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HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
SAFE MOTHERHOOD: WORLD HEALTH DAY
THE WORLD BANK
APRIL 7, 1998

It's a great honor and pleasure to be back here at the World Bank, and to join James Wolfensohn and all of you as we celebrate World Health Day -- and recommit ourselves to the global mission of Safe Motherhood. Thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak about a subject so close to my heart -- and of such extraordinary significance to the future of our world.

I want to thank James Wolfenson for being such a powerful voice within the World Bank and throughout the globe on behalf of women, especially his work in raising public awareness that investments in women and girls are the single most important investments nations can make to ensure sustained economic progress and social stability.

I'm so pleased to be joined today by Dr. Crispus Kiyonga, the minister of Health in Uganda, where I have just visited -- and Dr. Siti Hasmah Mohd -- the first lady of Malaysia. Deep appreciation also to the leaders of the Safe Motherhood InterAgency Group -- the World Health Organization, UNFRA (UN Population Fund), UNICEF, the World Bank, International Planned Parenthood Federation, and the Population Council -- who, with the support of Family Care International, lead critical efforts to promote the health and well being of women, children, and families.

I would also like to acknowledge the extraordinary work of the tens of thousands of foot soldiers on the front lines -- the doctors, nurses, midwives and public health workers who are struggling to meet the often overwhelming health needs of women throughout the world -- and who, against formidable odds, save the lives of so many women and children every day. We owe all of them our deepest gratitude.

We are joined here, on World Health Day, by people in cities and communities around the globe, who, like us, are raising our voices in a united chorus to say: no woman should ever die in childbirth. And that all of us -- governments, international agencies, NGOs, and communities -- have a critical role to play in saving their lives, and the lives of their children.

We come together this morning at a time of great promise and hope. I've just returned from an historic trip with my husband to Sub Sahara Africa, and I wish all of you could have joined us to see this great country, not only its problems, which are still profound, but the energy and intelligence and determination of the people. Over the past few years, more than 20 nations have broken the chains of authoritarian rule, and begun their journeys

toward economic and social recovery.

Yet in the midst of this time of growth and promise around the world, we still fail to protect our most important citizens - the mothers of our children. The numbers are shocking, no matter how often you hear them. Every minute, somewhere in the world, a woman dies from complications of pregnancy and childbirth. Every minute, 190 women face an unplanned or unwanted pregnancy; every minute, 110 women experience a pregnancy related complication.

The tragedy that over 600,000 women die every year in childbirth is compounded by the simple yet unbearable truth that the vast majority of those deaths -- and so much of that suffering -- could have been avoided. The other stark truth that we continue to face today: Maternal mortality is 150 to 200 times greater in poorer nations than in our rich ones. And those deaths are directly related to the high level of poverty, and the low status of women, in those countries.

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

The signs of progress are all around us. In Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, health workers trained in midwifery are being assigned to village-based health facilities, and maternal mortality has declined. In Ethiopia and Mongolia, women living in remote areas where transportation is difficult can now go to maternity waiting homes, and get much needed interim care. Last year, I visited health care clinics in Bolivia, where prenatal and family planning services have resulted in safer pregnancies and deliveries, and in some cases, have saved lives.

A few years ago, I toured a small health and family planning clinic in Kathmandu, Nepal, financed by a partnership with USAID, the Save the Children Foundation, and the government. And while I was there, I was given a "Safe Home Delivery Kit" -- like the one I have here today -- that is given to expectant mothers. Inside is a bar of soap, twine, wax, a plastic sheet, and a razor blade. It's purpose is to reduce the two major causes of maternal and neonatal death, tetanus and sepsis, by promoting the "three cleans" principle: clean hands, clean surface, clean umbilical care. The kit was developed by a group called PATH -- whose representatives I believe are in the audience here today.

This kit symbolizes for me some of the most important lessons we have absorbed over the past few years. First, we've learned the power of partnerships. In community after community, governments, voluntary agencies, and local leaders are joining forces and resources to develop health care strategies that promote safe motherhood. I was proud to participate in the launching in Bolivia of one of those partnerships a few years ago, when USAID and the Pan American Health Organization and others joined forces to reduce maternal mortality throughout the Americas. This even took place on the occasion of the annual meeting of the First Lady's of the Hemisphere.

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

But just as importantly, we've also learned that the cost of promoting safe motherhood is cost effective, when you compare the extraordinary rewards in saved lives, improved maternal and child health, and revitalized communities.

Think about it. The World Bank estimates that by spending \$2 a year per person for maternal health care, almost all of the 600,000 women who die as a result of complications during pregnancy and childbirth would be alive today. And the lives of 2 million infants would be saved.

We have the resources. We have strategies that work. But we do not yet have the collective will to do what needs to be done. The result is that today, women in every nation in the world -- including my own -- lack basic health care that could save their lives and ensure their health. More attention must be paid to ensure women receive adequate prenatal care, good nutrition, and quality obstetric care, so that childbearing and childbirth is a safe and healthy period of every woman's life. We must invest in family planning -- which improves maternal health. Without it, women often turn in desperation to illegal, unsafe abortion procedures that can account for up to half or more of all maternal deaths.

But women can't make progress in either their social or economic status unless they have other opportunities open to them as well. Education is inextricably tied to how women and children achieve progress. We've seen how investments in education have a profound and concrete affect on women's health, as well as the prosperity of their families and their country. So do investments in jobs and credit. I've seen how women's lives have been transformed, and how they've helped lift their families out of poverty, with just a modest loan to start up a small local enterprise. But perhaps most importantly, women must be empowered to participate fully in the decision making and

political life of their countries. Democracy requires the active participation of all citizens, including women.

These are the basic building blocks for a healthy and productive life. These are also the building blocks for social and economic progress, and the spread of democracy around the world.

Three years ago, when I addressed the Women's Conference in Beijing, I said that women's rights are human rights, and human rights are women's rights. The right to health care is a fundamental right for all women. Yet that right is violated every time a woman is denied skilled health workers during childbirth; every time a woman is denied the right to plan her own family; and every time she is subjected to violence in her own home. That basic right is violated every time women are denied the education and the economic opportunities they need to ensure they and their children can lead healthy, productive, and engaged lives.

When this level of ^{and} social injustice remains commonplace around the world, then the potential of the human family to create a peaceful, prosperous, democratic world will not be realized. But if we can apply the force of international human rights treaties and national constitutions to ensure mothers and children are safe healthy, then, and only then, can every woman be treated with dignity and respect, every child be loved and cared for, and every family have a healthy and strong future. And then, and only then, will communities thrive, and nations flourish.

I want to conclude my remarks this morning with a story from my recent trip to Africa. That trip was an extraordinary opportunity for me and my husband to see the flowers of progress and democracy take root in even the smallest village, nurtured by the songs and the power of women.

In Senegal, a group of women I met with in the Malicounda Biambara village have done something remarkable. They have decided that female circumcision -- considered a rite of passage for all girls -- had harmed their daughters bodies and spirits for too long. It was time to end the hemorrhaging, and the infection, and the AIDS, and the childbirth complications caused by this deadly tradition. And that's what they have done.

Using a skit that they showed me, these women educated their religious leaders, their husbands, and their neighbors. And as a result, they have banned the practice of female circumcision in their village, and now in 13 other villages as well. (I should note that in some Senegalese villages, this practice affects about 20% of the girls -- but in some countries like Mali and Eretria -- that figure is as high as 90%).

When I asked one of the women in this small village what had driven her and others to try to end such a long standing cultural practice, she replied simply: "We studied human rights, and particularly the right to health."

Thanks in large part to the work of so many of you here today, this Senegalese women and so many others around the world now understand that they have a fundamental right to a healthy family, and a better life. Let's renew our vow here during World Health Day -- drawing inspiration and strength from our partners around the world -- to work together to guarantee every woman gains that opportunity for herself and her family. For in doing so, we will fulfill the great promise of prosperity and progress for all people, and for all nations.

THE DIRECTOR OF THE PEACE CORPS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

July 24, 1998

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
First Lady of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

Over the last five years, you have been a source of wonderful support for thousands of Peace Corps Volunteers serving around the world. Your visits with Volunteers in many countries during your overseas travels have been an inspiration for them and an important reminder to Volunteers world wide that the American people respect and appreciate the contributions they are making in some of the world's poorest communities. Moreover, President Clinton's initiative to expand the Peace Corps to 10,000 Volunteers by the year 2000 has been a powerful expression of his support for our Volunteers and his continuing efforts to strengthen the spirit of service in our country. All of us in the Peace Corps family are grateful for what the President and you have done for the agency and our Volunteers.

I am writing to invite you to be our guest of honor and inaugurate the Peace Corps' new headquarters building here in Washington and launch our national Volunteer recruitment campaign, which I believe will be one of our most successful in many years. The purpose of your participation would be to demonstrate that service in the Peace Corps is one way for Americans to help address some of the world's most pressing problems and strengthen the ties of friendship between Americans and the people of other countries.

