was helpful. But now we have actual scientific evidence that these kinds of activities with young children are not only a nice thing to do but they literally build brain cells. By reading to babies, infants, toddlers, young

MORE

- 3 -

abolish the stereotypes that keep people apart. And this is not just ~~an issue for this region of the world, it is an issue throughout the world.~~ In my own country, we still struggle with stereotypes. We still have to overcome those snap judgments ~~about what kind of person someone is because of how they look, what their skin color is, what religion they pursue, and instead force ourselves to get to know one another as individuals.~~ I often say in my own country that we are working toward a time when we will respect each other. And we will learn to live with each other, totally in peace. And that is what I know you are doing here. ~~If all children -- Sarah and I were talking about this in the kindergarten -- if all children could have this experience, we would be that much closer to peace, where we would respect and look at each other as individuals, and not classify people according to the group from which they come.~~

I would like to imagine a time when, as we heard the children singing in the song called "A Time of Peace," that that will be a reality, here and around the world. In Arabic and Hebrew, they sang "between the lightening, a rainbow will appear and then I'll know that this is the time: a time for peace, a time for peace, God willing." Well, God willing, that rainbow will appear not just in the sky, but in our hearts and our minds, and God willing, we will create peace and security, and justice and freedom, and we will provide all children with the experience that you are giving them here: to be looked at and judged as an individual, to learn to build trust with one another. President Kennedy once said that on this earth, God's work is our own, and certainly the work of building peace, and building trust is among the most important work we have to do. Thank you for doing God's work -- the every day work of peace.

Thank you very much.

Draft to Clinton

**SPEECH BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
AT FORUM 2000**

October 13, 1998
Prague, Czech Republic

PRESIDENT HAVEL:

Thank you very much Mr. Hans van den Broek for your address and mainly for your words on the crisis of complexity and what you said about the world governments. It's very important for this Forum. Now I should like to invite you, Mrs. Clinton, to deliver your address. We are very happy that your planned visit to Prague takes place and we are looking forward to your address.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON:

Thank you very much. I am honored to be here, and I want to thank President Havel for convening another extraordinary gathering of Forum 2000. I am told that during the Velvet Revolution, there were posters all over Prague with the message: "Havel to the Castle." Well, here we are, at the Castle, with President Havel, thinking about the future that awaits all of us.

With poetry and prose, no one has done more to spread the message of freedom and democracy throughout the world than President Havel. No one has worked harder to nurture civil society and keep us focussed on the real questions confronting us as we end this century. He has reminded us that we live our lives not just as consumers but as citizens, as diverse and spiritual beings. And no one has done more to make this Castle a place for gatherings such as this, where ideas can be discussed and where all of us can do more to ask ourselves the hard questions about what kind of societies and world we expect to help build.

If we are gathered here today to talk about globalization, then I know there are many different reactions to that rather long word. It is hard sometimes even to define what one means by it. Certainly the increases in technology, the changes in the economy help us to define what we think we mean by globalization. We see the effects of rapid transportation and communication on our everyday lives. We are more interconnected and I would argue more interdependent than perhaps we have ever been. And as with any great sweeping change at any point in history, there are those who are the great proponents of globalization, whether they can define it or not, and those who are its great opponents, whether they can define it or not. So conversations such as the ones that are provoked by this Forum are extraordinarily important. We have to do more talking with one another across the lines that too often divide us, so that we not only can define what is occurring in our world today, but can summon up the will to take the forces that are at work and try to move them in a direction that will better our common humanity.

It is particularly appropriate that we would do this on the brink of the millennium and again I commend President Havel, and the organizers of Forum 2000, for choosing this theme, this

year. My husband and I have also done a lot of thinking about the millennium. We know it will come whether we think about it or not. Whether we do anything about it or not. We know that it will be accompanied by great parties on New Year's Eve, either 1999 or 2000 depending upon how it is defined. We know that there will be entrepreneurs who will produce products like "millennium toothpaste" or "millennium candy," so we understand that this event in history, which none of us will ever experience again, has a significance in and of itself. But then, what we give to that event and how we further define it can perhaps help us tackle some of the issues that you are dealing with at the Forum.

We have adopted in the United States a theme for our discussions about the millennium: honor the past, imagine the future. And if one thinks about those two aspects of this theme, clearly, by honoring the past, one cannot shut one's eyes to it. There were many references yesterday night in the cathedral to the century that is just closing. We do ourselves no honor if we are not realistic enough to acknowledge all of the great violence and disappointment that came with this century as well as the great progress. So honoring the past requires us to be honest about our past. To take a hard look about where we have been and who we are in order better to live in the present and imagine a better future. It gives us this opportunity now to think through what we would do if given the chance to imagine a future where we could summon the political will, create the institutions, and provide an opportunity for all individuals, in whatever society, to feel that they were participating, and not only imagining, but creating their own futures.

Now, there are pessimists among us as we end this century and the millennium and there always have been at any point in history but particularly at ends of points of time. I went back and read a little bit about the first millennium's end and about the myth of panic terror where people supposedly gave away their possessions and hid in churches here in Europe waiting for the end of the world. There was a rather controversial monk named Raoul Glauger who lived in the tenth century. He consistently warned his local citizenry of impending doom. He had quite a checkered past -- he was expelled from a number of monasteries, but he always had an audience. There were always people who were ready to believe the worst about themselves and about their futures. The earth did not implode as he had predicted, but there were great pockets of fear as there always are during times of transition. So it is today, where the media is filled with doom and gloom and those who are more concerned about painting a pessimistic future than determining how together we can be realistic and optimistic. Even in that time so long ago, there were changes occurring that, coming out of the so-called Dark Ages, set the tone for what was to come later. There was a spread of literacy, there was the emergence of craftsmen's guilds, and new universities were begun and new religious orders started. Not only in Europe but in other parts of the world, there was the beginning of ferment about what would be the future and how it would be created.

Today, as we stand at the end of a very different time, we face some of the same issues that go to the root of who we are as human beings and how we define ourselves, our relations with one another and whether or not we do summon the will required to create a better future. There is much to be optimistic about around the world and there is much to be pessimistic about. But clearly, whether one is able to define globalization or not, it is here to stay. There is no going back. There is no turning back the clock, doing away with computers, cutting off the Internet, stopping jet travel, preventing the mass media from bringing messages of different cultural ideas to remote parts of the world where they have never been heard of or seen before.

So our challenge, given the reality of what we face, is to ask ourselves some hard questions about how we will harness these forces of globalization, to deal with the important issues that have always confronted humanity. Will the global economy lead to growth and stability for nations? Will it lift up the lives and opportunities for all citizens in the world or only those of us lucky enough to be in this fabulous hall, who have the skills to deal with information and the ability to navigate our way through this new world? Will it help us to humanize ourselves and each other? Learn from one another? Or will it drive us further apart into our own particular self-proclaimed identity as a way of protecting ourselves from the challenges of the outside? Will it inspire a race to the bottom of the economic ladder? Will we deplete our resources? Will we see our unique cultures uprooted by a one-dimensional consumer culture? Our spirituality replaced by an obsessive materialism? Will we retreat inward? Will the fear of the unknown, which is always there when we think about the future, be transformed into a plague of racism, nativism, and xenophobia?

If you stop for a minute and think about how popular culture imagines the future, it is not a pretty sight. Most of the recent movies demonstrate our innate fear about what is to come. Apocalyptic visions with only a few people left. Whole cities that can only survive under domes because we have depleted our natural resources. We don't even yet have a popular image of this new world that we hope we can create.

So what vision of the future do we dare to imagine today? I hope that out of conversations like this here and others that are going on throughout the world, we will begin to realistically parse through globalization. In and of itself it is neither a good nor an evil. In and of itself we are offered tremendous opportunities if only we take responsibility to address our problems. As with every age, we have to take the world as we've been given it, not as we wish it were, either with a too optimistic or pessimistic vision. And we have to create conditions in which democratic governments become even more the norm so that all citizens are given a stake in their future. In which free markets benefit all people and not just a privileged few. And in which a vibrant civil society fosters free and active citizens who will, after all, ultimately determine our common human fate in the next millennium.

I often think of society with a very simple metaphor: as a three-legged stool. One leg is the government, another is the economy and the third is civil society. Obviously we cannot sit on that stool if there is only one leg or two and we cannot sit on it if one leg is longer or shorter than the other two. Rather, we need three strong legs and a balance among them. They have to support each other. And so if we think about the challenges that confront us, it is simple for me to think about what needs to be done to make sure each of those three institutions and structures are strong enough to support society in the years to come.

We just heard a very eloquent description of some of the global governance issues confronting us, so we are not only talking about government in terms of national governments, but how we will take global governance to the next level. How we will create the institutions that will enable us to have strong governmental effects on runaway economies, on global capitalism and other challenges. How we will redo international institutions like the IMF and the World Bank, to create new financial architectures to replace what was established more than fifty years ago at Bretton Woods. We know that government is an essential part of strong societies that will enable people to live up to their God-given potential, and yet in many parts of the world, particularly in my own country in the last decade or so, we have had a continued assault on government, as though the abolition or weakening of government

would create conditions that would better foster human enterprise and individual freedom. That is, I believe, a mistaken notion that hopefully we will put to rest as we end this century. We need strong and active governments, neither oppressive nor weak, but able to deal with the problems of their citizens and able to create public goods for their citizens to enjoy.

Similarly, with the economy, there are those who are great critics of the free market and those who are great advocates. Either position probably overstates both the capacity of the market and also the defects of it. We are working our way toward trying to create in the global marketplace some of the rules and regulations that will enable us to enjoy the benefits without suffering from its excesses. There is a lot of work to do on that front. So there are many tough questions posed by how we best structure and create governmental and economic institutions that will prepare the way for a better future.

But I wish to just concentrate for a few minutes on the third leg of the stool. That of civil society, of citizenship. The space that is filled between, on the one hand, the government, and the economy on the other. It is really in that space that life is lived. The economy is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. To create enough wealth that people can enjoy what is best about life. Government is not an end in itself but a means to an end, to help us order ourselves so that we have the freedom and individual space to pursue our own interests. In that space of civil society exist families and religion, voluntary associations, arts and culture and learning, and most importantly, the training ground of what creates citizens from people. Economic opportunity can provide jobs and income, but economic activity alone cannot create the work ethic that capitalism requires. It can create consumers and producers of goods, but not citizens.

Governments alone cannot create citizens either. Only civil society can do that important job. As I have traveled throughout the world, I have seen how critical this component is, for us to imagine a kind of future that all of us hope for. I have seen what happens to people whose spirits have been crushed, whose economies have been driven into the ground, whose governments have oppressed their spirits. And yet I have seen how their determination and support for one another can lift them up to rebuild their lives and families.

If one thinks about the challenges that confront us, we have to believe that nurturing civil society, creating opportunities for people to become citizens in today's world, is essential. There cannot be strong, sustainable, global economy without a strong global society. And there are some simple rules about how one creates citizens -- simple to describe and very difficult to execute. We have to invest in people; that means education and health care. It means creating structures that value all people no matter whether they come from minority groups defined by religion, race or ethnicity. It means that when we look at civil society in any of our countries, as I look at mine, we can see clearly where we are not investing sufficiently and where we must do more. Whenever I see, as I saw just a few days ago in Bulgaria and as I have seen in so many parts of the world, great effort being made to make the transition to full democratic, functioning government and strong economies, I see also how there is also a great understanding growing up on the part of individuals and non-governmental organizations, that they have to play their role as well. Much of the work that was done successfully in the recent elections in Slovakia owes its roots to the recognition by so many people there that non-governmental organizations and citizen activity were a necessary precondition for true democratic values.

4

If we think about how better we need to invest in people, then clearly we have to reallocate the resources that are being produced by this global economy. We cannot be satisfied unless we are doing more to better educate all children and better prepare them to be citizens, to take their rightful places in their societies. And it goes without saying, I hope in this room, that that means education for both boys and girls to the fullest of their potential. It also means investing in people's dreams and hopes by giving them access to credit, making it possible for them to create their own jobs and businesses. Not leaving them out by the great sweep of the global economy that pays little attention to what happens on the micro-level, but instead to create conditions in which local markets can grow and flourish and more people can participate in them. I have met literally thousands of people now around the world whose lives have been transformed by something as simple as a loan of \$15.00 or \$50.00 or \$100.00. When my husband and I were in Uganda, we went with President and Mrs. Museveni out to a small village where we met women who because they were given access to credit had transformed their lives and in the process understood that they were worth something, that they had dignity and value and because of that they understood better their citizenship responsibilities in a democracy. So within the civil society the creation of small enterprises that then can grow into economic, viable ones is a way of giving people a stake in their own futures.

We also have to do more to ensure that people learn about their rights and responsibilities as citizens and then be encouraged to exercise them. There is good work going on around the world to help people understand how democracies operate, but there is not yet enough of that. I commend the European Union for its work in trying to create conditions in which people begin to learn, after so many years of being shut out of their political systems, what it takes to be a participant. I have seen the effects of that in a very personal way. In Senegal, for example, several years ago I visited a village where they were learning about democracy by performing skits for one another. Where people would stand up make speeches and others in the village would listen and then critique their speeches. Where they would act out going to vote. Now that may sound very basic, but it gave those people their first understanding of what it meant to be citizens of a democracy. We have to take the abstract discussion of democracy, take the resolutions that are passed to promote democracy, take our applause that we give when people make the transition to democracy, and distill it into practical everyday advice and lessons about what that actually means in the everyday lives of people.

We also have to make it possible for us to learn how to treat our diversity as a source of strength. We have seen in too many places around the world that even with people elected as leaders in a democracy, old attitudes die hard. And old hatreds in the guise of democratically-elected leaders are no better for the citizens of a country and their neighbors than before democracy occurred. If people don't feel that they have a stake in their own futures and if the economy is working for them, if they don't have the space that civil society provides to give them meaning, then they often turn (as you know so well) against one another. They often begin to blame the other for whatever it is that they find lacking in their own lives. Whether that other is a minority group, religious, racial or ethnic, we have seen the results of too much blaming of the other.