For the first time since the 1960s, the Peace Corps will occupy its own headquarters building to carry out its international and national operations. Located in downtown Washington, the building has been refurbished with modern technology that will allow us to recruit new Volunteers more effectively here at home and better support those serving overseas. We would be honored if you would officially dedicate the new Peace Corps Building, as well as a conference hall that will be named in honor of R. Sargent Shriver, the first Director of the Peace Corps. As part of the ceremony, we would invite members of the President's Cabinet, Members of Congress, Mr. Shriver and his family, members of the diplomatic and volunteer service communities, and any other guests of your choice.

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Kennedy quote?
new people -
new needs around - close to each other
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good can happen*

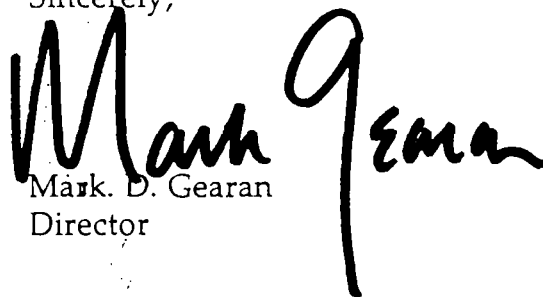
Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
July 22, 1998
Page 2

To achieve national exposure for the opening of our building, we plan to link the ceremony to a broader series of events across the country on the same day, including the release of a new recruitment film. As part of our upcoming recruitment season, we are undertaking a complete redesign of the Peace Corps web site. We would be delighted if, as part of this event, you would launch our new web site and be the first person to log onto it. We would link up with Peace Corps Volunteers currently serving at several of our overseas posts. With your participation, I am confident that we would receive considerable national attention.

I understand that the President and you will be traveling to Russia and Northern Ireland in late August and early September. Therefore, we could arrange this event according to the demands of your schedule in mid-September or another convenient time for you. I have spoken with Melanne Verveer about this proposal and will contact again her in the near future.

I hope that your schedule will allow you to be our guest of honor on this special day. Again, I thank you very much for the strong support that you have provided to the Peace Corps and our Volunteers.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Mark D. Gearan". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style. The first name "Mark" is written with a large, prominent "M". The last name "Gearan" is written with a long, sweeping "G" that extends downwards and to the right. The middle initials "D." are written in a smaller, more compact script between the first and last names.

Mark D. Gearan
Director

International Conference on Girls' Education
"Educating Girls: A Development Imperative"

International Trade Center
Washington, D. C.
May 7, 1998

**Keynote Address by the First Lady of the United States,
Hillary Rodham Clinton**

**Introduction by Brian Atwood, Administrator,
U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)**

MR. ATWOOD: The First Ladies of Ghana and Peru, distinguished Ministers and guests, welcome to today's keynote address by the First Lady of the United States, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

I'm sorry that I was not able to be here yesterday to welcome you to this conference on behalf of USAID. I returned last evening from the Middle East where, among other important events, Vice President Gore witnessed the signing of an agreement with the government of Egypt to commence a \$65 million girls' education program.

AUDIENCE: [Applause.]

MR. ATWOOD: I know there's an important delegation from Egypt in the audience.

We're very fortunate at USAID to have outstanding women in our senior ranks of Presidential appointees. Therefore, I knew we would be well represented yesterday by Deputy Administrator Hattie Babbitt and Assistant Administrator, Ambassador Sally Shelton-Colby. Assistant Administrator Jill Buckley is here with us today as well.

I also want to thank Barbara Turner, Margaret Lycette, and Susie Clay for their work on this conference and with our counterparts at UNICEF, the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank, the delegation of the European Commission, and the Louis T. Preston Education Program Girls.

USAID has just completed an eight-country evaluation of our basic education programs. I've asked that a summary of this evaluation be distributed and that its findings be discussed by this group. I was very pleased to hear from the outside evaluators that USAID has been able to maintain its leadership role in promoting girls' education, introducing several innovative approaches to the issues of access and quality.

Our programs have raised awareness of the importance of girls' education even in the rural areas of the developing countries in which we work. The demand is growing; now we must all respond by providing not only access but the quality of education that will make a difference in these girls' lives.

It's an easy task to introduce to this audience a person who is known worldwide as an advocate of children, and women and girls' education. But when the topic of a USAID conference involves gender, I sometimes wonder whether there isn't someone in the audience who's saying to themselves, "What does that man up there know about the importance of girls' education?"

Several years ago, I was in a similar position. I was then President of the National

Democratic Institute and we were sponsoring the Eleanor Roosevelt Symposium for Women Political Leaders in San Francisco. We brought together over 60 prominent women leaders from around the world to promote the cause of women entering political office.

I was introducing NDI Board Member Geraldine Ferraro, who chaired the Symposium. Gerry was widely known to the audience as the first woman candidate for Vice President, just as Hillary Clinton is known to all of you today.

I told a story that day about my daughter Debbie. When Debbie was five we gave her a record by Marlo Thomas called "Free To Be Me." It was a series of songs to teach little girls that they could accomplish whatever they wanted in life. They could even aspire to jobs that were traditionally done by men.

When my daughter had memorized most of the songs, I decided it was time to test her. One night as I was tucking her into bed, I told her she could do anything she wanted to do. She could be a doctor, a lawyer; she could even be President when she grew up, if she wanted. I asked her if she knew what she wanted to be.

She looked up at me from her pillow with those wide eyes of a five-year-old and she said, "Yes, Daddy, I want to be a waitress."

AUDIENCE: [Applause.]

MR. ATWOOD: Now that is an honorable profession, but it wasn't going to help Debbie break any glass ceilings.

Today my daughter is a very successful social worker who cares deeply about children who haven't had the good fortune to get as good a start as she had, and she probably makes more money than a waitress -- less money than a waitress, I should say.

She's also one of the many young women around the world who admires our First Lady and sees her as a role model for the five-year-olds of today. Why not be a distinguished lawyer and world leader?

USAID's programs have benefitted greatly from Mrs. Clinton's advocacy and her leadership. It was she who announced our girls' education initiative at the World Summit for Social Development at Copenhagen in 1995.

Addressing the international community, she said on that occasion: "No single factor contributes to the long-term health and prosperity of a developing nation more than investing in education for girls and women."

Mrs. Clinton's record on girls' education and children's issues did not start when she

became First Lady. She chaired the Arkansas Education Standards Committee and helped establish higher public school standards in that state. She founded the Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families and introduced a pioneering program called Arkansas' Home Instruction Program for Pre-School Youth. This program trained parents to work with their children in preschool preparedness and literacy.

For many years, Mrs. Clinton served on the Board and later chaired the Children's Defense Fund, the most prominent advocacy group for children in the United States. There she fought against the abuse of children and for a more enlightened approach to children in need. She saw then, as she sees now, the liberating qualities of education.

Mrs. Clinton, you must have had exceptional teachers in your day, including, I'm sure, your own parents. I say that because rarely does one find that combination of qualities that have made you a world leader, that commitment to helping others, that keen intelligence, that persistence, and that grace under fire.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is now my pleasure to introduce the person who will be a role model for my second daughter, Michele, when she's five years old, the First Lady of the United States, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

AUDIENCE: [Applause.]

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you so much. It is such a great pleasure for me to be here at this conference with all of you who are committed to the education and well-being of girls around the world.

I'm also pleased to have the first occasion to visit this new, very large building and see this auditorium in action. This is now the second largest building, second only to the Pentagon, so I think it is appropriate that while the Pentagon houses those who strive to keep us safe and secure and keep peace around the world, this building would host a conference about educating girls and building a future that we hope will be peaceful for all children.

I hope that --

AUDIENCE: [Applause.]

MRS. CLINTON: -- we're able to do that through the work that you are doing at this conference and that the results of this conference and what you carry away from it will enable you to be strong voices throughout the world on behalf of young women and girls.

The best description that I've ever read about why this conference is so important did not come from a think tank or a government report or a research study but instead from a

college student, a young woman from New Delhi, who gave me a poem she had written about why it was so important that she, being the first young woman in her family ever to go on to college, had that opportunity. Here is what she wrote:

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

We are here today to make sure that all children have the freedom and the power to make their voices ring as loudly as the 75 members of the World Children's Choir we heard a few minutes ago. And we are here because there are already powerful voices present in this room that are making themselves heard on behalf of education for all children.

I want to thank everyone who made this extraordinary event possible, particularly Brian Atwood, Margaret Lycette, Susie Clay, and the entire USAID staff. All over the world I have seen the fruits of the girls' and women's education initiative pioneered by USAID, and I have been gratified to see the work that is being done to put quality education within the grasp of every child.

I also want to thank the cosponsors of this conference -- UNICEF, the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank, the delegation of the European Commission, and the Louis T. Preston Education Program for Girls. Thank you all. I too extend a warm welcome to the First Lady of Ghana and the First Lady from Peru. I also wish to welcome all Ministers and Vice Ministers, Cabinet officials, parliamentarians, Ambassadors, leaders of non-governmental organizations, the media, businesses, religious organizations, and other distinguished guests from the 42 countries represented here.

As I look out at this impressive gathering, I believe that we are truly at the beginning of a great international effort to give all children access to quality primary and secondary education.

As I have been privileged to travel around the world, I have met many, many citizens who are struggling to find their voices in a time of increasing democracy, information, and globalization. I've met with many families who work hard every day just to put a roof over their children's heads and food on their tables for meals. I have visited communities where people have banded together to create healthier, more prosperous opportunities for all who live there.

And often when I ask a very simple question I get the same answer. I ask, "How is it that you are able to accomplish so much?" And the answer usually in one way or another comes back to education. Education is recognized throughout the world even by those who themselves have not enjoyed an education as a powerful tool for a child or a family or a whole society to make progress. Education is no longer viewed as a luxury for some but as a

necessity for all.

When we educate a girl, we increase the leader of our village by helping women.

The World Bank has said repeatedly that education provides the highest rate of return of any investment in developing nations. And that is especially true of girls' educations because we know that when we educate a girl, we improve the health of women and families. We know that a woman who has had even a single year of education has children that have a better chance of living. We know that as the years of schooling increase, the chances of a child living and living well increase as well.

When we educate a girl, we decrease poverty by helping women support themselves and their families. A single year of education usually correlates with an increased income of ten to 20 percent for women later in life.

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In Senegal I visited a small village where education for girls and women's adult literacy programs had been the first steps in helping the village understand how it could work together to create more prosperity, how it could take five hectares of barren land and turn it into an oasis of green growing products that could not only support the village but be sold in the marketplace.

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

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

In developing countries, the primary school enrollment for girls has increased by 50 percent since 1960, and in the poorest countries it has more than doubled during this period. But that is not enough.

We have to do more. We have to see that we support governments and NGOs in reaching out to afford access to education to as many girls as possible.

I have seen such activities bearing fruit all over the world. In Bangladesh I visited a school run by the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, an NGO that believes that education, especially girls' education, is a pre-condition for economic development. Because of that belief, some of the BRAC schools have been burned by extremist groups. But the

schools keep being rebuilt, and families keep sending their children to attend.

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

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

There have also been results in Guatemala where the government and the Foundation for Sugar Producers teamed up to offer small scholarships to girls in rural schools; between the first and second grades the dropout rate for girls in those schools was only one percent compared to 30 percent nationwide.

In another Guatemalan program, afternoon school sessions have been introduced to accommodate girls who must carry out domestic and agricultural work in the mornings.

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

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

As we look across the globe, therefore, we see success stories everywhere. Yet, right now there are still 100 million children worldwide who are out of school, and two-thirds of them are girls. Nine hundred million people cannot read or write, and 60 percent of them are women. Two-thirds of the children who complete less than four years of primary education are girls, and countless others do not even have access to a primary school, let alone a secondary school.

Here in Morocco - the govt is working hard to.....

Without the ability to read and write or do math, girls will be increasingly left out of the information age, unable to compete to increase their own incomes or contribute to their families and having their own dreams and aspirations shortchanged.

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

I remember so well being in a small village about 40 minutes outside Lahore, Pakistan, where I visited a school that had been built to give the girls in that area primary education. I sat out in the courtyard in front of the school and talked with mothers of children who attended.

One mother told me about her ten children -- five girls and five boys. Her worry was that she had sent all of her children to school, to primary school, and when her boys graduated from primary school, they had gone on -- they had gone to the nearest secondary school, continuing their education.

But when her daughters finished the village school, there were no secondary schools nearby for girls, and she was not willing to send her daughters off alone to attend school far away. So she asked me, and she asked all of the officials who were with me, if they could please have a secondary school built for girls near their village.

This one mother spoke, I believe, for countless millions others. Women who know that their daughters will not live the same lives they have lived, that change is too pervasive, that they have to provide better opportunities so that their daughters will be prepared for whatever the future holds.

As Brian mentioned in his remarks, a recently completed evaluation makes clear that the secondary generation of girls' education initiatives must continue to expand access to school, particularly secondary school, but we also must face up to the need to improve the quality of girls' education.

Because we've done a good job in reaching parents and telling them they should send their girls to school, we now have many, many girls and many, many boys crowding into the schools that are already available. These schools then face the tremendous challenge of trying to train new teachers, provide basic supplies, and maintain facilities. It is very hard, even for the proudest teacher, to get around to look at the work of 75 or 80 eight-year-olds.

And because we have so many crowded classrooms, many children get lost in that

crowd and many don't even remain to finish primary education. So we have to make a commitment not only to providing access to education but providing access to quality education.

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

We also have to look at ways of reaching families so that they know how important it is to prepare their children for school and make sure that when those children walk through a school house door they are ready to learn.

We now know from scientific research that the brain develops at an extraordinary pace in the first three years of life. Many of the traditions that we have all followed in caring for babies, holding them, rocking them, singing to them, caressing them, we have done because it was passed on to us generation to generation as to how we should care for a small infant.

We now know that those habits, those forms of attention, are not just a wonderful way to develop a bond between a parent and a child but they actually create brain cells. The more a child is appropriately stimulated, talked to, read to, sung to, that child's brain is then creating more and more connections that will enable that child when he or she is ready for formal academic learning to be able to read better, to be able to do mathematics better.

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

Now there are many organizations throughout every society that have a role to play. Certainly, the family bears the primary responsibility, and the extended family must support the family in educating girls.

But so, too, should religious organizations also understand how important it is to make sure every young girl is able to live up to her God-given promise as well.

The media has a role to play in disseminating information such as the importance of the scientific research about paying attention to young babies, and the media also can give us good examples of girls and boys going to school, learning, being able to go out into the world better educated.

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Businesses can do things like provide scholarships, help support schools, be willing to take the initiative to stand behind the idea of educating all citizens, not only because it is the right thing to do but because it is a way for businesses in all of our countries to have better trained and educated workers and consumers.

And certainly government leaders have to do everything within their power to make it possible for us to have as many good quality schools and teachers everywhere throughout every country.

We also with technology can leap frog over some of the obstacles that would otherwise prevent schooling from being available.

In South Africa, I visited a school in Soweto where there were not enough teachers, where there were many children now coming back into the schools with the end of apartheid, and where they were attempting to teach as many children as possible English. So they were using tape recordings that the teacher could monitor but individual students could work with.

In other schools, there is even an effort to try to get one television with transmission that can bring in distance learning so that we could expand the opportunities available even though the teachers are not present.

The computer, which of course is very expensive and in some of the schools I have visited there isn't even electricity yet in the schools, but if a computer can be made available, you can open the world up to students who live very far from any large city or large university if it is possible to provide access to the information age to those students.

So we have to be more creative and innovative in thinking about how we overcome the obstacles to providing for girls' education. I look forward to hearing the results of your deliberations during this conference. I am hoping that the ideas that you will discuss we can disseminate widely throughout the world. And certainly USAID and the United States government want to stand with you in helping to bring to reality our dreams that we will see opportunities for every girl and every boy everywhere in the world to receive a quality education that will enable them to take responsibility for their futures.

Thank you very much.

(End of Mrs. Clinton's Remarks)

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USAID DEDICATION Ronald Reagan Building

**Remarks of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Washington, D.C.
March 16, 1999**

Thank you very much. I am overwhelmed and incredibly honored. I've also never seen a bigger plaque in my entire life. Thank you, Brian. Thank you, USAID, for this tremendous honor. But more than that, thank you for what you do every day to help people to help themselves to transform the conditions in which they live so that they can have a better future for themselves and their children.

I particularly want to thank Senator Leahy and Chairman Callahan for their leadership, especially on behalf of the children of the world. We will never fulfill our global responsibilities and we will never let the world see how we see ourselves, as a good and compassionate people, without the support of leaders like the Senator and Congressman. All of us owe them a debt of gratitude, and all the other members of Congress on both sides of the aisle who recognize clearly that leadership includes responsibilities, and therefore support the work of USAID.

I want to thank Ambassador Ssempala for her remarks and her friendship over the years. And I want to thank all of the ambassadors, many of whom I recognize here in the audience, for being with us today. I have been privileged to visit in many of your countries and to see firsthand the work that is being done there, and I am grateful for your attendance here.

I also want to thank the extraordinary Eastern High School Choir that you have enjoyed, and the Marine Corps Brass Quintet. And I know that there are students here gathered over in that area who are part of a new program called Operation Day's Work -- and these students from the McFarland Middle School here in Washington, and St. Louis Park Senior High School, are taking part in this first day of trying to reach out and help the people of Haiti.

We have realized that we need to do more to enlist the imagination and the work of young people who live here in our country in this time of great blessing and prosperity -- so that they would understand what the lives of young people around the world were like. And I am very hopeful that this new program will grow and grow so that many, many American students will have the same experience.

As I was listening to Brian speak -- talking about the many times that he and I have been together and the many places around the world we have visited -- I couldn't help but think of how I have seen him at work and how I have watched his leadership and

his tireless commitment in action. He has brought creativity and passion, effectiveness, and down-to-earth common sense leadership to USAID. And because of that we are gathered here in this beautiful atrium looking out at so many of you who do the work of USAID. And knowing that because of this man's leadership, your work is more understood and appreciated and finally acknowledged than it would have been before.

In some parts of the world -- it may have been hard for those of us here at home to understand -- USAID assistant administrators are treated almost like rock stars. We show up somewhere together and people say to them, "I'm so glad to see you because you brought so much hope." In very concrete ways they talk about the changes that have occurred since the last visit. And when I am there in a village, in a barrio, in any setting around the world, with those of you who work with USAID and our partners in the voluntary sector and in the private sector, I wish I could have every single American with me to see for themselves the work that you do.