And yet when people defy history they can begin to rewrite it. Recently I spoke at a conference for women in Belfast. We brought together both Protestant and Catholic women who were doubly burdened by the sectarian hatred that had stalked their land for so long and by their status as women. They came together to talk about how they could assume

responsibility to help make the peace and reconciliation they voted for real and lasting. They put aside old hatreds because new and better leadership had encouraged them to do so, and began to learn the tools of citizenship that will permit them to make their voices heard.

We also have to ensure that we do all we can to protect our natural and cultural treasures and we require citizens to do that. It often cannot be done from a distance or again by passing a resolution in a faraway place, but citizens living in our rain forests, on the edges of our savannahs and our wetlands have to feel that they too have a stake in protecting what is best about our earth. And when it comes to cultural treasures we have to do more to be sure that we respect and preserve our religions, our languages, our heritage, which do give us our individual identity and which require us to learn to respect one another.

There is much to be done, but I am an optimist. I believe that we have great opportunities ahead of us if only we will seize them. If only we will be prepared to do what is necessary at the global level to deal with our economic and governance issues, as hard as that may be. And then to do at the local level what it takes to build civil society and citizens. Each of us in this room and so many countless beyond this hall have the obligation to do what we can to promote positive political and economic change and to nurture civil society wherever we are. There is much that each of can do individually. We know today that have global neighbors but we haven't yet decided we want to build a global neighborhood. When we care about a toxic spill or a terrorist attack, or an economic downturn, or a civil war in another nation, it is not just because it may affect us down the road, but because we recognize that in a very fundamental way, we are now more interdependent than any point in human history.

So that brings me back to where I started. When we imagine the future over the next years and over the next century and millennium, what is it we will see? In one of those popular movies I referred to that swept my country and apparently made a lot of money around the world, called Independence Day -- these movies always seem to start with an attack on Washington D.C., which I don't really know how to take, the blowing up of the White House and Capitol to begin with -- the ending of it required all of us to cooperate to fend off an alien attack. And certainly in the theater in which I saw it, there were great cheers as people of all different races and backgrounds and societies around the globe came together as human beings to save ourselves.

We certainly don't expect it to come to that, but in a real way, unless we do come together, we will not have the opportunities we deserve at the end of this very difficult and troubled century. We have done a lot in the last fifty years to create opportunity, to build democracy, to reach deep and to give more people a chance to fulfill their God-given potential. But when it is all said and done, globalization, however one defines it, can never be a substitute for humanization. We have a lot of work to do if we are to make sure that the global economy does not drive us apart from one another, drive some down and lift others up, but instead is an engine that we harness to create a strong global society in which all people are given a chance to imagine a future better than their past. Thank you very much.

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

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

(Begin transcript)

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

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

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

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

At the same time, I hope we have also recognized as we end this century, that we need effective, functioning, competent governments. Governments that are neither oppressive, nor too strong

and authoritarian, nor on the other hand, so weak that they can neither deliver goods and services for the public good to their citizenry, or play the kind of partnership role that they should in connection with a vital free market.

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

I think as we look at the end of this century and the beginning of the next, it behooves all of us, no matter what our perspective or experience, to think hard about how we create conditions in which the economy, governments and the civil society all flourish. Think of it, if you will, as a three-legged stool. We are not stable if we are only on one leg, no matter how strong the economy might be, no matter how strong a government might be. We are also not stable if we rest merely on two legs of the stool. Rather we need to see the independence and connection among the economy, the government and the civil society. And more than that, I think we need to recognize the ways in which each of those spheres of influence are affected by the other. I know there has been a great deal of useful conversation here about what needs to be done to help manage crises such as the Asian crisis, how to better provide technical assistance for banking supervision and the regulation of markets in many countries around the world, even suggestions as to what could be done to create more of a global regulator atmosphere along the lines perhaps of a new Bretton Woods.

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

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

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

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

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

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

or charitable activity? How do we create associations that stand between the marketplace and the government, but give people an opportunity to exercise their own skills to become good citizens?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is true that most people will be taken in by an emergency room, perhaps not the first one they visit, if they are not insured, but perhaps the second or third one if they are lucky enough to still

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

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

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

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

SCHWAB: Mrs. Clinton, I have three questions which seem to be very appropriate to conclude

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

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

Similarly I hope that governments will be encouraged to be as transparent, as reform-minded as possible, wherever necessary, and that business leaders will support government reform in doing so, and that we will have the kind of functioning partnership that is so necessary for the next century, between business and government throughout the world, and that we will do away with the false debate and the false choice that too often dominates our debate in America, where there is an unnecessary and I believe false antagonism created between business and government. They need each other, they need to support each other for the kind of long-term stability that both require to function well.

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

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

community and in the family, and particularly in the children.

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

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

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

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

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

(End transcript)

be around by the time they arrive. And that if that were the only assessment we would make, we would say, well eventually everyone gets care. But we are paying a very big price for those who do not get timely or preventive care.

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

So there are a number of problems in my view, and I think that there is an ideological opposition among many in the American business community to the American government being any part of providing universal care. But of course we provide universal care to our citizens over the age of 65 through Medicare. And we provide it at the cheapest overhead and administrative cost of any insurance program in the United States. I daresay if you went back and you talked to your benefits people or your CFOs, and you asked them what percentage of the health care dollar you were spending on your employees that went to administration and overhead and profit, compared with the two cents out of the dollar that goes to Medicare, you would have to ask yourself, is this an ideological opposition that no longer makes economic sense, or shall I hang on to it while I find my capacity to provide health insurance for my employees further diminished, thereby creating more instability in the system. So I hope that we will continue to address these issues in the future.

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

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

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

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

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

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

He has also tried to help the American people understand why the United States must remain engaged around the world. And here I would also address the American business leaders in this audience. It is imperative that those of you who understand the global economy, who visit and do business in many countries, share your knowledge, of what you see occurring around the world with members of Congress, with leaders of your community, with anyone you who you can reach, because we cannot build a public consensus for American engagement if the American business community is not a strong supporter of that engagement, and I would just ask that you think hard about what you can do to try to have your voices heard. One quick example, during the last session of Congress, when the President's plan for the United States to pay its debts to the United Nations, and to replenish our commitment to the IMF, came before the House of Representatives, it was not voted on because of a debate over whether or not the United States should continue to give family planning aid around the world to any organization that had anything however remotely to do with abortion. It was voted down. There was a coalition among people who believe the United States should not be engaged in the world, as well as those who are against abortion. There was a deafening silence from the American business community. I saw no press conferences, I saw no ads in newspapers, I saw no signed joint statements saying 'we know what faces the United States around the world and we understand how important it is for America to lead and be engaged and we therefore raise our voices on behalf of American support for the United Nations, IMF and other multilateral institutions.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20

**EL SALVADOR: BUILDING BLOCKS FOR SPEECH ON
VIOLENCE AND WOMEN IN EL SALVADOR**

BACKGROUND

- Violence became almost a way of life during El Salvador's 12-year conflict. Despite the signing of the Peace Accords in 1992, because of common crime as many people in El Salvador die violently each year now as during the conflict. Recent reports have depicted El Salvador as the most violent country in Central America [CID Gallup] as well as the most violent country in the world [World Bank]. Twenty percent of residents of San Salvador have been the victim of an armed robbery in the last year; gunshot wounds are a major cause of death in the country [source: Salvadoran medical examiner].
- Violence is a human rights issue and those most vulnerable to violence are women and children.
- From any perspective, the costs of violence to society and to women and their families are enormous. The costs in lost productivity of battered women are extremely high, and society has to invest large amounts of human and financial resources to provide medical care for physical and mental injuries, pay expenses for the National Police and the courts, and compensate for the loss of productivity of the victims as well as family members or others called on to be care givers.
- Violence leaves psychological scars that can prevent victims from leading a healthy life.
- Gender inequality is rooted in El Salvador's culture.
 - Women are routinely denied equitable access to education, employment, basic services, political power and decision making at all levels. For instance, the illiteracy level for men is 16.8% while for women it is 22.4%. The lack of access for women to credit and land ownership has contributed to the "feminization of poverty." At the same time, there is a high incidence of diseases and health conditions that affect women (maternal mortality).
- Gender is a factor in violence.
 - Most violence against women occurs in the home.

21

-- One in six Salvadoran women has been sexually assaulted.

-- The number of domestic abuse complaints received by just one institution (ISDEMU) topped 10,000 last year. These complaints come from all levels of society, and the aggressors run the gamut from the very poor to high level professionals.

- Children are also victims of violence.

-- Almost one half of the population (2,700,000) of El Salvador is under the age of 18. Financial needs force between 118,000 and 270,000 children in El Salvador under the age of 20 -- 88,000 or more under the age of 14 -- to work. Many of these children also live in the streets. There are no official statistics on the number of children who live on the street, but estimates range from 1,000 to 6,000 most of whom are 10-14 years old. Street and working children face many health risks including malnutrition, acute respiratory infections, diarrhea, skin diseases, and sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS.

-- Corporal punishment is a common form of discipline. 67% percent of Salvadoran children have been physically or mentally abused. Violence is the major reason children abandon their homes for the street.

-- 80% of street children have experienced violence in the home. 60% were directly affected by the war when a family member was killed or their home was destroyed.

-- So far in 1998, 38 Salvadoran children have been victims of gunshot wounds, many from the local custom of shooting bullets into the air. This compares to 29 victims in all of 1997. This statistic includes little Manuel de Jesus, an eleven year old boy who was shot on his way to work. Manuel lives with his grandmother because his mother died from AIDS.

-- About 63% of working children have left school.

-- Sadly, child abuse is often not recognized or reported. The organizations trying to help abused children are too few to address the problem adequately, and most programs are curative not preventive.

-- Currently there are 7,000-17,000 gang members in El

22

Salvador.

- There are strong ties between gangs in the United States and El Salvador. In 1997, there were 92 young deportees with criminal records entering El Salvador from the US per month. 30% of gang members report they have been deported from the United States. The greatly increased number of criminal deportees from the United States exacerbates El Salvador's crime problem.
- What has the Salvadoran Government done to decrease violence against women and children?
- Despite the social violence that is endemic to Salvadoran society today, much has been done to improve the situation since the signing of the Peace Accords in 1992. With the Peace Accords, organized civil insurgency and conflict came to an end, and peace was consolidated. During the same period, significant changes were made in Salvadoran legislation and institutional structures to help resolve the problems of gender inequality and domestic violence.
- In 1990, El Salvador signed and ratified The Children's Rights Accord, which led to the formation of the Salvadoran Institute for Protecting Youth (ISPM) and the Human Rights Ombudsman's Office.

Mrs. Calderón Sol is the president of the board of directors of ISPM. Throughout the country, ISPM has extensive services for families, including educational centers, detox. centers for child drug addicts, and support services for victims of family violence. The ISPM is even reaching out to gang members by including them in football games and other events to elevate their self-esteem and teach teamwork. These services will be decentralized and expanded to include statistics-gathering thanks to an IDB loan of \$11.7 million.

The Human Rights Ombudsman has been key in coordinating the many efforts by both public and private agencies to stem domestic violence.
- In 1992, as a result of the Peace Accords, the government established the Office of the Special Defender for Children and Youth to oversee the protection of children's rights and to ensure that government institutions do not violate those rights. Unfortunately, the organization's budget is

23

insufficient.

- Since 1995, through the dedication and hard work of First Lady Elizabeth Calderón Sol, many women's organizations, other civil society groups, and donor organizations (including USAID which funded technical assistance for drafting, policy debate, passage and implementation), the government has enacted a series of legal reforms to protect women and their families.
- Among other things, the reforms guarantee equality between men and women and establish women's legal rights, as well as rights for all children, including those born out of wedlock or adopted. Women now have the right to free legal counsel and child support.
- For the first time, domestic violence is categorized as a criminal offense.
- One specific gain for women under the new Family Code is that the family home becomes communal property and cannot be sold or leased without the approval of both spouses. The law also requires the presence of a social worker when a husband accused of spouse abuse (who is not living on the premises wishes to visit the family home).
- As a result of the Family Code, twenty-two family courts have been established throughout the country. At the national level, three Magistrates of the Supreme Court and 36 family prosecutors address cases related to family problems.
- Also in 1996, and as an outcome of agreements reached at the Beijing Conference, the Government of El Salvador established the Salvadoran Institute for Women's Development (ISDEMU -- Instituto Salvadoreño para el Desarrollo de la Mujer), which brings together most government agencies and several non-governmental organizations involved in women's issues.

The president of the board of directors of ISDEMU is the First Lady, Mrs. Calderón Sol.

One of ISDEMU's most successful programs is a national hotline called The Friendly Phone (El Teléfono Amigo), which is set-up to rapidly respond to domestic violence complaints.

ISDEMU also has a three-year strategy (1997-1999) to address ten key areas for women, including health and domestic violence.

29

HOW HAS THE U.S. HELPED

- The United States is committed to collaborating with public and private organizations to develop and strengthen the civic institutions that are a necessary component of any democracy. In El Salvador, we are proud to see the number of successful NGOs (see below) working to advance the protection of women and children.
- Since the mid-1980s, the US government has provided substantial support to public and private efforts to extend legal protections for women. In addition to funding technical support for drafting legislation, we have worked with over 30 Salvadoran NGOs to establish programs in legal education, advocacy techniques.
- Especially important have been the public awareness campaigns funded by USAID.

Maria, a 32-year-old mother of two, suffered years of violence, afraid to act for fear of reprisals against her children by her common law husband and too poor to pay for a lawyer. Motivated by public campaigns, she asked for help. Provided immediately with protective services, she has since obtained a divorce, received psychological counseling, and been granted child support payments and ownership of the family house and furniture.

Under the old system, Silvia, a 28-year old mother, had no choice but to agree to give up her children unconditionally when she sought a divorce. Anything less, and her estranged husband threatened to "leave her and her children without a colon for tortillas."

When she heard the public campaign, she applied for legal aid and now has joint custody of her children.

- USAID and UNDP have provided training for 25 family court judges, prosecutors and the national civilian policy to assure the new legal codes are understood and applied fairly.
- USAID has worked to strengthen NGOs which provide services to poor women and children. Some NGOs now have programs for women in micro credit, training in advocacy, and support groups around gender, health and self-esteem issues, and violence against women. Others have programs for street children.

25'

- PROCIPOTES is a USAID project that since 1994 has been strengthening 5 Salvadoran NGOs to provide services to at risk youths and street children. The project currently serves 13,800 children aged 6-18 years and their families with counseling, health screening, tutoring, and vocational training. There is a strong component in the program advising children and communities about their rights and community participation in the project is strong.
- We have worked with the Salvadoran government to professionalize the police. In addition to providing basic training, U.S. instructors have taught specialized courses in investigating sexual assault and crimes involving fire arms. We installed a pilot 911 system in the town of Santa Ana, which has recorded an increasing number of domestic violence complaints.
- American NGOs are also engaged here. SAVE the CHILDREN is developing a program to connect deported Salvadoran youth with available social services and to offer instruction in alternative methods of conflict resolution.

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

- UNICEF has a project to prevent family violence taking place in 5 Salvadoran communities which will last over a 2 year period. The project works with the Department of the Family, which is a division of the National Police so they can deal more effectively with cases of family violence. Another aim is to provide better coordination among service providers dealing with domestic violence at the community level. The project is mobilizing local communities to identify, prevent, and provide follow up to victims of family violence.
- PAHO has a pilot program to teach local health care providers to recognize the symptoms of violence against women and to give abused women the care and support they need.
- The Swedish arm of Save The Children has done extensive work to strengthen the Family Matters Department of the Police.

NGOs

- One of the strongest networks working in this area is the Comite 25 de Noviembre, composed of about thirty women's

26

NGOs that have advocated for the enactment of stronger laws, maintain training courses to raise awareness about the issue, maintain shelters and provide emergency support to victims of abuse, and conduct lobbying with authorities of the various official services of the police, the courts, the ombudsman system, and with politicians.

- Some specific outcomes of these efforts include:

- "Las Dignas" have a program that advocates for "Families and No Violence against Women"; works in rural communities; promotes awareness through seminars and other public acts; and offers training to the National Police. They also have a Center that provides attention to victims of abuse; and have been strong advocates of new laws to shore up women's rights.

- An off-shoot of Las Dignas, the Asociación de Madres Demandantes, have devoted all their activities and energy to securing child support for children; providing help for mothers trying to secure that right, and helping the courts reduce the more than 50,000 pending cases for child support.

- "CEMUJER" has advocated new laws and produced promotional campaign material for radio and TV. It also maintains a shelter and a clinic, provides training and support for couples and for victims of violence and abuse, and conducts valuable research on the subject.

- "CONAMUS" (Coordinadora Nacional de la Mujer) has helped victims of abuse for over 11 years in their Integrated Services Clinic, where they provide medical and psychological attention, and legal help to women and children. They also give training in schools and community groups in the areas where they work in the Departments of Chalatenango, Cabanas, Usulután and San Salvador.

- MSM (Movimiento Salvadoreño de Mujeres) has a leadership program for women, and provides programs for women victims of domestic violence in the Departments of Sonsonate, San Vicente, Usulután and San Salvador; they also maintain a program of mental health for women.

More work needs to be done

- According to most experts, the greatest obstacles to achieving gender equality or balance in a society are

27

cultural factors reflected in "machista" attitudes of male domination and a patriarchal system of control, as well as the country's high levels of poverty (50% of Salvadorans live in poverty).

- To overcome violence against women and the violence prevalent in the society in general, both attitudes and power relationships within the home must be transformed. Daily experiences have to change to include respect and equality among the family members
- Programs that can help:
 - better reporting systems to collect information on violence against women and children
 - additional training for police, prosecutors, judges, public defenders, and social workers
 - school and vocational programs that address the special needs of street children, at risk children, and children who want to leave gangs
 - more government funding for social programs
 - more programs for deported youth.
 - additional NGO and GOES programs for women and children on self esteem, problem solving skills, alternative dispute resolution

*Change
goals
+
articles*

28

ANNEX ONE: CONVENTIONS RELATING TO WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS

- A large concerted effort among the community of nations to advocate women's human rights was a principal reason the status of women has become a prominent topic in international for a in recent years.
- 1985-1995, declared by the U.N. as the Decade of Women, culminated with several groundbreaking international conferences concerning women's human rights. These included the 1993 Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, the Population Conference in Egypt, the Copenhagen Conference on Social and Economic Rights, and the Beijing Conference on Women.
- These efforts have been complemented by efforts to ratify the U.N. Convention to Eradicate all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and at a regional level with efforts such as the Inter-American Convention to Eradicate, Prevent and Punish Violence Against Women, agreed upon by the countries of the Americas in Belem do Para in 1994.
- Since last year, the Vital Voices Conferences (Vienna 1997, Ireland and Uruguay 1998) have provided a impetus to create entrepreneurial possibilities for women.
- In El Salvador, in honor of the 50th Anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights, December 10th, a network of women's non-governmental organizations, donor agencies, and government organizations declared this the Year to Eradicate Violence Toward Women and have conducted a year-long campaign under the slogan "Life without Violence is Our Right".
- Programs under this campaign have included a series of activities that began with the celebration of International Women's Day on March 8th that will conclude during the two weeks between November 25th (International Day Against Violence to Women) and the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Declaration.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
HIPPY EVENT
ISRAEL

Thank you, Sara, for that kind introduction. It is a great pleasure to be here at the Sadie Rennert Center, with three women who mean so much to my country as well as yours -- and who are my friends as well: Israel's first lady; Sara Netanyahu; Avima Lombard -- founder and director of HIPPY International; and my friend, Nan Rich, who is such a tireless and inspiring advocate for America's children, and who first introduced me to this remarkable program. For years, I've told Nan that I wanted to come to Israel and see where HIPPY planted its first seeds of hope and learning -- seeds that would grow and thrive in communities around the world. So my visit here today has very special meaning to me.

Nan -- as many of you know -- has been President of the National Council of Jewish Women since 1994 -- and she will be stepping down this March. I'm so pleased that President elect Jan Schneiderman is also with us today.

When my husband, the President, spoke about the HIPPY program last year -- (at the National Council of Jewish Women) he quoted the Talmud, which says that every blade of grass has its angel that bends over it and whisper, "grow, grow." Our children are our blades of grass. You surely are their angels.

Long before the President and I came to the White House, when my husband was Governor of Arkansas, I picked up a newspaper in Miami, Florida, and read about this amazing program going on in Israel. When I first sat down with Nan, and she talked to me about how HIPPY was based on the belief that every child can learn -- I knew I wanted the young people in Arkansas to benefit from such a program. Many communities in America had already embraced HIPPY -- but we became the first to promote it statewide. And today, I'm pleased to report that there are now 28 states which have established statewide HIPPY programs.

When I first introduced this program to people in Arkansas -- however -- there were quite a few naysayers. Perhaps you encountered the same kind of resistance. There were some who couldn't believe that parents who had not finished high school were up to the task of teaching their children. Many parents in the United States doubted their own abilities. We soon found that HIPPY not only equipped children with basic knowledge and skills for school. We also learned that HIPPY gave parents a boost in self confidence. Many of them became interested in learning for themselves as well as for their children -- going back to school to complete high school -- or even start college.

Today, it was wonderful to see the children engaged in finger painting and building their paper homes -- and to hear their happy voices. Because we know that such activities are not only enjoyable. They are critical to a child's ability to grow and learn. At a White House Conference on Early Childhood Development -- in which Nan participated -- we learned that science now confirms what parents have always believed: that when we read or sing to a child, or hold them in our arms -- we are not only establishing an important emotional bond -- we are literally

helping them to develop their brains. We now know that what happens in the earlier years of our children's lives has enormous impact on how they grow and learn for a lifetime. And what you are doing here -- and in your homes -- is critical to that growth.

But as all of here today know so well -- HIPPO is much more than a program for kids. It's a tool for families to build better lives. I've heard about a new Ethiopian immigrant -- illiterate in Hebrew -- who is being taught by HIPPO to have confidence in herself -- and to give her children good study habits. I also heard about a group of other new immigrants -- who didn't feel comfortable attending an intensive Hebrew language course. So they asked HIPPO to help them organize their own course -- so they could study together, as a group. They are now not only learning Hebrew -- but also how to effectively administer HIPPO -- all at the same time.

I've just watched some of the young children and parents build houses together -- based on a book they have just read called "the House of a Hundred Rooms." As I watched them -- I was thinking how my own country, like yours, has 100 rooms -- filled with people of different languages, beliefs, values, and opinions. And while it hasn't always been easy -- far from it -- we've found that all of that diversity is ultimately our strength as a country.

Watching them, I also thought about how all children -- no matter where they live, or what religion they practice -- deserve the same opportunities. To grow up healthy, to attend good schools. To be challenged. And that is what you are doing here -- at this center and in your homes every day -- when parents and children read and learn together.

As parents, we want to pass on to our children the ideals and beliefs that will help them overcome the obstacles before them, and to give them hope in the future. The love of learning -- not just in school but for a lifetime -- is one of those gifts. So is the commitment to Tzedakah, that one of the greatest gifts we can give are the tools that we can make it on our own. This is surely a place where such gifts are given -- and received.

I just heard a wonderful story. As all of you know, HIPPO first started in the neighborhood of Hatikvah in Tel Aviv. Recently, a HIPPO official was visiting that same neighborhood, and was approached by a young man who asked why she was there. She explained that she was interested in running the HIPPO program from the local community center. The young man became very excited, explaining that he was a HIPPO graduate himself -- and that it was the most important experience in his life, because it raised the expectations of his family.

He is now an officer in the army -- and runs an athletic program for kids in the neighborhood. He says that the neighborhood gave him so much when he was young, that he felt he wanted to give something back. I want to thank everyone here for giving such a rare gift to your children. I know they will pass that love of learning on -- through the generations.

I've just come from Neve Shalom, where I saw Arab, Christian, and Israeli children celebrating their own traditions -- but also celebrating the bonds of friendship they hold in common. Here at Yad Rahel -- you are helping to lay that same foundation for a new day in Israel -- where all children can grow up together in peace.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Hungama Sefi to Eleanor Smeal (1 page)	12/09/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Miscellaneous [1]

2013-0936-S

rc1357

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
ELIZABETH GRIFFITH LEADERSHIP LECTURE SERIES
THE MADEIRA SCHOOL
MAY 10, 1999

Thank you, Betsy, for that wonderful introduction. I'm always thrilled to follow in the footsteps of Eleanor Roosevelt – who has been such an extraordinary model for me – and for so many of us here today. In fact, wherever I go as First Lady, I am always aware of one thing: that Eleanor Roosevelt has surely been there before me. I've been to farms in Iowa and factories in Michigan where Mrs. Roosevelt paid a visit a half century ago. When my daughter and I went to Pakistan and India; we discovered that Eleanor Roosevelt had traveled there in 1952 – and even written a book about her trip.

So I'm very pleased to be the second First Lady to come here to Madeira – and to be part of a school which has been at the forefront of girl's education in America ever since it's founding almost a century ago. It's a pleasure to join the Board of Directors, and its chair Sarah Daignault (DAY-NIO), who I understand has not only been a remarkably effective chair over the past 8 years -- but who makes sure laughter is always a part of your board meetings. I'm so glad as well to join the dedicated faculty; staff; parents and alumni – and most important – the students of Madeira school.

And even though this is a day late – I want to wish all the mothers here a Happy Mothers Day. I know you all deserve it.

I've heard it said that women's colleges and girl's schools offer "not equal opportunity, but every opportunity." And I know that the students here today are grateful for that opportunity to grow and learn and flourish here at Madeira. I am glad to have heard from your student leaders today – who are such a tribute to the kind of intelligence, caring and self-confidence that is clearly nurtured in the young women at this school.

It's a particular pleasure to be standing here with your headmistress – someone I've admired ever since we were classmates, friends, (and I admit, fellow Republicans) at Wellesley College. So when I was first invited to inaugurate the Elizabeth Griffith Women's Leadership Lecture Series – I knew I wanted to come. I wanted to be part of honoring Betsy – not only for her passionate advocacy on behalf of girls' education over the years, but for inspiring a new generation of young women to contribute fully to the world around them.

That Madeira has grown and flourished at a time when many all-female institutions have either closed their doors or gone co-ed is a testament to Betsy's single-minded leadership over the past eleven years. I know that both Betsy and I look back on our experience at an all women's college as a defining time in our lives – where we and so many other young women were taught that we were valued; that our ideas counted; that we should place no limits on what we wanted to make of our lives. It's that same spirit of exploration and possibilities that Betsy has helped nurtured here for all of you.

Like most leaders, Betsy defies simple categories. A well known scholar and biographer of Elizabeth Cady Stanton -- she's also a passionate activist – who has worked on everything from ratification of the Equal Rights amendment to getting more women elected. She's highly organized (I've heard you can actually find things in her basement) – but wonderfully creative. A whirlwind of activity – but someone who – like so many of us – would love to be just sitting in her garden reading a book. [Apparently her husband and teenage son approached her recently in such a repose – asking, “is anything wrong?”] A consummate professional and devoted mother who loves making cookies for her son's classmates.

In short -- Betsy Griffith embodies the multiple roles that so many women play in America today. And while she doesn't pretend all that juggling is easy -- she seems to fill these many roles with remarkable grace and humor.

Today—I want to honor her in particular for her commitment to being actively engaged in the issues of her time; and for encouraging all of you not only to stretch yourselves intellectually and emotionally – but to learn to be caring, active citizens of your community and your country.

Promoting the role of citizenship and public service is an honored tradition here at Madeira – as we've already heard today. In preparation for coming here – I read a letter from Miss Madeira to her girls – and I don't think anyone could put it any better. “When we choose a democratic way of life to live under” – she wrote – “we must remember that that we have chosen the most difficult form that has ever yet been invented – and unless a very large majority of people ... take an active and vigorous part in the life of the society, it will not function properly, and it will not last.”

That commitment to citizenship is surely being kept alive and well through your co-curriculum program. Whether it's working with future homeowners at Habitat for Humanity or watching government work in the halls of Congress – you've learned that the obligations of public service and citizenship are part of what is expected of each one of us. And I hope these habits of the heart will stay with you long after you leave this campus.

It is these broader responsibilities that we have – to each other and to the larger society – that I want to talk about a little today. There are so many areas that demand our attention – and our involvement -- today. The images of war in Kosovo haunt us all – and I'm proud of our government's efforts to stop the terrible ethnic cleansing taking place there, and our determination to ensure the refugees can return to their communities. There are so many challenges here at home – to make sure that even in these times of unparalleled opportunity and prosperity, that no one is left behind.