Like many Americans, before I moved to Washington and began living in the White House, I hadn't traveled very much around the world. I had traveled some, but certainly not to South America or Africa, most parts of Asia, Central or Eastern Europe. And so for me, when I began the great privilege of representing our country, I began to see things that I had never seen before. I hadn't seen them on our television programs, I hadn't really read about them very often in our newspapers. I knew, because I had friends who worked for both USAID and other voluntary organizations that did development work, that there was a lot of work going on, but it had never been really visible to me. And I began to wonder, as I traveled, what I could do to try to make the work -- that before had been invisible, but now is not only visible but also is making an incredible impression on me -- more available to my fellow citizens.

One of the ways I chose was to be sure to go places that were not likely to make the evening news, because too often we only see the tragedies and the crises. We only hear the stories of deprivation; we don't see the faces of people who are working for themselves and changing their lives. So when I began to travel, I wanted to go to those places. I wanted to see for myself where my tax dollars were going. I wanted to learn what was effective and how it could be more so. And I constantly wished and hoped that more Americans, perhaps through my visits, could see and learn what I was experiencing.

So when I was in South Africa, the first time I could I went out to a small plot of land which was very barren and met the women who told me with great pride that they were going to build their own village, they were going to build their houses, they were going to build the stores and the streets, and they were going to be moving out of the shanty town where they had crowded in deplorable conditions and start new lives with their families. I could see the determination, but the dream seemed so far out of reach. But through a combination of microcredit loans and assistance not only from their government, but also from religious organizations and USAID and from many independent organizations, when I returned a year later with the President, I said I have to

go back out to this housing area. And it was hard to put it on the calendar, and I couldn't get it on the President's calendar, to be sure. But I said, "Well, there is open time here before the President has to make a speech; he'll be working with his speech writers and advisors about what he's going to say to the South African Parliament, so I could just sneak off and go see the women and how they're doing."

But when my husband heard that I was going to get to go off and see the housing project and he was going to be in a hotel room talking about a speech, he said to his schedulers, "No, I want to use that time to go as well." And those of you who have ever been around a Presidential visit -- it's hard to just kind of sneak off and show up. So the word went out that the President, indeed, was going to come to the housing project, and all of a sudden all kinds of things began to occur. But when we went out there, there weren't the maybe one or two dozen houses I expected to see after a year's worth of effort. There were, as Brian said, more than a hundred. And the women had purchased a plot of land right over the railroad tracks so that they could expand another four hundred houses. They proudly took me into the houses that had been completed, and they took me to the day care center that they had started, and they took me to the store. And they made Bill and me actually do some work ourselves so that we could contribute to the building of one of their houses.

It is that image, it is that reality, that I have been privileged to see in every corner of the globe. People who, yes, are poor, people without a lot of formal education, but with the same hopes and aspirations for their lives and the lives of their children as you and I share -- who need just some encouragement, some help, some technical assistance -- and if given that, they'll demonstrate their good faith and will be able to create a better future for themselves.

I wish every American could meet the women that I've met in health clinics in Bolivia or Brazil, in Istanbul, in places all over the world. Women who, for the first time, are being given the opportunity to have access to the health care that they and their children need; who are learning about how to care for their young children's nutritional, physical, and other needs.

I remember so well the health minister in Brazil with whom I've met. He was a state health minister; he had been a doctor for many years. And I visited a maternity hospital which took care of women who were in the joyous experience of having their children and learning to take care of them, and also women who were there because they had no family planning and they had unfortunately sought out back-alley abortions. And I remember the health minister saying that his mission was to make sure that poor women had access to the same family planning services that rich women had always had. And that made a great impression on me, because in country after country -- sometimes even in my own -- I listen to people talk about what poor people are entitled to and what services they should have, in a way that seems to deny their rights to the same opportunities as the rest of us because of our positions in society can take advantage of.

I know that USAID has not always been well known in our country, and sometimes it is better known in other places around the world. But when USAID commemorated the 50th anniversary of U.S. foreign assistance two months ago, it should remind us that the roots of this program are deep. Its origins go back to President Truman's inaugural address in 1949. The White House, as White Houses usually do, sent out a memo asking for ideas for a speech designed to be a "democratic manifesto addressed to the peoples of the world."

A young public affairs officer at the State Department named Benjamin Hardy came up with one such idea. He suggested that we create a program that would allow the U.S. to share its technical expertise with developing nations. The idea was dismissed outright by his immediate superiors. But he refused to let it die. And he figured out a way to take that idea directly to the White House.

And when the idea reached President Truman, he loved it. In the aftermath of World War II, President Truman understood that America needed to play a pivotal role in creating a world that was safe and secure, peaceful and prosperous. He knew that the world was then, as it is now, looking to us for global leadership.

When the speech was being drafted, everyone assumed the foreign policy agenda would include three points: support for the United Nations, support for the Marshall Plan, and support for a security system for Europe that would become NATO. But Benjamin Hardy's idea became point four. It drew applause from the world community and paved the way for the foreign assistance programs that we have enjoyed over the next years.

By adding that point four, President Truman was sending the message that investing in developing nations was not social work, but a pillar of our foreign policy. It was not only the right thing to do, it was the smart thing to do. And I think that that reasoning of President Truman's is just as true today.

Now, certainly, the world in which we live is very different. We are living in what is called, for want of a better description, the post-Cold War era. That means that we know where we've been, and we sort of know where we are, but we're not sure at all where we're going. Because the world around us has changed so rapidly that we barely have time to catch our breath. And in time of rapid change, it is understandable that some are inclined to draw inward and pull back from the obligations, to catch their breaths, thinking that maybe there isn't much that can be accomplished and that we should just tend to our business here at home.

But of course, in today's world, that's not even really an option. Every day we see how profoundly interconnected we are in this new era of globalization. Whether it is the international economic crisis or the extraordinary boom in worldwide communications or the threat of infectious diseases or terrorism. We have to acknowledge that, in many

ways, our lives and even our destinies are intertwined.

If that is true -- and I think it is -- we have to determine what we do with this new set of conditions. It certainly seems an inappropriate time to turn back on commitments to multilateral organizations that help us understand and work through this new era of interconnection. The International Monetary Fund, the United Nations -- those are institutions that we had a great hand in creating, that we have had a great deal to do in leading and shaping, and which hold promise if we are committed to them in making the kinds of contributions that we expect to be made to build a stronger, stabler future.

It is certainly not the time to withdraw support from the United Nations or to be the number one debtor to the United Nations. It is time for the United States instead to demonstrate our leadership and commitment to the United Nations. It is certainly not a time to withdraw support from foreign assistance programs, but to do as Brian and Chairman Callahan and Senator Leahy have said: to make sure that our foreign assistance programs are effective. And I'm pleased that the President's budget for Fiscal Year 2000 includes a \$270 million increase for USAID.

As I talked with my husband about his recent trip to Central America last week, he kept saying over and over again how he was overwhelmed by all he had seen -- starting with the extraordinary site of the body of the young girl that was embedded in the mudslide in Nicaragua. But he wasn't only telling me about the devastation he had seen, he was telling me also about the positive relief efforts that he had learned about -- what USAID and other American institutions and individuals had done to help bring food and shelter and medicine to Mitch's victims.

And I want publicly to thank Senator Leahy and Congressman Callahan for supporting the President's request for almost \$1 billion in supplemental funding to further help the people of Central America and the Caribbean repair and rebuild their lives. The need, as anyone who has visited can see with their own eyes, is urgent. And I do hope that the Congress acts in a bipartisan fashion to approve this package quickly.

Now we know that in opinion poll after opinion poll, Americans say when asked, that they want to help people overseas. But then they're asked how much money do you think we spend on foreign assistance, time after time, in poll after poll, Americans say they think we spend between 10 and 15 percent of our national budget. Now, of course, you know that we actually spend one half of one percent.

So, there is this paradox that exists. Americans are compassionate, Americans do care, Americans want to be helpful. But they have the wrong idea about what we are doing, and they need more information and education about what the facts are. How can we convey that to them?

Well, just as President Truman did 50 years ago, we have an opportunity, today, to

make the case for how foreign assistance creates all kinds of obligations and opportunities that we can meet. How it helps us nurture and sustain democracies, strengthens economies and open markets for American goods and services. How it ensures our security in the face of new threats -- especially with the spread of infectious diseases, pollution, global climate change, population growth or the flight of refugees.

And we should talk about what our foreign assistance does, not in the abstract, not in percentages, or even in dollars, but with the stories, the down-to-earth stories that actually occur in village after village. So every time we talk about the need to help nations make the difficult transition to democracy and free-market economies, I hope we will humanize and personalize it so Americans have a better idea of what we're talking about.

We need to hear the voices of the people throughout the world who are struggling now after the end of the Cold War to build their own countries, to strengthen their societies, to seek economic opportunities. I would like Americans to hear the voices of the family that I met in Siberia. The grandfather had been a well respected applied mathematician in the closed academic center, where he had worked his entire adult life.

I met with him and his wife, with his two daughters, his son-in-law and his two grandsons. He said, "I always yearned for democracy. I always believed in democracy, but now it makes no sense to me. I don't understand how it is supposed to work. My pension is not paid. I don't have enough money to live on. And my bicycle has been stolen. I don't know what the future holds."

One of his daughters broke in and said, "But Daddy, don't you remember we used to have to stand in line for hours just to buy butter, starting at four or five o'clock in the morning, and often it wasn't even available. Things are better now." And then her father replied, "But all I know is that my bicycle is stolen and my pension is not paid."

And listening to that dialogue, that conversation that could occur in so many different settings and so many parts of the world, brings home how difficult it is to make these transitions that we are expecting and hoping and working for around the world. One just doesn't snap one's fingers and say, "Have a democracy, open your markets, change the way you've always done things, create a new world for yourselves and your children." It took years and years during the Cold War. It took billions and billions, even trillions, of dollars for us to defend our values. And now we have an opportunity, through our foreign assistance, to help people like that grandfather and to help countless men and women around the world be able to put into practice those values that America stands for and how they can be made real in their lives.

If we listen to people, we understand more what we can do to help them really create the conditions for democracy to flourish. Brian mentioned a visit that he and I and the President made in Senegal. The year before, when I was in Senegal, I went to a

village where, with USAID support, people were learning the fundamentals of democracy. Both men and women were standing up and having discussions and taking votes about what should happen in their village -- a totally new concept that had never before been part of their culture or tradition. And out of the skits and efforts that one of the groups engaged in, they began to ask themselves about things they would like to change and they decided in one village to start talking about the ancient practice of FGM [female genital mutilation]. That conversation led to a vote. That vote led to the banning of FGM in that one village.

And then two men in that village began to walk from village to village talking with other men and women about what they had just done through a democratic process in their village. And pretty soon another village and another village -- and 13 villages in all -- voted to ban FGM. Then they decided to go to the Capital and bring a petition to the president. And just last month, Senegal adopted a law banning FGM. And it became a model and it started with a very small USAID grant that over years began to change attitudes and behaviors.

I believe that we have learned a lot about what makes for effective foreign assistance. We've learned how to be very targeted with our assistance, we've learned how to leverage our assistance, and we've begun to see the results of that changed approach.

In Bulgaria, I met entrepreneurs whom USAID is helping to start businesses to get that economy going as strong as it can. At a small clinic in Nepal, I saw how this little box -- a safe home delivery kit which contains a bar of soap, twine, wax, a plastic sheet, and a clean razor blade -- can dramatically reduce maternal and neonatal deaths. And in Bangladesh, I learned how the government is providing food and money to encourage families to keep their daughters in school.

Now these may seem, in the great scheme of things, small little steps. But every time we stand up as Americans for human dignity, for education, for health care; every time we say we want to help you become full participants in your society, to understand how markets work, to build a democracy; we are saying not only we want to help you, but we want to help ourselves be the kind of leaders that we should be for the next century. We've also brought home some of those lessons with a USAID program called "Lessons Without Borders," and I hope we continue to bring home lessons that we learn that can help right here in our cities and our rural areas.

I'm going to continue doing what I can to highlight the work of USAID. This Saturday, I will begin a trip to North Africa, with stops in Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco. I am looking forward to that because I know that with populations that total almost one-half of the Arab world, these countries represent a diversity of cultures, ethnic groups, and histories, and provide us an opportunity to learn more about what they are doing, about their history, and to become closer friends and partners in building a better future

For too long, our close ties with the Arab world have been compromised by negative stereotyping on both sides. It is my hope that this trip will help strengthen the bonds of friendship among our nations. Each country I will visit will have certain opportunities for both my learning and, I hope through coverage and the press, learning by Americans in general.

While in Egypt, I will celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty and the breathtaking culture that distinguishes that nation and its past. In Tunisia, I will hear about their remarkable record on women's rights -- which is the envy of most of the world. And in Morocco, I will see how that country's unique experiment with political pluralism, religious tolerance, and the growth of civil society could serve as a model to others.

To be sure, there are many challenges that remain in those three countries, like in any country around the world. Challenges that find people asking themselves: How do we combine political stability with respect for human rights? How do we adapt to the global economy without leaving vulnerable citizens behind? I hope to see how USAID is helping to answer those and other questions.

Later this year, I will complete my tour of this region with visits to two other important allies -- Israel and Jordan. Because of the election in Israel and the mourning of His Majesty King Hussein in Jordan, it was not appropriate to schedule trips there at this time. But I very much look forward to visiting Israel and Jordan in the months ahead.

If we are now looking forward, as we must, to the end of this century and to the beginning of the next one, we can take no better model than to look back at President Truman and the creation of foreign assistance, the creation of the Marshall Plan. I've read a lot about it, and I know it was a difficult sell for the President and others to go around our country and say, "We want to use to your tax dollars to rebuild Nazi Germany."

But because a broad coalition of people in government, and the private sector, and academia, and throughout our country came together and we made the case for engagement and leadership -- and that is what we must do again today.

Members of Congress, business leaders, journalists, and others who travel throughout the world can help all of us here at home better understand why it is in America's interest to support the work that goes on in this building.

People like Benjamin Hardy had a good idea, and many of you who are development professionals have had many other good ideas over the years. I hope that I will be able to continue to support you, but I hope more than that, that many Americans will come to understand what you do and how your work is part of a fundamental debate

about what role our country will play in a changing world. It is not a debate that is limited to one sector of our society -- it is a debate that should engage all Americans. I'm convinced that if Americans have the information about what you do, they will support your work, and they will not only support it, they will understand why it is an integral part of the kind of leadership that we expect to exercise in the 21st century.

I'm fully confident that when the history of the past 50 years is written, we will not only point to the Cold War and its ending, we will not only recognize that the values of America have been given an opportunity unlike any opportunity in human history to flourish, but we will also recognize that our nation has a great deal at stake in working with people all around the world who wish to build a better, more peaceful, more stable, economically prosperous future. And when we recognize that, then the role of USAID and foreign assistance will be understood as I think it deserves to be -- as truly one of the pillars of American leadership.

Thank you very much.

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FIRST LADY, HILLARY CLINTON
SPEECH AT GUATEMALAN CONGRESS
November 19, 1998

Thank you very much to the President, to the distinguished first Vice President, who just delivered such a powerful speech about the aspirations and hopes of her people, to the first secretary, to the distinguished members of Congress, to members of the judiciary, to other representatives of the government, Excellencies, and ladies and gentlemen:

It is for me a great honor to be invited to address this Congress, the first in your history to lead a truly peaceful and democratic Guatemala.

I also want to commend you for understanding the hard work that legislators do and extend a special greeting to the 60 legislative assistants of CEDEL, who will be assisting you with your important labors.

As I prepared for this trip, I read some poetry of Humberto Ak'abal, the internationally celebrated indigenous writer who educated himself, often bringing home books and reading by candlelight. He wrote of a land so beautiful that "if you climb up an ancient cypress tree and creep among its branches...you will see the earth is not so far from heaven."

I understood exactly what he meant as our plane approached Guatemala yesterday, and I could see the mountains and volcanoes and ravines that almost did seem to reach up to meet us half way. I felt that way again earlier today as we made the beautiful drive from Antigua. I have walked those cobblestone streets, I have seen the colorful houses, and I understood even better why this land is renowned for its beauty and its history.

I have thought often of the meeting I had yesterday with women leaders, including the First Vice President. They may have represented different ideologies, they may have stood on opposite sides of the conflict for 36 years, but they discussed similar hopes for their country: education for every child, health care, jobs, a justice system that upholds the rule of law, a full recovery from the hurricane, a country that leaves no person behind.

People from all over the world who live in war-torn communities from Bosnia to Northern Ireland can now look to Guatemala and know that, even after 36 years of war, you can let go of old hatreds. You can defy history and rewrite it. You can transform a nation--from a culture of violence to a culture of peace. From authoritarian practice to democratic principle. From exclusion to inclusion.

I want to congratulate this Chamber. I want to congratulate your President, whose vision of peace inspired this process, and I especially want to congratulate all the people of Guatemala for having the courage to start walking down the long road to peace, even when the path was rough, even when the mountains were hard to climb.

And, on behalf of my husband, the President of the United States, and his Government as well as the American People, I want you to know that the United States will continue to stand with you as you implement the Peace Accords, as you strengthen democracy, as you encourage economic growth, and a broad tax base,

as you make social investments, as you protect human rights, and as you rebuild after one of the worst storms in our hemisphere's history.

The sympathy and prayers of myself, my husband, and our entire country have been with you since hurricane Mitch first struck. Yesterday, I received a full briefing on what this tragedy has meant for Guatemala--the children who lost parents, the families who lost homes, the communities that lost roads and bridges, crops and infrastructure. And I will bring that information back to my country and our Government.

I want you to know that my husband has increased U. S. Government disaster assistance in Central America to over \$300 million now. He is also halting all deportations to Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Honduras until into the new year, while our government explores long-term solutions to your concerns.

I am also pleased to announce today that an additional donation of 60 million pounds of wheat for Guatemala will be coming soon. In addition, the United States is increasing the amount of low interest loans provided for food to \$10 million. Former Peace Corps volunteers, who love your country so much, will help in the rebuilding process. And USAID and the Inter-American Development Bank are providing \$17 million to finance micro businesses in this region, many of which were devastated by the storm, so that people can get back on their feet and get back into business again.