But for me today -- it's impossible to stand here – and look out on the young faces in this audience, and see the extraordinary promise in your lives, and not think of the tragedy that took place in Littleton only a few short weeks ago.

I know that here at Madeira, you've been meeting and talking about this tragic incident, with counselors and among yourselves, and that you've been sending both your prayers and your support to the Columbine students and their families who are now trying to rebuild their lives. And I'm sure that parents here today must have hugged their daughters a little tighter; and held on to them a little longer; as we all do when such tragedy strikes. Because the truth is that even as we sit here, in this peaceful and beautiful place, we know that no community --- not even this one - - is immune from the violence around us.

But what are our responsibilities, as students, parents, teachers, and administrators, and citizens -- at a difficult time like this? What lessons can we learn? How can we move forward?

Just this morning, I met with a group of entertainment leaders; educators; religious leaders; young people -- to talk about launching a national campaign to address youth violence. We talked about how it was time to stop pointing fingers, and assessing blame -- and instead start coming together around a set of positive actions .

We acknowledged that while we will never be able to fully explain or understand what happened at Columbine High School – or any other incident where young people turn violence on each other or themselves -- that we are neither helpless or hopeless. There are steps we can take; and responsibilities that we can all fill, as individuals, and as communities, to cut down on the violence that is far too much a part of our culture today.

We all can – and must -- play a role. On Saturday, I met with a group of parents – some of whom have lost children to violence. Their stories of grief overwhelmed us – yet many of them are now turning their private grief into public action. They recognized – as we all do – that the primary caregivers and influences on young people are their parents. But they need help – and we must do all we can to empower parents to feel they have that responsibility and authority in their children's lives.

We've also seen what a powerful force parents can be when they band together – as Mothers Against Drunk Driving did – to fundamentally change the way we think about our responsibilities on the road. Now we have designated drivers, and intense social pressure not to drink and drive. Today, we must enlist the power of parents once again, to keep guns out of the hands of children.

All of us here must also stand up and say what needs to be said about children and guns. We all know that young people have disagreements and arguments. It's part of growing up. But the difference is that today – in that moment of anger or misunderstanding – they have far too easy access to guns. And while the vast majority of our schools are safe – the availability of guns has made some of our communities far too dangerous. Every single day -- 13 young people die as a result of handgun violence.

We've made significant progress in the area of gun control. As a result of the Brady Bill, 250,000 felons, fugitives and stalkers have been denied guns. But there's so much more we must all do to keep guns away from America's young people – like passing laws that will make sure that young people who commit serious and violent offenses can't ever purchase handguns; that mandate child safety locks be put on all guns. And we should make it more difficult to purchase guns at gun shows.

Members of Congress need to hear from all of us on this critical issue. They need to know that millions of American voters will stand behind political leaders who are courageous enough to buck the gun lobby – and vote for measures that will save lives.

We must all give them the support they need to do what they know is right.

We also have to be willing to talk honestly about the culture of violence that infects the lives of our young people. We can no longer ignore the research findings over the past 25 years that the constant exposure to violence—on television, in the movies; on the Internet; in the music – has a powerful effect on the way young people see themselves and others. And there is increasing concern about the impact on vulnerable young people who play interactive video games – where in some cases you win based on how many people you kill. There's too much evidence that this constant exposure to the culture of violence desensitizes people, so that they lose empathy and their sense of connectedness with others.

So I think we can all be involved in thinking of ways to persuade parents to exercise more authority; and to support them in those decisions; to help young people influence their peers in positive ways; to end easy access to guns -- so that we can begin to fight back against the violence and the impact it has on us all.

And we must recognize – in our broader responsibilities to each other -- that whatever isolates us from one another; whatever trivializes the value of human life; whatever makes people feel like second class citizens; whatever keeps us from reaching out to someone who is troubled – will undermine our efforts to build strong, nurturing, and safe communities.

Students here today have a vital role to play in creating those communities of the future. You help create those communities every time you befriend a new student; respect each other's differences; lift up each other's spirits; and speak out against a slight or injustice. You create them as part of your "Wednesdays" -- as you explore your career options; interact with people different than yourselves; and learn to make healthy and informed choices. All of the things you do – in other words – to become responsible, confident, compassionate young women.

And I hope that when you leave here to become active leaders in your communities and in your world– that some of you will join national service programs like Americorps and the Peace Corps -- and give something back to the country that has given so much to you.

Tomorrow, I will leave for a trip to Ireland – a country which for a decade has been torn apart by violence and division. But which today, through the sheer will and determination of people in both the south and the north – has chosen to end a generation of bloodshed, and create a lasting peace. But long before the “Good Friday” peace accords were signed last year by the leaders of that country, ordinary citizens, in their war-torn homes and neighborhoods, began to reach out to each other, to build trust, to heal wounds, to lay the groundwork for that peace.

Protestant and Catholic women would come together, over the kitchen table with a pot of tea, and talk about what they could do together to create a life free from violence and terror. Young people – many your age – would cross the north/south border to attend each other’s schools – and stay in each other’s homes, to break down the misunderstandings and distrust that had always divided them, and kept them strangers.

It’s always been here – in our schools, and places of worship, and across our back yards -- where the lofty ideals of peace and democracy are hammered out, and made real. It’s the principles we honor, the way we treat our fellow citizens, the lessons we teach our children before we tuck them into bed.

It's these often unheralded habits of the heart; these responsibilities we have to each other, that must be nurtured, day in and day out, for democracy – and peace -- to work.

Every generation in our history has learned to take responsibility for our future – and your generation is no exception. We look to you now -- to help us create this community – and this world – that defies this culture of violence; that instead places the highest value on caring for each other; that gives every citizen the tools and wisdom to live up to their fullest, God-given potential; and that reminds us always that what we all hold in common is far stronger than what divides us.

Madeira has given you not an equal opportunity – but every opportunity – to learn these habit of the heart, and the skills to navigate through a new world of almost limitless possibilities and opportunities in the years ahead.

When Betsy was once asked how she measured herself – she replied: “Against the expectations of who I think I could be.” I find that a healthy measuring stick for all of us – including the students here today. Whether it's studying all night for that AP French exam – working in homeless shelter – or taking that

terrifying jump on the zip wire that I understand passes for “character building” here at Madeira – you are stretching those boundaries and expectations of yourself.

As one student said recently: “Madeira teaches you to step over the line that you’ve drawn for yourself.” I can’t think of any words that could pay a more powerful tribute to the work that Betsy Griffith – and all of you – have accomplished here.

Thank you .

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FORD'S THEATER GALA

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JUNE 13, 1999

Thank you. I can't tell you how much the President and I look forward to this event every year – which celebrates America's enduring love for the theater and for the arts. I want to begin by thanking all of the extraordinary performers – Debbie Allen, Kathleen Battle, Charlotte Church, Alan Jackson, Diana Krall [CRAWL], Nathan Lane, Queen Esther Marrow [MORROW], The Harlem Gospel Singers, Cartier [CAR-TEE-AY] Anthony Williams, and Bill Conti and his orchestra. If there is ever an example of how our nation's diversity is our greatest asset – we see it here tonight.

I also want to express our appreciation to our distinguished hosts – Adam Arkin, Beau Bridges and James McDaniel. I especially want to thank Frankie Hewitt – for making this theater into more than a museum – and bringing song and dance back to a stage that had been silenced for more than a hundred years.

The restoration of Ford's theater is the kind of public/private preservation effort that we hope to spark in communities across the country. Monuments, works of art and historic sites – all help define who we are as Americans. Yet many are deteriorating right before our eyes. That's why a major focus of our White House Millennium efforts has been to "Save America's Treasures" -- treasures like this Theater -- so that we can continue to tell the nation's story – and inspire future generations.

[We have now raised more than \$60 million to save these irreplaceable pieces of our heritage -- thanks to \$30 million from a bipartisan Congressional budget – and \$30 million from the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the gifts from so many generous Americans. I'd like to recognize Congressman Regula – for his tireless efforts on behalf of preservation -- and the bipartisan support we've received from so many members of Congress – some of whom are here tonight.]

Tonight, I think of one of the family members who helped save the beautiful Colonial Theater in Pittsfield, Massachusetts which I visited on my "Save America's Treasures" tour last summer. He told me he never considered himself the owner of the theater. He said, "I call myself its caretaker."

Which is the role that all of us play. None of us owns our history. But all of us have a responsibility to safeguard it, and pass it on to future generations. No one understands that mission more than the President. It is my great honor to introduce my husband, our President, and a passionate fan of the arts -- Bill Clinton.

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
ANNUAL CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS PRINCIPALS' LUNCHEON
CHICAGO CULTURAL CENTER
JUNE 3, 1998
as delivered**

Thank you. Thank you very much. I am just delighted to be here for many different reasons to see this beautiful room filled with all of you who are on the front lines of improving public education and doing such a tremendous job for the children of Chicago.

As the mayor said, I've been in a number of your schools -- not nearly enough -- and I hope I will be able to visit more in the next several years. And I've seen the changes; I've seen them slowly but surely, really taking root. I know that the work that is being done in all of the schools represented here can only happen because there are leaders like you in those schools, and in this public education system.

I take nearly any invitation I am given to come back to Chicago. Especially during the NBA Playoff season. (Laughter) I have to say though, Sunday night I thought I was going to lose ten or twelve years off my life. I don't know about you, but when I watch a sporting event on television--that I have any emotional investment in--I have to get up and leave the room from time to time. I've become convinced that in some totally bizarre way that the reason we're not scoring is because I'm watching. (Laughter) So rest assured that I'll leave the room a lot in the next days.

But it is great to be here to help celebrate the accomplishments of this city and, particularly, the accomplishments of this school district. I want to thank the extraordinary Commissioner of Culture, Lois Weisberg. I don't know that she's gotten exactly the credit she deserves for all the work she does, but I try to give it to her every time I'm in Chicago, and in this Cultural Center, and doing anything in the city that Lois has had any role in. She's made such a difference. She celebrated my 50th birthday here at the Cultural Center. I could have gone without having a celebration of my 50th birthday. But, between my friends--some of whom are here from my school days in Park Ridge both elementary, junior high, high school, and in between--Lois, who celebrates everybody's birthday, takes any occasion to do so. Which, I happen to think is a fabulous idea to promote the celebratory aspects of living in this city. She's done a very, very good job. (Applause)

I'm also always pleased to be with Maggie Daley. Maggie Daley has been

such a voice for children, and for the arts, and has really spear-headed one of the most influential and creative projects that I know of anywhere in the country, called Gallery 37. (Applause) It has made an extraordinary difference not only in the lives of individual children and artists, but also in the artistic landscape of this city and other places. If you come to the White House, and come to my office sometime, you'll see a lot of the benches that the young people who work at Gallery 37 make and decorate. I'm always proud to point out that they were made in Chicago.

I too am very impressed by, and grateful for, the leadership of this city by the Mayor. It is so exciting for me every time I am with the Mayor because he has about a million ideas a minute. I always feel that he could, on his own, probably supply the power for a small city for a year, because the electricity and the energy is just coming out. But I so enjoy that, because we do know how to solve our problems. We do know what makes sense. We do know that as tough as things are, we can make a difference. Who would have thought that 5 years ago we'd be able to say that crime has fallen 5 years in a row? Well, the President and the mayor thought so. That's why they adopted strategies like community policing, instead of just ringing their hands and talking about how bad things were. (Applause)

Who would have thought that we would have, in my opinion, the most successful Democratic convention ever in 1996 because the city was as beautiful and hospitable as it is now. (Applause).

But the real crown jewel in what you, and the mayor, and this city is doing, is what you've done in the schools. I want to pay a special word of thanks to everyone who is associated with the school board, with the school's administration, but particularly to all of you. Because that's really why I'm here. Because I know that we're lucky to have a President who cares about education. And Chicago is very lucky to have a mayor who cares about education and who can recruit talented people to come and work on this problem. But none of the progress that we are seeing could have been possible without each of you. There is absolutely no doubt about that.

You've given a lot of us around the country hope. I go to a lot of cities that are still trying to figure out how to make heads or tails about the problems they have in their schools. And I'm always saying, look at the decisions that they're making in Chicago. Look at how they're facing up to their problems. Look at the results that they are beginning to get. It didn't happen overnight, but they didn't point fingers at each other. They didn't spend their time in anarchy, engaging in the blame game. They rolled up their sleeves and they decided to do what needed to be done.

You have proven that we can adopt sensible strategies that will once again

make our public schools the kinds of institutions we can be proud of, because of the products they are producing and the children's lives that are being turned around.

It's happening all over the city. In fact, Paul Valance told me at lunch today that some of the biggest turn-arounds are happening in those areas of the city that have the poorest kids. I want to commend you, because I am sick and tired of hearing people in education elsewhere in the country say to me, "Well what do you expect? Look at the kids we get." That is a cop-out. That is an absolute cop-out. (Applause)

A hundred years ago we took people from all over the world that were flooding into this city and cities like it. We took people who were coming up from the South who had been slaves, and the children of slaves, and who had never been educated. We started putting them in public school, and maybe they only went to the sixth grade, or the eighth grade, or the tenth grade. But, nobody made excuses for them. Nobody sat around and said, "Poor old Joe. He's just come over with his parents from the boat. Or poor old Mary, she's just one generation from the fields." We had a belief that if we worked hard enough, and if we worked together and if we didn't give up on any kid, we wouldn't make geniuses out of them. They weren't all going to be Nobel Prize winners, or Pulitzer Prize authors, but they'd find a place in this society. And they'd lead honorable, respectable lives, and they would raise kids, and they'd make a contribution.

And then times changed on us, and we lost a little bit of control. We couldn't quite figure out how we were going to do the work that needed to be done when the economy was changing so fast. Because there used to be a lot of jobs; I remember growing up here there were jobs in the factories on the south side. There were jobs in the meat packing plants. There were all kinds of jobs, where you didn't need a whole lot of education, where a strong back, and a willingness to work would get you there. But all that began to change and the public education system didn't keep up with it, at first. And how could it? It was overwhelmed by the changes. With the economy moving so quickly, and jobs disappearing so fast, and the demand for more education coming at such a rapid rate, how were we going to meet the obligations to the next generation of children?

I understand--and I think we all do--why we lost our way for awhile there. Because it was difficult to figure out exactly what we were doing in terms of educating. For what? For what kind of future?

But finally it dawned on us. That there weren't going to be many, if any, jobs left for good, hard working decent people, who were willing to get up at the crack of dawn and work, 8, 10, 12 hours a day. There just weren't going to be those jobs, and we had to do something to enable everybody to be as well prepared as

possible.

And I'm beginning to see the country and the people kind of catch up with that awareness as well. We're seeing a lot of success, for example, in people moving off of welfare. Because, a lot of people are recognizing that they've got to set an example for their children. They've got to go to work. They've got to encourage their children to go to school. We're seeing a lot of people who never thought that their kid needed to go to college, all of a sudden recognizing that they do need to get as much education as possible.

So the circumstances were poised for the hard decisions that needed to be made, but we had to have leadership. We had to have people at all levels of the education system. We had to have leaders in the business and labor community. We had to have political decision makers, citizens and parents who all reached a new consensus about the importance of education.

That's what I think is happening now. And I believe Chicago is leading the way in forging that consensus. And I'm always telling people, we'll go see what they're doing in Chicago. And when I travel around the country, and people talk to me about things like vouchers for schools, I say, "Go to Chicago!" We don't need vouchers, we just need a public education system that works for every single child. (Applause)

So now that we have a strategy, and you all are leading the way here in the country by what you're doing in Chicago. What does that mean, and where do we go from here?

Well, we need to do more to give you the tools to do the work that you know needs to be in each of your schools. The President has an education agenda that he's worked out with people like the Mayor, and the people who are involved in running the Chicago schools. He knows that we have to reduce class size, and we have to repair school buildings and build new ones. We have to insure safer schools. We do have to set high standards. We have to do what needs to be done to expand after school programs and pre-school programs so the kids are both prepared and able to get the extra help they need.

Now this agenda--particularly the President's call for 100,000 more teachers, which echoes the call he made in 1993 for 100,000 more police. Because how are you going to make the streets safer if you don't have more police on the streets? And how are you going to lower the class size and give a lot of these kids more attention, as you know better than I, if you don't have the teachers to do the job? And it's not just a Chicago issue, it's an American issue, which is why the federal government should step in and help provide the funding for 100,000 more teachers. (Applause)

And what kind of message does it send to a youngster, if we're telling this young person, maybe a first generation American, or certainly a child of hard working people who never went to college, or a child of somebody who has just gotten off of welfare. What does it mean if we say, we really believe in education but, by the way, we really want you to attend that school that's fallen down around your ears? That school that hasn't been repaired, the one where the toilets don't work, we want you to go there. We want you to believe we care about you and your education.

Well, most kids I know are smarter than that and most teachers deserve better than that. We need to do more to make the infrastructure of our public education system the best it can be and we certainly need to do what is required to make our school buildings safe, and accessible, and available to people, not just during the school day but to the neighborhood during the off school hours as well.

The President has proposed such a plan. So there is some very important work that the federal government can do if the Congress would focus on real education reform and quit trying to design ways to undermine the viability of the education system with these voucher plans. If the Congress would adopt a real education agenda, then the United States government could be a better partner to the city schools here in Chicago and around the country.

We also need to recall what it was about the education that many of us received that stood us in such good stead. My husband and I have talked about this a lot. He went to school in the public schools of a state that never got off the bottom in terms of per capita spending for children. But the elementary school and the high school that he went to, they had art classes, they had music classes, they had band, they had a full range of sports and recreation activities, they had clubs.

A lot of kids education -- and mine, going to a suburban Chicago school district -- didn't just happen during the academic classes, it happened when the music teacher was introducing us to opera, or the art teacher was attempting to show me how to get some sense of perspective which I've never gotten to this day. So, we knew there was a lot going on that was beyond reading, writing and arithmetic. And so much of that has been cut out in the first years.

When the budget has had to be tightened, what's gone? After-school programs, recreational programs, art programs, music programs. I think that we have missed such an opportunity with a whole group of children, to find their talents, to give them something to believe in themselves. (Applause) And even to take people like me, who have no talent, but to expose us to the talent of other people, to develop in someone like me an appreciation for those who can create, for the students who go to Gallery 37 that sculpt and paint, and do what I saw them

do when I visited.

And I think one of the challenges we face as we're moving along the reform agenda, and we're seeing test scores go up, is to not lose sight about what a well rounded education means. What the full range of exposure for all of our children should mean.

I have a wonderful quote I heard recently from the choir director of a youth choir in Oakland California. When he was justifying his efforts before the school board to get additional funds to enroll more kids in his choir because the choir had taken off, and more kids wanted to get in. He said, "You know a child can be in a gang, or a gang of singers."

We've got to create safe places where the children can find their own identities again: maybe on the sports team and on the field, and maybe in a choir as well, or maybe sitting quietly and practicing an instrument, or trying to draw something that a teacher has already modeled. And I think that it's so critical in these days when so many kids have so much going on in their lives. You know. You know what they bring to school--And, it's not just poor kids, it's all kids. There's just so much going on around them that they have to sort out.

Even if they come from stable two parent families, they see a whole lot of stuff on TV that I wish they wouldn't see. They're are exposed to a whole lot more than I was ever exposed to until I was well into adulthood. How can they make sense of all that? And then, you've got teachers standing in front of classrooms of kids, and I've had a good friend of mine that has taught for years and she calls it the "remote control phenomenon." She said, "I stand up there and what worked 20 years ago no longer works." She said, "I feel like these kids are just mentally clicking me off. Running through the remote control looking for a better channel." (Laughter)

Well what can you expect when the first thing a child is able to do--remember when we used to learn about and talk about hand-eye coordination, when we worried about learning how to tie their shoes so they could develop their mental capacity--well now they just learn to use the remote control. It amuses, it entertains them, it doesn't ask anything from them. So then we expect them to go to a school, and sit in a classroom, and not be mentally using the remote control.

That's why we have to get them engaged in learning, and I've seen wonderful examples of that in many of the classrooms of your schools that I have visited. I've seen hands-on programs in the sciences. I've seen kids working with blocks and other materials to do math problems, that were well beyond what I thought a first or second grader could do.

I've seen lots of interactive learning going on. And I think that's one of the roles that the arts has to play because you have to be involved. You can't just watch and expect that picture to show up on that paper. You can't just sit there and pretend that you're listening, when you have to play that instrument. You have to participate.

So there are many reasons why we have to look for ways to bring the arts back into our schools. But we've also learned something. It's not just a nice idea or nostalgia for people in my generation thinking about what we had when we were in public school. It's not even one of my favorite films, "Mr. Holland's Opus," that made me think of all those years back with all those plays, and performances, and variety shows that we used to do.

It's also because we now have very significant and compelling research that arts education can be a powerful force in boosting academic performances, particularly when it's moved into the core curriculum of a school. A four year study involving an elementary school in Dallas, Texas, has proven what educators, and cultural supporters, have been saying for years. That integrated arts curriculum can dramatically improve academic success. A recent North Carolina study demonstrates that math learning is enhanced by these hands-on visual experiences. We know that when it comes to SAT scores, students of the arts continue to outperform their peers who don't have such programs in their schools.

I can remember back in 1983, when my husband asked me to work on education reform in Arkansas. I went and visited lots of schools, and I just could not believe that so many of the students didn't have in 1983 what I had in 1963. They didn't have the libraries, they didn't have the arts programs. They didn't have the exposure that I'd grown up taking for granted. As a result, they didn't have the tools at their disposal to manipulate information, to think about, to make synthesizing ideas work as they learn things, and weren't able to add to their academic accomplishments.

A study a few years ago called "Coming Up Taller" that was released by the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities--on which Maggie Daley has so well served--offered compelling evidence that the arts provide young people, particularly those from homes and neighborhoods where there is little exposure to the arts, with creative alternatives to destructive behavior.

The study reported many research studies, and anecdotes, but I particularly like the ones where an individual student will all of a sudden find an opportunity to be in an artistic program during school, or after school, and all of a sudden caught fire. The kid who'd never been interested before all of a sudden was.

I've gone around and visited some of those programs like Gallery 37, and others in other cities, and I have seen with my own eyes what a difference it can

make. We also know from educational psychology that people learn in different ways. Some people are visual learners, some people are auditory learners. Some people are kinesthetic learners, some people learn by doing. Some people, in a way, have an absorptive ability with their whole-body. Some of them become our greatest athletes if they're given the chance to develop the discipline.

We are all different and introducing the arts, particularly for young people who don't have the outlets for that kind of expression otherwise, really demonstrates clearly that we can capture something, light a fire in some of those kids.

We also know that the future work world--this information age that we are now a part of, that looks like its only going to continue to accelerate in its development--prizes exactly the skills that the arts themselves use, skills like creativity and innovation. If you go and talk to companies like GE or Microsoft, they are encouraging their employees to be exposed to the visual and performing arts, because they want people to be creative and come up with new ideas and think about how to do things differently.

So its not only that it will help a child--and particularly an at-risk child that perhaps might get hooked into academic learning--but it will also help prepare a child for the world of work as well.

I think that the Chicago Arts Partnerships in Education is a very good way of beginning to make sure that we have the arts well represented in our schools here in this city. I also applaud the partnership between the Chicago public schools and Columbia College--which is training 900 high school math and science teachers to use art, music and dance to enrich the teaching of their subjects. Albert Einstein once said, "The gift of fantasy has meant more to me than my talent for absorbing knowledge," and imagination, that we have to trigger in everyone, for them to feel that they have a real claim on their own future.

A few weeks ago, I went to one of the toughest neighborhoods in Washington, where the student body, and the school across from the housing project, was predominantly very poor and disadvantaged. I went to something called a poetry slam. I don't know if any of you have seen such a thing, but they are projects that are funded by the Americorps Writer's Corps--where young writers and poets are sent into the classrooms in some of our toughest neighborhoods where they work with young people in helping them to write their own poetry and where they have contests, like sports contests. It's like going to the Olympics, because you have one school represented by their four best poets, and the other school represented by their four best poets. Then you have an audience of people who hold up cards like an ice-skating contest ranking the kids from one to ten.

It has the excitement of a sporting contest. Who could have thought that these kids would have labored over these poems. And the poems were so evocative, they told stories about their lives. There was one young girl who got up and told a poem about the homeless man she has to walk by everyday on her way to school. Another talked about what went on in his housing project, and the noise that sometimes just made him feel like he was going to shatter into a million pieces. One had a poem about the legacy of Duke Ellington. One student said, "I'm so good at music, that when you hear my song, you'll sing it for the rest of your life." (Laughter)

Every one of these young people talked about how being in this poetry program had helped them put their anger on paper, instead of taking it out on their fellow classmates in the hallways, or on the streets. That it gave them a confidence that they hadn't had before.

This program was funded by, as I said, Americorps and the National Endowment for the Arts, because they believe, and my husband and his administration believe, that art is not a luxury, it's a necessity. And, that as we know more about the challenges we're going to face in the future, it should be an integral part of our lives, and particularly of our education system.

So we at the federal level do what we can to try to promote arts projects like the Writers Corps, arts programs, and provide funding for local projects every chance we can get. But I also in the next two years intend to embark on a national campaign to get arts education back into our schools. (Applause)

I think as our nation moves toward the end of one century--and the beginning of a new millennium--its time for us to decide about the legacies we want to leave for future generations. Earlier this morning Maggie Daley and I were at the Art Institute, where the Sara Lee Corporation announced a magnificent gift. Twelve paintings from their private collection to the Art Institute, one to the Contemporary Art Museum here in Chicago, and other museums around the country. I sat, and I looked at those works--most of them 19th century, early 20th--and I thought, just think in a 100 years, somebody could be making a contribution to the Art Institute of work that was done by Chicago artists who got their start in the Chicago public schools. (Applause)

And when Sara Lee made that announcement, the Chief Executive, John Bryant said that it was going to be a Millennium gift to America. I said how pleased I was because, last summer, the President asked all of us to think about the gifts we can give to America for the Millennium.

You give gifts every day in your schools. You give gifts that may not make headlines, but as the mayor said, will be remembered in the hearts of students and

teachers and parents in years to come.

I remember those gifts. I have with me today one of my favorite teachers from high school. A math teacher, that was not my favorite subject, but he was one of my favorite teachers. (Laughter)

And I remember extremely well how he conducted himself, how he encouraged us, he was our class sponsor, he was always there in our corner trying to make sure we behaved in an appropriate manner. But I remember, and thousands of hundreds of thousands of people remember your legacies, and we have to think about how we will build on that and what gifts we will give.

I want to leave you with some words of Rita Dove, who was our poet laureate a few years ago. Recently at the White House, as part of our Millennium Celebration, we had our present poet laureate, and our two former poet laureates, of whom one was Rita Dove. She served from 1993 to 1995. She said,

"If children are unable to voice what they mean, no one will know how they feel. If they cannot imagine a different world, they are stumbling through a darkness made all the more sinister by its lack of reference points. For a young person growing up in America's alienated and disparate neighborhoods, there can be no greater empowerment than to dare to speak from the heart--and then to discover that one is not alone in one's feelings. Once hope and self esteem have been engendered, the work of redefining the future can begin."

Well, thank God for our poets like Rita Dove, and thank God for our artists who help us give voice to what we feel. And thank God for all of our teachers and our principals who do what you do everyday to try to light that spark in our children. I hope that you will find in the next years even greater satisfaction because you'll see you're better supported in the work you do. You'll see the results of your hard work, and you too will feel that the gifts you're giving to the future are well respected and appreciated, and that you are part of building what we need to have as we move in to the Millennium. Thank you very much.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
ANNUAL CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS PRINCIPAL'S LUNCHEON
CHICAGO CULTURAL CENTER
JUNE 3, 1998

It's wonderful to be back in my hometown of Chicago, and back at the Chicago Cultural Center, which has played such a powerful role in promoting the arts -- and America's artists -- here in Chicago over the years. In fact this was the scene of quite a dramatic cultural performance last year -- my own 50th birthday party. It's also a special pleasure to join my friend Mayor Daley today. Few public officials are as committed as he is to reforming and improving our public schools -- and what he and Maggie Daley have done here in this city is a model for the nation. I also want to thank him for this invitation to meet with the real movers and shakers of this city -- the principals of Chicago's public schools.