The food and clothing and medicine arriving here comes not just from our government but from people in every corner of my country. Many of those living in the U.S. trace their roots to Guatemala. And we are all bound by our relationships among our religious communities, our personal ties, our friendships and our families. All Americans have been inspired by how you have come together as a nation to repair and rebuild.

At the height of the storm, I heard about Guatemalans working who risked their personal safety to rescue and comfort people who had just lost every material possession. And in the moving video of the storm that your Vice President showed me yesterday, it was clear that every person of every background came together in this time of tragedy.

I can't help but think how that same courage, unbreakable spirit and trust in each other have sustained you in your struggle for peace. On the way here, I heard a wonderful story about two communities that had been on the opposite sides of the civil war. For decades they did not speak--separated by much more than the ravine between them.

But then something changed. One community wanted their children to be able to attend the other's school, which was the envy of the area. And, the second community in turn, needed the first to reach the nearest market.

Both of them realized that their lives and livelihoods dependent on each other...that they, like all of us, shared a common destiny. So, with help from the local Government and USAID, they rolled up their sleeves and built a bridge, both literally and figuratively, between them.

What they created that day was the birth of a partnership to improve the lives of citizens of both communities. And even after the hurricane, what they created that day is still standing strong.

Perhaps that's because it was built not just from metal and cement and concrete, but on a foundation of peace, that so many others struggled and sacrificed for so long to lay down.

We think of the leaders of civil society here, the leaders of private sector, the leaders of the military who rejected the autogolpe, defended the Constitution and preserved democracy.

And we can think of so many individuals who played such critical roles. Two come to mind: Rosalina Tuyuc. After her husband and father disappeared, she drew attention to the plight of women widowed by violence and left unable to support their children. Or of Amilcar Mendez, who despite being beaten, terrorized, and threatened, refused to yield in his fight for equality and justice.

Today the work of these two pioneers, along with so many others, continues, not from the streets, but from this new Congress, from this new Government, from this new Military. It is sometimes hard to see progress from the inside as you live and breathe it. But just think of what you have accomplished in less than two years. Nearly 3,000 ex combatants of the civil war have rejoined society. Victims of war are being resettled. The military is assuming its rightful role, helping out heroically during the hurricane, saving lives and providing relief.

And from different political parties, and with different pasts, you had the courage to come together to make the hard choices, to pass Constitutional Reforms, and help fulfill the promise of the Peace Accords. Now, the decision is in the people's hands. There may be differences over individual words and provisions. And it will not be easy. Nothing worth doing ever is. But one thing is clear: These reforms represent the future of a new Guatemala.

But you who are in this chamber understand better than most, that writing and passing laws, putting words of peace on paper, is not at all what needs to be done. That is just a beginning. It is what is in the hearts and minds of human beings that will determine whether peace is lasting. Their fulfillment by people every day in the decisions that they make will really tell us whether peace is real, whether there is freedom and justice, and dignity for all, will be lived out in the countless villages and on the streets of every city in this country.

As the Popol Vuh says, "May they rise up, may they rise up, may not even one or two groups be left behind." Your Peace Accords call for everyone to rise up, for no one to be left behind.

And by example, you have the opportunity to teach the world about the power of inclusion. If individuals are respected as members of families, communities and countries. If they have a say and a stake in their nation's future. If women and men, Mayans and Ladinos, young and old, rural and urban, former guerillas and former soldiers have the opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship: That is the difference between a peace that is promised and a peace that is fulfilled. And Guatemala is in a unique position to show the rest of the world what peace truly means.

Now I am well aware it is easy for me to say these words. I come here today as someone who did not have to live through nearly four decades of war. I did not lose my parents or brother or husband to a conflict I was too young to understand. I didn't have to worry about whether my daughter or my husband would make it home safely after they went to work or to the market. Or if there'd ever be a time we could live in peace. So

I come here with the utmost admiration for all you've been through and all you have done to end this conflict. And I am also very admiring for what you are doing now and I trust you will do in the future to fulfill the promise of peace for every woman and man, every boy and girl.

Over the next few years, you can show the world that to fulfill the promise of peace, all people must be given the tools of opportunity to make the most of their God-given promise in life. That means translating words into actions, promises into results. In preparing for this trip and acquiring information and research about your country, I was given a piece of paper with the words "Cycle of Misery" printed across the top. It was a chart that showed with arrows what that cycle of misery was.

At the top of the chart it said that 75 percent of rural women in Guatemala are illiterate. They are likely to have more children, to receive less pre-natal care and less family planning. They are more likely to die in childbirth leaving orphans. Their children are far more likely to die before their first birthday. If they survive they are more likely to be malnourished --and to grow up to be illiterate....thereby beginning the cycle all over again.

So I want again to congratulate you for understanding that that cycle must be broken, for including, as part of the Peace Accords, a commitment to increase spending for education and health care by 50 percent in order to break this cycle of misery once and for all.

At a hospital in Antigua yesterday, I met a group of trained indigenous midwives. Spread out on the floor with colorful blankets, they performed a skit they use to teach women and men about the fundamental lessons of safe child birth. They then went around the room, telling one compelling story after another how this training is helping them save the lives of pregnant women and their babies.

I have seen that strength of purpose in the faces of so many people from Guatemala, at a gathering of microcredit organizations a few years ago in Costa Rica, a woman from Guatemala stood up and proudly told her story. With the help of a very small loan, she went from being a mango seller on the streets to owning a market stall and eventually running a small business with 15 employees. She went from someone who started out working on the streets at the age of 12 to someone who now has the resources to send her oldest son to college in the United States. That is the story of success and commitment and strength that I hear over and over again about the people of your country.

The most powerful weapon a society has to achieve peace and progress is education, particularly the education of girls and women. There have been many studies done over the past twenty or so years. The World Bank, by the International Monetary Fund, and other multilateral institutions to determine exactly what were the best investments that would move a country forward economically and socially.

I believe that the researchers, when they began their work, thought that the answers would be perhaps better transportation, perhaps better and stronger banking systems, improving infrastructure of all kinds. But time and time again, when the studies were done, the answer turned out to be investments in educating girls and women.

Because when you educate a child, you educate a future citizen. But when you educate a woman, you

educate a family. And by doing that you create even more future citizens who will be productive and contributing members of your society.

Yesterday, at the beautiful Colonial Museum in Antigua, where the oldest university in Central America once stood, I heard how you are meeting your goal to help one million more Guatemalans read and write by the year 2000. That truly will break the cycle of misery. That truly will create economic opportunity for this country. I met a 13 year old girl, who can now go to school because of one of the scholarships that is being provided. A Mayan woman who can now read and write because of a literacy program. A young man, who is getting his master's degree in bilingual education, because of a scholarship. And I was pleased to announce a new United States program to help you meet this critical goal.

In the aftermath of war, too often women are the ones left behind, forced to raise children alone. Too often women and children make up the vast majority of refugees. Too often women alone must be the architects of their own lives and now they must also join men in being the architects of this peace.

I want to recognize in the audience today Guatemalan women leaders. They formed one of the most impressive delegations to attend the recent Vital Voices conference in Montevideo. And I want to thank all of you here for creating a National Women's Forum dedicated to ensuring that women are full participants in the social, political, and economic future of Guatemala.

Fulfilling the promises of peace also depends upon all citizens making their voices heard at the ballot box and even on the soap box, in the board rooms and the classrooms, in the national government and in local governments -- at every level of the political process. It is also important to make it clear to all that with citizenship, comes not just rights but also responsibilities. One responsibility is to vote, one responsibility is to pay one's fair share for the common good of our nations. I know you are working to enforce a fairer, broader, and more adequate tax system. That is a challenge every nation, including my own, faces. And I know it's particularly important for you right now, as you strive to make these critical social investments in education and health.

You also have the opportunity to teach the world that you cannot have a lasting peace without strengthening the rule of law and ensuring justice and security for all citizens of your nation. None of us who care about Guatemala, or justice or the rule of law will ever forget what Bishop Gerardi did to defend the human rights of all people and support the power of reconciliation to heal a nation. His murder offends all we stand for as human beings. And I am hopeful that the authorities will succeed in bringing all those responsible to justice.

It is also important to make it clear to all that with citizenship comes not just rights, but responsibilities. One responsibility if to vote, one responsibility is to pay one's fair share for the common good of our nations. I know you are working to enforce a fairer, broader, and more adequate tax system. That is a challenge every nation, including my own, faces. And I know it is particularly important for your right now, as you strive to make these critical social investments in education and health.

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There is no greater tribute to Bishop Gerardi than to see justice done, not only in his case but in every case, and impunity rejected throughout the country. Because of your reforms, people who enter the criminal justice system will now have the right to confront witnesses, the right to plea bargain, to have oral arguments, to be represented by counsel. The process you begun cannot afford to fail.

Because when the rule of law fails, when the justice system elicits not comfort, but fear, our entire societies fail. Justice is basic to everything else. Democracy depends on it. Economic progress depends on it. And the fulfillment of peace depends on it as well.

I am well aware that when we have places where political conflict has ended, violence often reemerges in other forms like street crime and domestic violence that continue to terrorize people. In another country I just visited, I saw an image that will stay with me forever. At a program to deal with both the victims and perpetrators of domestic violence, there was a display of the weapons that had been used to beat and abuse and even kill members of families. There were descriptions under each weapon of how they were used. There were spoons that had been broken over the heads of babies, machetes that had been used to beat and cut. These were weapons that had other purposes, legitimate purposes, but they had been turned against women and children.

Domestic violence, like street violence, like political violence, cannot be brushed aside in any society. It too is a crime that must be punished with the full force of the law.

Finally, you can teach the world that fulfilling the promise of peace means reconciling those on both sides of the conflict and reconciling the past with a future that offers so much more to everyone.

In country after country that has made the transition from violence to peace, reaching that future has depended upon a full, complete and honest recounting of the past. No one knows the difficulty and pain that opening up old wounds may produce; but few doubt how crucial it is to national healing. I think of the courage of the individuals from Chile to Argentina to South Africa to Bosnia across our world who have told their stories and of those who have tried to answer their questions.

Soon, the Historically Clarification Commission will issue its report. My country has supported the work of this Commission. And I was pleased to learn that the Guatemalan Government has made a commitment to ensure that this report does not just sit on a shelf gathering dust. Recently, your Foreign Minister told a gathering in Brussels that when the report comes out, your president wants to use it to spark a national dialogue and launch a major education campaign.

I have heard from some of the victims of violence here in Guatemala. I will never forget listening to a young Guatemalan woman tell her story at the Vital Voices Conference in Montevideo last month. Like many, she

was forced to flee the country she loved during the war. But, like so many others, she is now coming back. She is not coming back to avenge the past, she is coming back to help build the future. She wants to make her contribution to a new Guatemala by organizing young people to help them heal their own psychic wounds and to rebuild their nation.

We know that a country with no memory is a country with no history. Whether it is the evil of slavery in my own country or the ravages of war in another, it is up to us to teach our children about our past, not only in classrooms, but in living rooms as well. Because children carry a nation's memory. They are the ones who will pass down the pictures of the Mayan ruins I will visit later in Tikal, or of the beautiful buildings still standing from colonial times that I saw in Antigua. It is the children who will help finish the long journey of peace that their parents and grandparents so courageously began.

I saw the faces of such children yesterday: five young Mayan girls, all recipients of scholarships, who I had met earlier in Washington at a conference about girls' education. Without these scholarships, these girls might have been destined to live a life without reading and writing, a life without education, a life without hope. But when they spoke to me yesterday, their eyes lit up as they talked about all they were learning in school and the progress they were making. I could tell that they too were eager to join the rest of their fellow citizens in making their contributions.

Your country's celebrated poet Otto René Castillo wrote, "Yes, I am always singing, always struggling, so that the world may exchange its sadness for a simple cascade of joy, for spark of love, for a rose of sweet words and sweet eyes."

The people of Guatemala, despite the conflict, never stopped singing and struggling for 36 long years. You have exchanged sadness for joy, war for peace, division for reconciliation.

And it was because you never stopped singing and struggling, that those five little girls can put on their school clothes, pick up their book bags, and walk out the door, confident they can travel as far as their dreams now, and their hard work today and tomorrow will take them...in a new peaceful Guatemala, where no one is left behind.

President Kennedy once said, "On this earth, God's work is our own." The people in this Congress, in this Government, in this country are, I believe, certainly doing God's work. Blessed are the peacemakers. Our nation and our world thank you. God bless you...and God bless Guatemala.

Thank you very much.

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Agenda for Meeting with John Hatch
March 10, 1999

- I. Review of progress on decisions concerning deliverables
 - A. Otto report – which changes should be made?
 - B. Kane database report – can the April 1998 version be published?
 - C. Spanish versions of January publications – do they meet your approval?
 - D. Islam and girls education changes – were the changes satisfactory?
 - E. Guinea's mentoring program – should this be published?
- II. Issues in measuring the meeting of AID's strategic objectives
 - A. Review of R4 response submitted at the end of February – what was OK and what was not? (I have a number of measurement questions.)
 - B. Review of Jonathan's approach for data-gathering in Guatemala – are his data collection strategies sufficient?
 - C. Discussion of approach to satisfy future needs, including our monitoring role – what are AID's expectations?
- III. Upcoming events

REVISE 11/13/97

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TALKING POINTS FOR BRADLEY FELLOWS
TASHKENT, UZBEKISTAN
NOVEMBER 13, 1997**

I want to thank the people of Uzbekistan for their warm welcome and extraordinary hospitality. I have come to Uzbekistan and Central Asia on behalf of my husband, President Clinton, and the American people to witness firsthand the important progress you are making as you move toward democracy, civil society, and an economy that helps all citizens to reach their full potential. I have also come here to reinforce the young, but strong ties between our two countries.

That is why I wanted to meet with you. Because the future of this country and the future of our alliance will depend on you -- Uzbekistan's young people. I am particularly pleased that we are joined today by so many students who have taken part in the Bradley High School Exchange Program. Since its establishment by Senator Bill Bradley in 1990, the program has provided the opportunity for thousands of students from the Newly Independent States to come to America each year -- to live with American families, to attend American schools, to deepen their understanding of American culture and society.

This program yields immeasurable rewards. I am very eager to hear how it altered your life, your outlook, your perceptions. I would like to learn what effect it had on your family and your community when you returned home. As someone who has had the privilege of meeting with your counterparts and hearing about the program over the years, I know that the Bradley students make very real contributions to the people of the United States. To begin with, you remind us of something that is too easily forgotten: that freedom is a blessing.

I hope that your time in our country, in turn, renewed your commitment to democracy. I also hope that it underscored the fact that the work of democracy is never done. A democracy requires constant commitment on the part of its citizens. There are no days off. After more than two centuries of democratic government, we in the United States are still trying to get it right.

It is clear that we have much to learn from each other. Later today, I will travel to Bukhara. Tomorrow, I will go to Samarkand. In both places I am very eager to learn more about how the ancient and modern people of Uzbekistan have managed to forge a society that honors so many different religions, that accepts people from so many different places. I imagine these values, grounded in respect and based on tolerance, have much to do with the fact that both these cities are more than 2000 years old.

Before we begin, I want to make two statements about how I hope we can extend our partnership. First, I am proud that as part of our Partnership for Freedom Initiative, the United States government will increase support for the Bradley High School Exchange Program -- along with other educational exchange initiatives designed to promote understanding around the world. Second, we are committed to creating a new alliance between the government of Uzbekistan and the United States to recognize excellence in teaching. The Teaching Excellence Awards would go to outstanding teachers of English and American Studies from around your country. The awards would bring teachers together to share techniques. The schools where award-winning teachers work would receive important educational materials. And the teachers who win would have the opportunity to visit the United States -- to learn about our educational system and to teach us about yours. I am also delighted that as part of this program, award-winning American teachers will come to Uzbekistan to meet with students, fellow teachers, and members of the educational community.

I am delighted that we have had an opportunity to meet today. Now, I very much look forward to hearing from you.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT MICROENTERPRISE AWARDS CEREMONY
THE EAST ROOM, THE WHITE HOUSE
FEBRUARY 5, 1999



Thank you. The President and I are delighted to welcome all of you to the 2nd presentation of the Presidential Awards for Excellence in Microenterprise Development.

Each of today's awardees is showing the power of microenterprise to transform welfare checks to paychecks, poverty to economic growth, despair to hope. Later in the program, we'll hear from Carol Willoughby, who will tell us how her life and family was forever changed by microenterprise. I had the chance to see Carol's work firsthand at a speech I gave last April. She had made the banners hanging behind the podium. Or rather I should say her company made them, because, with opportunity and hard work, that's what she has created -- a thriving business. The name of her company, appropriately enough, is called, "Let the whole world know."



That is why we're here. And that is exactly what all of you have done.

I want to recognize just a few of the many leaders in this room today. I want to thank Secretary Rubin; Senator Riegle, who was the champion of the Community Development Financial Institutions Fund in the Senate; Senator Harkin; Senator Kennedy; Senator Wellstone; Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton; Congressman Oberstar; the Lt. Governor of Iowa, Sally Peterson; and our Mayor, Tony Williams. I also want to thank USAID Administrator Brian Atwood, Small Business Administrator Aida Alvarez, and CDFI Director Ellen Lazar.

I first heard about microcredit back in 1986 when Mohammed Yunus came to Little Rock to help the President and me understand how the lessons of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh could be applied to Arkansas. Since then, I have seen the results borne of Yunus' vision -- around the world and now, more and more, in this country. I have met with countless women -- from the inner cities of America to the most remote parts of India. They may live in communities ravaged by gang wars or civil wars. They may be sewing dresses in Bulgaria or building homes in South Africa, but they all have a very similar story to tell: a story of how, with small loans and big dreams, they lifted up their lives -- and with them their families, communities, and nations.

I will never forget the look of pride on the face of a woman I met from Guatemala. She told me how, with the help of a small loan, she had gone from being a mango seller on the streets to owning a market stall and eventually running a small business with 15 employees. She went from someone who started out on the streets at the age of 12 to someone who now has the resources to send her own children to college.