I want to begin by commending the principals here today for their tireless efforts to create safe havens of learning for Chicago's children. Thanks to your leadership -- and the partnership of the parents, teachers, and city officials -- you have helped turned around some of the toughest schools in the nation -- like Du Sable High School -- and every day, you've given your students a caring, safe place to learn and grow. You deserve our deepest thanks and appreciation.

Like all of you here in Chicago, this nation is engaged in an increasingly heated debate over how to improve our public schools. But I think we can all agree that strengthening and expanding the educational opportunities for our young people -- and ensuring they have the tools and the knowledge they need to succeed in the 21st Century -- must be at the top of this nation's agenda. That's why the President has pushed so hard to reduce class size; repair school buildings; ensure safer schools; set high standards; encourage more choice in public education; and expand after school programs. He has called for no less than "a revolution in quality; in standards; in accountability; in excellence" -- in our nation's public schools. And Chicago is part of that revolution.

Today, I want to talk today about one of the most important ways to improve our children's education -- and expand their opportunities for the future -- and that's by ensuring that the arts are part of every child's education.

Both my husband and I benefitted more than we can say from such programs when we were growing up. As many of you know, I attended public schools in Park Ridge. Back then, we took it for granted that we had a school band, an orchestra, and art and drama classes. And every year, we put on a play. (I must admit I was in the chorus of “Bye Bye Birdie” -- but my teacher told me I could only mouth the words). I’m sure that at least some of you are aware that I have a saxophone-loving husband. That musical instrument has brought him extraordinary pleasure over the years -- I’ve even created a little music room for him at the White House -- into which he disappears on many occasions. He first learned how to play the sax in his high school band. Because during those years, even the poorest public schools in the nation valued -- and taught -- the arts.

Yet today, the arts education programs that were so much a part of my generation’s childhood -- and that so enriched our lives -- are being cut out of our public schools. They are too often viewed as “frills” -- or too expensive, or not an integral part of a student’s academic experience.

Ironically, even as arts education is being cut back or dropped -- we are discovering more and more reasons why our schools should be moving in the opposite direction -- and expanding our children’s participation in the arts.

My husband and I both believe that children need something to say yes to, and what better way to say yes to life than through music, dance, painting, poetry, writing, drama, history, photography, and other forms of creative expression. Recently, the Oakland California youth choir director said that a child could be in a gang -- or a gang of singers. Young people who have sung, produced a play, or designed a mural together, are less likely to fight each other or succumb to prejudices about those who are different from themselves. We've always known that these activities help young people understand the world around them -- and communicate their thoughts about that world. Yet new studies and research confirm that when we deny them these rich creative experiences, we undermine -- in a very real sense -- their ability -- and even motivation -- to learn.

New research on the development of the brain, for example, shows that positive experiences and sensory stimulation that young children receive play a vital role in developing the countless connections in brain tissues that children need to grow and learn. Psychologists at the University of Wisconsin and University of California have observed, for example, that pre-schoolers who were given keyboard lessons and engaged in group singing scored higher on tests on spatial reasoning -- the skills they would later use to learn math, science and engineering -- than those who didn't have those opportunities.

There's also growing evidence that arts education can be a powerful force in boosting academic performance -- particularly when it's moved from the fringes into the core curriculum of the school. A four year study involving an elementary school in Dallas, Texas, has proven what educators and cultural supporters have been saying for years -- that an integrated arts curriculum can dramatically improve academic success. A recent North Carolina study demonstrates that math learning is enhanced by hands-on visual art experiences. And we know that when it comes to SAT scores -- students of the arts continue to outperform their peers who don't have those programs in their schools. [In 1995, SAT scores for students who studied the arts more than four years scored 59% higher on verbal -- and 44% higher on math -- than their counterparts.]

We also know that the arts play a particularly powerful role in improving the lives -- and the futures -- of at risk children. A few years ago, a study -- called "Coming Up Taller" -- was released by the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities -- on which your First Lady Maggie Daley serves with distinction. It offered compelling evidence that the arts provide young people -- particularly those from homes and neighborhoods with few opportunities - with creative alternatives to destructive behavior.

The study reported that one teenager, at risk of dropping out of high school, became involved with an artist-in-training program sponsored by the Opera Theater in St. Louis. She received a full scholarship to college, and continued to study voice.

I've met with so many young children -- in communities around the country, as well as at events in the White House -- who are clearly at risk.. And I've learned from them first hand how the arts have changed their lives. These programs -- whether it's the visual arts, music, writing, dance, or theater, are having a profound affect on these young people. And they are helping to decrease the violence -- push up attendance rates, and push down drop out rates.

Putting arts back in the schools produces other benefits as well. At a time when businesses are continually changing and evolving, that those who think creatively -- take risks, communicate effectively, analyze problems, and seize opportunities -- will be the most valuable workers. These are the skills we need in the 21st century -- and they are precisely the skills that arts education delivers. Today, companies like GE and Microsoft are encouraging their employees' creativity and innovation -- through hands-on art seminars, and exposure to the visual and performing arts.

So we know -- both through experience and through a growing body of evidence and research -- that the arts can have a profound impact not only on our young people's ability to learn and to succeed. And by looking at model arts education programs around the country -- we can learn how to ensure more and more kids get these benefits.

Not surprisingly, we don't have to look far to see some of the "best practices" at work here in Chicago. I know that Maggie Daley, for example, has been a major supporter of arts education in the schools -- and has helped pioneer Gallery 37, where young men and women in this city's junior and senior high schools get summer jobs to produce art projects.

Much of what we've learned in these out of school settings are now being applied within the classrooms. I've heard about how the art program has expanded at Finley Junior High School. Two years ago a gym teacher was giving a 20-minute needlepoint class. Now there's a full fledged art program. The school's Principal, Mary McDonald, says she already sees an improvement in academic scores as a result. I've also heard about the Chicago Arts Partnerships in Education (CAPE) -- which as many of you know includes 36 cultural organizations who are partnering with 25 of Chicago's public schools to provide arts education. I'm thrilled to learn that CAPE is supporting the Chicago Schools Millennium Quilt project -- with the Art Institute of Chicago.

So we're seeing a rebirth in arts education here -- thanks to the combined commitment of principals, parents, and the private and public sector. Some of your schools are adding fine arts teachers -- while others are sending their teachers for training. I applaud the partnership between the Chicago public schools and Columbia College -- which is training 900 high school math and science teachers to use art, music and dance to enrich the teaching of their subjects. Albert Einstein would agree with that strategy. He once said: "The gift of fantasy has meant more to me than my talent for absorbing knowledge."

Just a few weeks ago, I went to a poetry slam, organized by Writer's Corps -- in one of the poorer neighborhoods in Washington, DC, to see junior high school students participate in a poetry contest. Students take turns reading their own poems -- to lots of noisy comments and scores from their peers.. That day, I heard moving poems about students' names; about the plight of a homeless man; about the legacy of Duke Ellington; about the students' fears and hopes for the future. One student said: "I'm so good at music, that when you hear my song, you'll sing it for the rest of your life." These young people talked about how poetry helped them put their anger on paper, instead of acting it out. This was about writing and reading out loud -- it was also about gaining the confidence to have a voice in the world.

Like so many wonderful arts programs around the country, this one received support from the National Endowment for the Arts. Through its work with schools, the states, and the U.S. Department of Education, the NEA, along with state and local arts councils and their foundation and corporate partners, all help sustain some of the best and most effective arts programs in our public schools around the country. And we owe it to ourselves -- and the next generation -- to keep NEA alive and well.

In fact, the importance of public funding for the arts -- and specifically for arts education in the schools -- cannot be underscored enough. I know that here in Chicago, Mayor Daley has just announced that 100 Chicago public schools will offer expanded youth programs this summer -- aimed at keeping kids off the streets -- and engaged in art, and music, and sports. Just the kind of program that we know will turn around some lives -- even save lives this summer -- and later on when the young people are back in the classroom.

I also want to commend the Governor (Jim Edgar-R) and the General Assembly for their recent bi-partisan increase of 51% in the Illinois Arts Council grants budget. That's an all time high. And I believe you are one of the few states that has passed a new, more rigorous arts standards last year.

The federal government is also playing an increasingly positive role in expanding its support for arts education -- in addition to the invaluable work of the NEA. When the national Education Goals were first written in 1989, for example, the arts were not included in the list of disciplines students should be expected to achieve to challenging standards. The Clinton Administration added the word "arts" to the list of subjects when it wrote the Goals 2000: Educate America Act. And in 1995, the Goals 2000 Arts Education Partnership was formed by the NEA and the Department of Education to implement high standards and expand arts education in our nation's public schools.

While the federal government is increasingly active in expanding arts education opportunities in our schools -- the fact remains that it takes strong and courageous leadership at the state, city, and community levels to make sure these programs get into the schools. You hire the teachers, you forge the curriculum, you shape the budgets, and you involve higher education and cultural organizations in partnerships. The parents and community members surrounding your schools serve on school boards -- and vote on budgets.

Just as research now proves the remarkable relationship between learning and the arts, studies also show that one of the strongest factor in schools success is the leadership of the principal.

Over the next two years, I intend to embark on a national campaign to get arts education back into the schools. As our nation moves toward the end of one century -- and the beginning of a new millennium -- this is the time to decide about what legacies we want to leave for future generations, and what investments we should make that would have the greatest impact on the lives of our children and grandchildren. I believe that giving every child in America the opportunity to fully explore his or her creative and intellectual potential may be the greatest gift to the future we could possibly offer. And I look forward to working with all of you here today to deliver that gift to our nation's children.

We must continue to remind ourselves that as compelling as the practical and academic arguments are to support arts education -- in terms of better scores, higher graduation rates, and lifelong skills -- there are some benefits that cannot be measured or charted. Activities like singing a song, or drawing a picture; or acting in a play, delight young people, and engage their minds. Creative engagement also gives life joy and wonder, as children see and hear and touch the world around them. You and I have seen how powerfully they respond to story telling or painting or singing -- as they act, see, and write their poems, they are understanding and constructing the world around them.

They don't have to be the world's next great artist. But being exposed to the work of Shakespeare -- or the paintings of Georgia O'Keefe, or the music of Wynton Marsalis -- fuels a child's creative imagination. And it's the imagination that has sparked every great discovery, and every human accomplishment, since the beginning of time. And it's the imagination that frees all of us to imagine a better world -- and then to help build it.

I want to leave you with the words of Rita Dove, our national poet laureate from 1993 to '95. As Ms. Dove reminds us:

“If children are unable to voice what they mean, no one will know how they feel. If they can’t imagine a different world, they are stumbling through a darkness made all the more sinister by its lack of reference points. For a young person growing up in America’s alienated and disparate neighborhoods, there can be no greater empowerment than to dare to speak from the heart -- and then to discover that one is not alone in one’s feelings. Once hope and self esteem have been engendered, the work of redefining the future can begin.”

Thank God for our poets. And thank God for those who nurture the creative spirit in all of us.

Vital Voices
Montevideo, Uruguay
Address by Hillary Rodham Clinton
October 2, 1998

Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you. I feel like I am sure many of you do, that we have had such a rich morning already hearing from our conference participants, and others who have inspired us, and motivated us, and educated us. It is a great honor and privilege for me to be here in Uruguay, and to join all of you – the vital voices of the Americas. The voices of the four conference participants that we have just heard represent the extraordinary intelligence, enthusiasm and diversity of the people who have come together for this third historic Vital Voices Conference. I want to begin by thanking our hostess, Mrs. Sanguinetti – for your warm hospitality and for that fascinating archeological education. That I will immediately go and read about.

This is my first visit to your beautiful country, and both you and the President have made me feel so much at home even in these few short days that I cannot wait to return. And I look forward to a time when I can do that in the very near future.

I also want to express my great appreciation to the Conference's co-sponsor, the Inter-American Development Bank. Now we have heard from the President, who is our great friend. Who I believe said again today how committed the bank is to all these projects. I have had the great honor of working with the bank and I've seen how hard he has worked to promote micro-credit, working against domestic violence, doing everything that the bank could do to make clear to everyone who would listen that it is not just a bank, it is an instrument of social justice, social investment and transformation of the Americas and I thank you for that Enrique.

I too want to thank Mayra for her work. She has been a powerful and effective advocate at the Bank for women.

And I want to thank Theresa for your efforts leading our U.S. government team to make "Vital Voices" an effective instrument of American foreign policy.

This is the third Vital Voices Conference. The purpose of these conferences is to give women from various parts of the world the opportunity to come together as you all have to share experiences, to build stronger networks and partnerships, to look for ways that we can introduce new and effective strategy in our common search for ways that will enable women to take their rightful places in all of our societies.

At this particular conference we brought together women leaders from all the democracies of the Western Hemisphere. Leaders in business, non-governmental organizations, trade

unions, from small villages and from very large cities, mayors and cabinet officials. We have also brought together and we have heard eloquently expressed today from our panel many who suffered under brutal dictatorships, many who lost family members to terrorism, people who have been in the forefront of the struggles to end repression, protect human rights, and restore democracy. This is a critical moment in history because so many of you have struggled so long to bring us to it. I want to begin by thanking you. You have set an example, you have served as a model, and you have given heart to literally millions of peoples throughout the Americas because you have never given up on yourselves and your future. And yet I know that with the coming of democracy, with the spread of the global economy, we face new challenges. How do we ensure that democracy and free market economies produce better lives for all people, especially the poor and the marginalized? How do we create conditions in which women are equipped with the tools of opportunity to become full participants in their societies? How do we bolster civil society and its institutions?

The countries represented here may be at different stages of political and economic development, but we are all searching for answers to basic questions such as those. And we share a common belief: we believe that a nation's progress depends on the progress of women; that the strength of democracy depends on the inclusion of women; that the vibrancy of an economy depends on the hard work of women; that the richness of civil society depends on the full participation of women; and that human rights are women's rights; and women's rights are human rights from one end of this hemisphere to the other.

I've heard reports how at this conference – in workshops, over coffee, in hallways – you've been gathering and talking with one another about how to achieve progress. You've been learning from each other. And you have been focussing on three broad areas: First how do we expand political participation for women in public life? Second how do we strengthen the rule of law? And third, how do we promote women's access to economic opportunities?

If this were only a conference where we came together and we met one another, and we heard speeches and we shared ideas, that would be a good thing, but it would not be enough. It would disappoint all of us who are here because it would not fulfill the promise that such an extraordinary gathering holds for us. What we have to think through is how we will, from this point, create those strategies and support one another within our nations and across our hemisphere to see that they are fulfilled. How will we answer the questions we have been asking ourselves? How will we reach progress in the three areas you have been focussing on? Let me take them one by one.

We have seen the fruits of the efforts that have gone into creating political opportunities for women in public life. Throughout the Americas, because we have obtained peace and stability that so many of you have fought for so long, we now have democratic governments that are open to debate, and free speech and association that were not there

before. We hope we will never, ever see in our hemisphere again a young woman driven from her own country because she stood up for the human rights of her fellow citizens. We hope that we will never hear the heart-wrenching emotion that we heard in the voice from our mayor from Peru when she talked about terrorism. We must never, ever allow terrorism to have a grip in this hemisphere again.

So this hard-fought-for peace and stability, these democracies, these free-market economies, they're an enormous step forward. But they are also not enough if they do not give people the belief that they have a stake in the future and do not provide opportunities for participation.

But think about some of the women who are here amongst us. Women who have pushed open the doors of political leadership. Some of them are known, so many others are unknown, but they lifted their vital voices when others were silent. They organized their work places, often at great risk to themselves, and they have been willing to run for office and accept appointed office when still there are so many attitudes that argue against a woman doing that in public life. Their voices should inspire us. Think of just a few examples.

A senator from Brazil – the granddaughter of a slave – who worked within the Catholic church on behalf of workers – and who became her country's first black woman senator.

A mother from a small town in Peru who, when elected mayor, developed projects to protect women's rights and created training workshops for women so they could increase their family incomes without leaving their homes.

A grandmother in Argentina who refused to bend under the brutality of the generals and who kept her eyes on the plight of her nation's grandchildren.

There are thousands of examples like that. Each of us could stand and tell them. But they should serve the purpose of reminding and inspiring us, of the price that has been paid to open those doors to democracy, and how disappointed all those who sacrificed would be if now women did not assume their rightful position and walk through those doors to make contributions to their families, to their communities, and their nations.

Today, more than at any other time in history, women have the opportunity and the responsibility not only to raise our own voices but to empower others to raise theirs as well. The women gathered here, we are among the blessed. Even though many have suffered, the spirit was not broken. And you are here as testimony to resilience and determination.

But think of the thousands and thousands and thousands of women throughout the Americas for whom no one speaks. Who believe they are not worth anything. Who have

been denied education and even sometimes fundamental health care. What will we do to raise our vital voices for them? And among the many reasons why women must participate in the political process and must take the risks of putting themselves forward on behalf of issues of concern to us all, is because all of those women and their children need our voices.

* There is a very important report that was completed recently by the Women's Leadership Conference of the Americas which details all of the progress and the obstacles that still face women in the Americas. This report confirms what we all know: that while many governments, organizations, and individual citizens acknowledge the importance of women's participation in both formal and informal ways, women are still blocked from realizing their own positions, from going as far as their talents would take them.

Yesterday I was privileged to meet with the Women's Political Network here in Montevideo. I want to thank all of the women who came together to educate me about what they are doing here. They were a remarkable group of women leaders. A cabinet minister, a city council member, others who hold elective office, others who were very prominent in their parties. One of them said: "We grew to realize that what unites us is far more important than what differentiates us." For the women from different parties who honestly hold different philosophical and ideological positions understand that they can cross party lines to work on behalf of issues in common. And I have heard that Paraguay is doing the same. This is one very important idea that can come out of this conference: that there must be ways for women in political life to support each other across party and ideological lines when it comes to fundamental women's rights and children's needs. And this political network can serve as an example for us all. And I would include my own country in that example.

If one reviews the progress that has been made, you can see that the once closed doors have been pried open. More and more countries require a minimum level of women's participation in local and national elections. Others have created agencies to promote women and family policies. Some programs are now seeking to increase the pool of qualified women to compete for leadership positions, and others help women exercise effective leadership once they are elected or promoted.

These changes are having an impact. By 1996 – all but two countries in Latin America had at least one woman cabinet member. In Colombia, over a third of the cabinet positions are now held by women. And while women are still vastly under-represented in legislative assemblies, there are signs of progress. In the Bahamas, women fill as many as 33 percent of the senate seats. And in Argentina, as a result of their new law, women's representation in the lower house of congress is 28 percent, the eighth highest in the world.

If those nations can assure women that level of women's participation, then we all must do better to make sure that parties are fair to women and include them in electoral lists, that

governments seek out qualified women and give them opportunities to serve. Because we will all benefit if more women assume positions of political responsibility. And I hope that one result of this conference will be very specific ways we can all participate in bringing that about.

The second challenge you have been discussing is strengthening the rule of law. Now there is, of course, general agreement in polite company that women deserve equal rights under the law. But there are still laws in the Americas that do not give women equal rights. And our first order of business should be to change those laws.

There are countries in the Americas that prohibit women from doing certain work: from working at night; from lifting heavy objects. Now I have always believed that the job should be suited to the person. And many women could not lift heavy objects, but some women could. And if they could qualify, they should be permitted to compete for those jobs, and jobs like them so they can better support their families, and we should change laws that stop them from doing so.

The larger problem though is that on paper we have equal rights under the law, but they are not enforced. There is uneven or no enforcement. Or there is enforcement only for the rich and not for the poor. So we have to do a better job of making all of our laws fairly enforced and making access to our justice system one that is not in any way prohibited to people on the basis of their background or their income. We have to do much more to absolutely institutionalize the rule of law in the Americas. With independent judiciary, with due-process being respected so that impunity will no longer exist. That the rights of all citizens will be strengthened. We know we will have achieved that goal when a poor, indigenous woman somewhere in the Americas is able to walk into a court and demand that the police stop harassing her, that people in the street stop treating her poorly, and that she be given the same rights as every other person.

And I would hope that by opening up the legal system to more women judges and women prosecutors, women will make sure that women's rights are respected and the rule of law is enshrined in all of our countries.

That is beginning to happen. Again some examples from vital voices that inspire us.

The first woman to sit on Haiti's supreme court helped draft the decree abolishing gender inequality.

The female director of the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights launched a gender equity program when she was a leading Costa Rican jurist.

There are many more examples we can point to. But we need more women lawyers, more women judges, more women prosecutors. And as a lawyer, I hope that more women will

go into the law in the Americas and use the tools of the law to promote social justice throughout our hemisphere.

I also want to say a specific word about something we have seen terrific progress in but have a long way to go and that is in domestic violence. Many of you have been leaders, both inside and outside of governments to make it clear that violence between spouses, between parents and children, in families is not a custom, it is a crime and must be treated as a crime.

More and more governments throughout the Americas are reforming their penal codes and passing anti-discrimination legislation. And we see the results. Twelve Latin American countries have adopted new laws classifying domestic violence finally as a crime, and enforcement has been stepped up, prison sentences extended. There are now special police stations for women in many countries, shelters and counseling centers and training courses for law enforcement officials and judges.

Yesterday I was privileged to meet with professionals here in Montevideo who are working both with victims and perpetrators of domestic violence. And this particular crime is so important for us to focus on because we know that if women have their spirits broken inside the family, by the violence that so many face day in and day out, how can they ever have the confidence to be citizens of a democracy, to participate fully in the life of their democracy?

The Summit of the Americas which met first in Miami and then in Santiago set a goal of full equality between men and women by the year 2002. Now I know that is an ambitious goal. But I like that goal. And I like to remind people that that goal was agreed upon by all the leaders of our hemisphere. And I believe we must accept nothing less than doing all that we can to try to reach that goal.

Our third priority, at this conference, is opening up economic opportunities for women. There are some fundamental issues that we have to address before we can even get to economic opportunities. One is education and one is health care.

Women cannot earn good income for themselves and their families, and advance to the fullest of their god-given potential if they are not educated, or if they are held back by poor, or substandard, or unavailable health care.

So we must continue to do everything we can to ensure access to education, for girls and women, and to make available quality health care throughout the hemisphere. Because talking about economic opportunities in the absence of emphasizing education and health care is an empty promise. Because we certainly know that the economy of the 21st century will be unforgiving for those who are not educated and not healthy and not able to make their own way.

Now we all know that women contribute enormously to the economic growth of their countries. Both inside and outside the home. But that work, both in the home and in the informal economy is not counted in a country's GDP. I believe it is time for economists and bankers to start figuring out ways to count women's economic contributions in their nations' GDP and overall world economies.

I remember talking to an economist during one of my visits to Africa. He said "well women have no real economic role to play in the African economies that are emerging". And I said, "well you know I have only spent a few days in Africa but every where I looked I saw women working: I saw women in the fields, I saw women carrying water; I saw women in the markets; I saw women building their own houses. Now tell me what exactly is it that they are doing if not contributing to the economic well-being of their country?"

We also have to face up to continuing wage discrimination against women. Women in Latin America receive salaries well below those of men. And women who work in the informal sector, as many do, have no benefits and no security. Working women have never held the rights and opportunities and benefits that men have traditionally have held. So we have to attack those inequities as well.

We need to celebrate the contributions that women have made. And I especially appreciate the comments about how women have been the ones who have managed poverty and have day in and day out, and year after year kept families going with very little in the way of meager resources. So let us celebrate what is really very good budgeting and extremely good economic planning if we stop to think about it, and let's look for ways to bring more opportunities and greater income into the lives of these women who have already proven that they know how to stretch a peso as far as possible.

We also need to look at ways of getting more capital and credit into women's hands. And I want to thank everyone who has supported micro-credit because it is truly transforming lives and societies. Micro-enterprise loans are expanding the support from international and bilateral donors and non-governmental organizations. USAID and IDB programs are already reaching well over one million women in this hemisphere.

I would once again issue a plea to commercial banks, and other potential funders, to look at the success of micro-credit as a tool for creating market activity at the grassroots level, giving more people within a society a stake in the free market. And I would ask, as I did in Belfast, that commercial banks look for ways to partner with the IDB or non-governmental organizations to put some funds into micro-credit so that we could expand their reach. I'm always amazed when I read in the newspaper about some very bad loan that a commercial bank has made and they write it off when we know that loans to poor women are repaid at a rate of between 95 and 99 percent throughout the world.

I have talked with such women from one end of our hemisphere to another, including in

my own country where we are using micro-credit to try and help develop economic opportunity for women, particularly women who were formerly on welfare.

Think of these vital voices:

A rural woman in El Salvador who overcame low expectations – of herself and others – to turn her roadside tortilla stand into a profitable business with the help of a \$46 loan. And who, because of that increased economic activity that she was able to generate, all of a sudden had the respect of everyone in her village. And she and her small village group of people who were borrowing and supporting each other understood that they had a real stake in their future. She was selected president of her village bank group. And she said something that all of us would agree with, and that is “courage is half of life.” Well for her, having the courage to do what she did was half of life, but having the credit to put that courage into action was the other half. And that is the kind of partnership we need more of.

A woman organizer at a banana plantation who has stood up to death threats to lead and inspire her co-workers. They have been locked out of their jobs because their company won't recognize their union.

Workers' rights are an important part of the global economy.

We have such great opportunities ahead of us if we are able to take the extraordinary benefits of the global economy and ensure that they are spread fairly to everyone. We cannot permit greater inequity in income to be part of the new global economy. And workers' rights are part of that. Regular and equal pay, medical examinations, training programs, benefits, all of that should be on the front burner for women and men who understand how important it is that workers be given the opportunity to share in the fruits of their labor.

Now where does this leave us as we are looking at this conference and all that you have discussed and heard? Well I hope that we are building on the progress so many of you have begun. And I hope we are producing real partnerships that will strengthen democracies and improve lives of women throughout the Americas.

Today I am pleased to make several announcements. First, the United States Government through USAID will commit \$50 million to support the common goals of this conference and the Summit of the Americas, to strengthen human rights, justice, and democracy particularly on behalf of women.

USAID is also increasing its loans to micro-enterprises across the Americas to \$120 million over the next three years, over two-thirds of those loans committed to going to women.

The United States Small Business Administration, whose Director, Aida Alvarez is with us

today, and I am very pleased that Ms. Alvarez could be here for this announcement. It has done a great deal in our country to promote micro-enterprise and has created an "on-line women's business center" offering training and support and research for women to start and expand their businesses. Today the Small Business Administration is unveiling the Spanish version of this website so that millions of women, throughout the hemisphere and literally around the world, can also access this information.

After this meeting you can go into the conference room, right outside here and into one of the hallways, and you can log right on to this new SBA service. And be sure and tell us how well it works, because it is our very first time to try it out.

Because of this conference the Discovery Channel, the Foreign Ministry of Argentina and the Global Foundation in Buenos Aires have come together to make sure that these voices are heard well beyond this conference. They will do this through a series of Vital Voices Public Service Announcements on issues raised here at the conference. Tomorrow each of you will have the chance to help shape those messages that will be broadcast throughout the hemisphere. So think please about the most effective way to reach women and men with the messages of the Vital Voices Conference.

Another important partnership that is taking place is that IBM Uruguay will produce computer and Internet training sessions for women in media and a political training workshop experience sponsored by USAID, the Partners of the Americas, the League of Women Voters, and USIA Women's Campaign International. This is one way that you can really test and improve your own skills and learn from one each other about how you can take messages from this conference back home.

The United States Government stands ready to continue to work with all of you. To make sure that this critical effort started here at this conference, and building on so much work that has gone before, will continue well into the future and will have the results that we all hope for.

As I travel around the world, I am very grateful for the opportunity that I have to meet with women and to listen to them. Their dreams, their aspirations, their hopes, their concerns. And I am always amazed, impressed and humbled by the extraordinary human spirit and hopefulness that I find whether I am in a very poor village in Bangladesh or Uganda, or in a very small business in Nicaragua, or Santiago, I'm always with women who inspire me. And these are the women from throughout this hemisphere who we must do all that we can to ensure that their voices are heard, heard in city halls and board rooms, and trade union offices, and political parties, in academia, in families.

If we carry forth from this conference the extraordinary example and words that we heard from our four panelists, and we take our energy and work together to make sure that these voices are heard, I think we have a great opportunity ahead of us.

I ran across a quote from an early Uruguayan woman leader, Dr. Paulina Luisi who said "We shall not reach the radiant mount toward which our eyes are fixed today. But on the ground we are breaking, our daughters will march to victory."

As the mother of a daughter, I hope with all my heart, that we will break that ground, and the youngest among us will see results, that we will make it possible in the next century for women and men to feel as they should. fully empowered, full of hope and confident, because there are no longer any of those divisions that separate us from one another, but instead a commitment creating a future that brings out the best in all of us.

Thank you very much.

**Q&A Following Hillary Rodham Clinton's Speech
at Forum 2000, Prague Castle,
October 13, 1998**

Prague, Czech Republic

Questions and comments by four Forum 2000 participants are paraphrased below, followed by the First Lady's responses transcribed in full.

We know much about the U.S. as a teaching society, but I would like to hear about the U.S. as a learning society as well. An example is the U.S. media coverage of Copenhagen: the U.S. press gave almost no coverage to this event, but covered instead "the trial of the century." There was also little coverage of the Kyoto Conference. (Weiming Tu, Chinese historian and writer)

The media often covers only the ugly and negative. They should introduce beauty; otherwise, people cannot be expected to think anything or do anything good or beautiful. (Karan Singh, Indian political figure and philosopher)

What about U.S. isolationism/unilateralism? The U.S. can't think beyond its own borders. For example, there is no support for the U.N. or IMF when we need U.S. leadership. The "parochial preoccupations" of a key institution in the U.S. such as the Congress -- this is a matter of concern. The U.S. position on the International Criminal Court is also an example of this troubling attitude. (Unidentified speaker)

There is a need to work on global, not only national, rule of law. How can business help to bring this about? (Tomas Bata, Czech-Canadian entrepreneur)

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Let me first respond to Mr. Tu, because I think you have very well expressed one of the principal challenges the United States faces, and certainly it has an impact not only in our country but around the world.

It is the case that the civil society in the United States was recognized as being a critical component of our entire social structure as early as the first decades of the nineteenth century by de Tocqueville, and he talked about the habits of the heart which really nurtured democratic citizenship and involvement. And there's always been a tremendous tension among the three legs of the stool in the United States. One of our continuing challenges is to create a balance among the various power centers in the United States, whether it is within our government, among our three branches of government, or among the economy, the government, and civil society.

I don't think that de Tocqueville -- or anyone -- until relatively recently could have even imagined, let alone predicted, the extraordinary role that the mass media would play in shaping public opinion and impacting on civil society in particular. It is, I believe, a very serious issue for any society, but particularly for the United States at this time. Mr. Tu is absolutely right that the coverage of difficult problems that require patience and fortitude is practically nonexistent in the United States. The coverage of international affairs and our mass

-2-

media is very limited. There is such an obsession with the immediate and with the kind of event or personality that will satisfy people in the short run, that I think we're doing a great disservice to ourselves by not providing more information in a continuing way so that the citizens can have at least the opportunity of knowing more about what is going on and making decisions for themselves based on that more detailed information.

I didn't mention it in my remarks, but I do think that the role of the mass media is something that we have to give more serious thought to in my country and, increasingly, around the world. It is extremely difficult for government or for civil society to function effectively either if there is not enough information about difficult decisions confronting citizens, or if the information that is being given actually undermines civil society and governmental effectiveness.

I don't have any solution in mind at all for any of this, but certainly America needs to become, in your words, a "learning civilization," in order to see better ourselves and understand what we must do to maintain our strong civil society and our cohesive nation state going into the future. It is something I spend a lot of time about thinking, because I do believe if we don't come to grips with the impact of the mass media on civil society and on effective governance in democracy, it will be increasingly difficult to deal with any of the problems of globalization that Professor Sunkel so eloquently described to us. So, I share your concerns. I certainly know that my husband and others are attempting to sort of break through the wall of the mass media to be able to communicate directly with people with information that is pertinent to their daily lives and also helpful in helping them make decisions.

And just let me add one other example. Several of you last night mentioned to me your hope and your concern that the United States will take effective action with respect to environmental challenges coming out of Kyoto. That is a perfect example of how difficult it is in our country to obtain a consensus about action that should be taken. It is not a subject that gets a lot of coverage in our country, and it is a subject about which special interests have very strong feelings and use the mass media to manipulate public opinion. So we have a great challenge in our democracy to navigate among the mass media and the very powerful special interests to create a space for the citizenry to get adequate information to make good decisions. Winston Churchill once said about America that it's a land where people do take a very long time and do nearly everything wrong before they make the right decision. And it is a kind of historical characteristic of ours that we do kind of stumble along until we get it right.

Finally with Mr. Singh, I thought that your remarks were beautifully eloquent. I don't know how we get those countervailing healing images through the mass media. We have to create alternatives, and perhaps the explosion of the media will give us a chance to have more channels of information conveying images to people. But certainly if the mass media is still largely determined out of America, we have a big challenge ahead of us to transform those negative dramatic images into something that can help people envision a more positive future. It is also an issue that I am very concerned about, and since people are affected by and are determined to some extent in their images of themselves and others by what is occurring in the mass media, it is another issue that we must pay very close attention to. If in your metaphor the person sitting on the stool is to be someone who is a positive person, it is difficult to imagine how to be positive if you are the subject of constant consumer-oriented

-3-

driven messages and negative messages. That's very difficult for people to overcome, so we have a big job ahead of us in that. But I thank for your beautiful language in describing that challenge.

Thank you.....

[After second two questions]

HRC: Well, these are two very specific questions about American public and political opinion. And given my concern about these issues, let me just address them in a larger context and then specifically.

The United States goes through periods of isolationism as anyone who has ever studied our history could clearly see. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the *raison d'être* for much of foreign policy in America seemed to have disappeared in the minds of many political leaders, particularly those who had both spent time on the front lines of leading the charge against communism and those who believed that the United States had to have a very strong presence in the world in order to be effective in dealing with the threat caused by the Soviet Union.

We are still finding our way to redefine our position in the world and our assumption of leadership in so many areas that are critical for the United States to take a leading role. I think Gareth Evans is right that in every poll that I've ever seen, and in my own personal experience, American citizens are much more supportive of international institutions such as the United Nations and more willing for the United States to be engaged internationally than many of those in Congress who adopt a much more negative view.

The problem is, however, that there is an intense minority against such involvement that is at the heart of much of the Republican Party's support and to a much lesser extent some Democratic support. But focusing for a minute on the Republican party, they have in their constituency those people who believe the United Nations is invading America with black helicopters, who believe any kind of international involvement multilaterally by the United States is a sign of weakness, not of partnership and strength. And those people within their constituency who hold those views and less extreme versions of those views are much more intense than the general public which favors international involvement.

The general public does not vote on those issues, by and large: they would not turn out a member of Congress who did not vote for the United Nations dues as they might if he did not vote for funding education, for example. Whereas the intense minority that so often determines a politician's fate will vote against a member of Congress in many districts around our country. So the trick is to create the intensity and increase the awareness among the American public that their intuitive response about American engagement is something that they need to take to another level and be much more committed to and put into the political process as one of the factors by which they judge those who they elect.

-4-

The second issue that relates to this is that there has been, in my view again, a collapse in elite opinion supporting international engagement in the United States. You know, the end of the Second World War when President Truman and General Marshall and others were summoning support for the Marshall Plan, it was not popular in the country, it was unpopular. But it was understood as being very important among the American business and academic and political elite in sufficient numbers that they were able to harness public opinion to their point of view.

It has been a great disappointment to me, and I mentioned this at Davos, that American business — which benefits greatly from American involvement in the world — has been so silent on so many of these issues that directly affect American leadership around the world. There was not a great outcry, for example, when the Congress first turned down IMF funding. The American business communities got more organized on that. But again, I don't know that they are telling members of Congress that they will not support them over that particular issue. So that the collapse of elite opinion in America has also played a negative role in creating a circumstance in which passionate and intense extreme opinion gets much more credibility that it deserves to have.

Thirdly, there is among many members of Congress a sense of unilateralism, that there is not anything for the United States to gain in being part of international and multilateral efforts, but rather to just be acting unilaterally, and that is something that the President is working very hard to try to change and to rein in. But it is a very strongly held opinion among certain members of Congress, in particular. And it has to be worked on again from two different perspectives. We have to increase public support and we have to not only change but harness elite opinion in order to have an impact on members of Congress who hold these views.

And then finally, it is just politics. You know, it's just good old-fashioned politics in a democracy, where if you've got in our system a president of one party and a congress of another, no matter what the President's for, the members of Congress and the majority on the other side want to be against. And right now, at this moment, they're asleep right now, but shortly they'll be back trying to get a budget for the United States, which we don't now have because the Republican majority in Congress has been opposed to the President's program. Parliamentary systems are much easier, believe me, in terms of getting something through, and even there you have a lot of problems in trying to reach consensus. But in our system, which is deliberately designed to be difficult, it is particularly difficult when there is a President of one party and a Congress of another and I think many people even in Europe who are used to parliamentary systems have a difficult time understanding why this is so hard to maneuver through. And so, it is something we're concerned about, that the President is very well aware of and that he's working very hard on.

Then just with respect to the international criminal court, that's another example of the difficulty of persuading Americans to be supportive of something that they believe might in any way impact their sovereignty. I must say, just very briefly, that there is a legitimate concern on the part of American leadership, including the administration, that because we do have so many interests around the world, we do have so many military interests around the world, that without appropriate safeguards that would enable the United States to feel that any kind of action by such a court would be justified with respect to American citizens, you are not going to get American support for that kind of international effort. Which is regrettable,

-5-

and the American government will continue to support all of the war crimes efforts, whether they will be in The Hague or Rwanda, and we will continue to look for a way that we can be part of an international court of criminal justice. But it is difficult, particularly in the climate of the United States today, for political and military leadership to feel comfortable with ceding jurisdiction and sovereignty when so many more of our people around the world are at risk than the citizens of any other country. We don't think there is parity in the description of the court's authority with respect to the United States. So, there are some legitimate concerns about that issue, which take nothing away from the more general concerns we have about creating more of an American understanding and support for our engagement and leadership and our international cooperation.

(End of q&a transcript)

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO
NATIONAL SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA
THE WHITE HOUSE
JULY 26, 1999

Good evening everyone. It is a great pleasure for me to join the President in welcoming all of you to the White House, as we celebrate one of America's great treasures, the National Symphony Orchestra. As many of you know, the President and I have been trying for quite some time to catch up with our friend, Leonard Slatkin and the National Symphony Orchestra to invite them to perform at the White House. We're so pleased to have them with us this evening.

I want to begin by thanking the NSO board members, Kennedy Center Trustees, and Friends of the Center for joining us tonight. I would like to especially acknowledge the president of the Kennedy Center, Larry Wilker, who has opened the Kennedy Center to the broader community; dazzled us with the diversity he's brought to the stage; and succeeded in attracting larger and larger audiences both here in Washington and around the country. I want to recognize as well the President of the NSO, Bob Jones, who has made such a tremendous contribution to the BSO in such a short time. And we're thrilled that Linda [Hofenfeld, Slatkin's wife] is joining her maestro husband tonight — as a soloist.

We are here this evening not only to honor this remarkable symphony, but also to celebrate, once again, the vital role that the arts – especially music – play in all of our lives, and in the life of our democracy.

Throughout its sixty-eight seasons, the NSO has represented the very best in American music. From Tokyo to Tupelo, from Amsterdam to Anchorage, the NSO is recognized as one of the world's finest orchestras. But as important as their musical gifts is the role they play as our nation's cultural ambassadors around the world. America has always been a nation of artists and idealists -- a free and creative people striving to express the full potential of human endeavor. In 1993, when the NSO became the very first orchestra to give a concert in Red Square in Moscow, an exuberant audience of thousands heard much more than the sound of music -- they heard the sound of America itself.

And that is a mission they fulfill not only overseas, but also here at home. The NSO brings to life the rich diversity of America's greatest composers – like Samuel Barber, John Corigliano [Core-lee-ah-no], Copeland, and Duke Ellington -- to the delight of sold-out crowds everywhere, from the Kennedy Center to Carnegie Hall.

The NSO also recognizes that our musical heritage belongs to all Americans – and its free concerts celebrating Memorial Day, the Fourth of July, and Labor Day on the west lawn of the Capitol, bring the joy of music into the lives and hearts of millions.

Yet we know that today in America, there are too many children who have never heard a Mozart symphony, or listened to musicians talk about their work. The NSO's American Residencies program has further extended its reach into communities across the country – organizing workshops for teachers, coaching young musicians, and celebrating the musical contributions of that region or state. I have been told of one child's reaction to an American Residencies NSO performance in Alaska. He said, "you are better than Guns & Roses, Metallica, and Van Halen." Now that's a real complement.

The NSO understands that teaching music means more than training the next generation of cellists and violinists. It means raising a generation with music in their hearts, and a full appreciation of our unique and diverse culture. That is why it is so crucial that we continue to work together to get the arts back into our nation's schools and into every child's life.

Arts and music programs not only help children find their voices, and discover their dreams. They help them do better in the classroom as well. And by exposing our children to the limitless diversity of artistic expression, we teach them the values of freedom and tolerance that are at the heart of who we are, and who we hope to be.

No one better understands the power of the arts to educate and inspire our children than NSO's conductor, Leonard Slatkin. It was the music classes he took as a child in a Los Angeles public school that helped inspire him to become the grand maestro that he is today.

And he has used his conductor's podium as a true bully pulpit -- to keep the arts alive in our nation's schools. One day last year, Leonard learned that the DC Youth Orchestra was low on funds and about to be phased out. So at a concert a few days later, he told his audience about the orchestra's plight. By the second night, Leonard was able to announce that he had secured enough commitments from individuals and local businesses to save the DC Youth Orchestra.

Leonard, your talent and dedication have earned you legions of fans – at the White House, where we still talk about the NSO’s stirring performance at the Chinese state dinner; throughout the Washington community, where your radio program and children’s concerts have been a joy to so many; even as far away as Japan – where I’m told you have a passionate fan club. To top it all off, you have even inspired my husband to pick up a baton – though I don’t think you need fear the competition.

T.S. Eliot once said that “culture may be described simply as that which makes life worth living.” I am pleased to introduce a man who makes so many lives worth living, each and every day -- Leonard Slatkin.