And in western India, I remember walking into a woman's bank on the edge of town. It had only one room. The teller's counter was an old kitchen table. Bank clerks recorded all transactions by hand, on yellow sheets of paper bound in volumes that looked like worn-out telephone books. In the few hours I was there, I saw women who walked 12 to 15 hours from remote villages to take out loans -- some as small as \$1 -- to invest in dairy cows, plows, or goods to sell at the market. These women were among some of the poorest, least educated in all of India. But, their loan repayment rate -- nearly 100 percent -- would be the envy of most commercial banks. And they told me what these loans had meant for them -- not only as entrepreneurs, but as human beings. They told me how were no longer afraid to speak out, to find their place in their family and village, to contribute to the income necessary to give their children good health care and education.

So although it is called “microcredit,” it is really a macro idea -- because it gives us the potential to build communities, strengthen economies, develop countries, and completely transform individual lives. Not just beyond our shores -- but right here at home.

We know that for too long, many women, people of color, and low-income Americans looking for the chance to expand their tiny storefront, or turn their ideas into action, never got that opportunity. I will never forget a woman I met at Mi Casa, a microlending program in Denver, who told me how many good ideas die in the parking lots of banks. Maybe these good died because they didn't have the resources or the right type of collateral. Or maybe the banks thought the investment was just not worth the risk. What this event makes clear is that: there is not a single person in this country who isn't worth investing in.

Although this is the second year of these awards, their origins go back more than four years to a commitment our country made at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing – a commitment to spread microenterprise and microlending through our nation. Which is what all of you have done.

I have seen the fruits of your labor in places from Chicago to our nation's capital. More and more people are getting the message that microenterprise programs and micro-lending networks are providing much more than loans.

They are helping people move from welfare to work -- with career counseling, vocational training, and technical assistance. They are giving private financial institutions the confidence to invest in microbusinesses -- and their clients the courage to turn their dreams into income. They are changing our ideas about how to fight poverty -- bringing in jobs, goods and services -- and helping us reclaim our cities and destitute rural areas from decay and decline. And they are giving women, African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans and others too often left behind the opportunities they need and deserve to reach their God-given potential.

So, I want to thank all of the awardees and those who have supported them -- for your vision, your skill, your determination to never give up, and the your example that so many others will surely follow.

This country – and microenterprise – are built on the same powerful idea. That a person, who starts with nothing, can with hard work and opportunity, eventually reach a dream and give something back along the way.

No one understands that better than our next speaker. He knows that the success of our economy and the success of our citizens go hand in hand -- and he has worked tirelessly over the past five years to ensure both. It is my great honor to introduce the Secretary of the Treasury, Bob Rubin.

From: David Halperin on 03/18/99 12:46:12 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Lowell A. Weiss/WHO/EOP, Christine N. Macy/WHO/EOP, Joseph C. Fanaroff/WHO/EOP, Deborah B. Mohile/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Revised POTUS Rabin remarks

Revised draft with (very good) POTUS input.

3/17/99 12:45 pm

Halperin

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS ON RECEIVING HONORS FROM THE YITZHAK RABIN CENTER
THE WHITE HOUSE
MARCH 18, 1999**

Thank you. To Leah [LAY-uh] and Dahlia [DAHL-yuh] and the Yitzhak Rabin Center, let me say, on behalf of Hillary, on behalf of all our team who have worked so hard for peace in the Middle East, and on behalf of the American people: *todah rabah* [toe-DAH rah-BAH], thank you for these great honors: the Shalom Chaver award and the peace garden you are dedicating in our names.

Thank you, Noa, for your beautiful song. To the members of the Cabinet, the members of Congress, and all our distinguished guests, and especially to the family and friends of Yitzhak Rabin: Hillary and I welcome you to the White House with these words Yitzhak Rabin addressed to the crowd on the last day of his life: Thank you for coming to make a stand against violence and for peace.

That is what he did. Now the Yitzhak Rabin Center will promote his legacy and his vision of a Middle East -- and a world -- that can live in peace.

I still recall vividly a meeting I had with Yitzhak in March 1993. The Oslo peace agreement was still months away, but everything he said that day foreshadowed the bold steps he was soon to take. He shared with me his assessment of the dangers posed by Middle East adversaries -- he called it a marriage of extremists and missiles -- and his conviction that to counter this strategic threat Israel needed to develop a strategic peace, a circle of peace -- with others in the region ready to give peace a chance -- to isolate and weaken extremists. I told him then -- and I reaffirm now -- that as Israel takes risks for peace, the United States will do everything in its power to minimize those risks and advance the peace.

Today we remember also Prime Minister Rabin's great ally for peace who also left

us too soon, His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan. Both were brave soldiers who mustered the courage and wisdom to tell the hard truth that there would be no security for any without fairness for all, that the time had come to lift people's hopes, not exploit their fears, to reach across the divide of historic hatred to fulfill the true promise of the Promised Land.

They knew that extremists would try to derail any peace accord by keeping fear, frustration, mistrust and misery dominant in the lives of ordinary Palestinians and Israelis. But they were determined to turn back the tide. And so they did. How we gloried in those brilliant days in 1993 and '95 when Middle East leaders gathered here to grasp hands and pledge to build a safer and better future.

Today, the people of the Middle East still have the chance to build a secure peace, to isolate the extremists and weaken their capacity to shatter it with terrorism, missiles, and weapons of mass destruction. But it is fleeting.

I can hear the still strong voices of Yitzhak Rabin and King Hussein speaking to us today, saying, push ahead with the peace process, build on Oslo and Wye River, before it is too late.

But today, their voices must be embodied by our actions. [Across the Middle East,] *Tzarich chaverim li-shalom* [tsah-REECCH chhah-vay-REEM leh-shah-LOME]: We need friends of peace.

In this very old land, it is time, ~~past time~~, for all to remember the wisdom of the ages. Life is fleeting. When we return to dust, our differences are nothing. All that is left is our legacy. It must be an affirmation of our common humanity. Leah Rabin said it so well, nearly a generation ago, when she told a 1975 women's conference in Mexico City, "War solves nothing. Our area thirsts for peace for the benefit of all the peoples living there. Our true enemies are poverty, illiteracy, disease, and inequality of opportunity."

The year that Yitzhak and Leah became husband and wife -- 1948 -- was the year that Israel became a nation. Yitzhak and Leah lived the history of Israel together, as their nation formed from the ashes of the Holocaust and the seeds of the diaspora, as it fought for independence and survival, as it built an enlightened, vibrant democratic society. Leah, we are very grateful to you for the sacrifices and contributions you have made to help build an Israel strong and free, prosperous and at peace.

That is America's cause in the Middle East, and in Central America, where I visited last week, and where longtime adversaries are reaching across great divides; and in Northern Ireland, whose leaders I met with yesterday, where we are so close to finishing the job; and in the former Yugoslavia, where we are determined to avoid in Kosovo a repeat of the terrible violence in Bosnia; and in Africa, where too much

blood is still being shed, but whose leaders came here this week to seek a partnership of freedom and opportunity with us. In all these places, the struggle for peace continues.

And, my friends, we must continue the struggle for peace between Israelis and Palestinians and across the Middle East -- because every delay in the peace process strengthens the extremists and supports their violent designs.

We must not grow weary. The Psalmist says, "Do good; seek peace, and pursue it" (Psalms 34:14). We must not harden our hearts in the face of all that has been lost. Shakespeare said it best:

The quality of mercy is not strained,
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath: it is twice blessed;
It blesseth him that gives and him that takes.

We must not lose faith. Yitzhak Rabin once quoted these words from the poet Tchernikovsky [chur-nih-KOHV-skee]: "I believe in the future. That day will come when peace and blessings are borne from nation to nation." And Yitzhak added, "I want to believe that that day is not far off." With the help of a merciful God, we will hasten the day of Yitzhak Rabin's dream. Shalom. Salaam. Thank you.

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FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT YITZHAK RABIN CENTER EVENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

March 18, 1999

It is my great honor to welcome you to the White House. It is particularly moving for me -- and, I'm sure, for all of you -- that we meet today on the South Lawn. Who can forget that mere steps from here -- on a brilliant, cloudless morning in September of 1993 -- Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin helped set Israelis and Palestinians on the unalterable path of peace with the handshake seen 'round the world.

Thank you all for being here to share this day. I particularly want to thank the members of the Rabin family who are here [Mrs. Lea Rabin, Ms. Dalia Rabin Polossof [PELL-oh-sof] (Yitzhak's daughter) and Noa Ben-Artzi Pelossof (Dalia's daughter); Yuval Rabin (Yitzhak's son); Mrs. Rachel Rabin-Jacob (Yitzhak's sister)].

We also have joining us today Secretary of State Albright and other distinguished members of the Administration; Members of the Diplomatic Corps; Members of Congress; and honored guests.

Most of all, I want to thank my friend, Mrs. Rabin. You and I have come to know each other -- and I have come to admire you so deeply -- through both the most painful and the most joyous of times.

The unforgettable day of the handshake. The scorching hot day in the Arava [Ah-Rah-Vah], when everyone hugged and cried as the border between Israel and Jordan swung wide open. The day here at the White House when your husband signed the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement and my husband helped him straighten his black tie. The day of Yitzhak's funeral, when you said goodbye to your beloved husband and we said shalom to a dear, dear friend. And, just last month in Jordan, when King Hussein was laid to rest. We have celebrated together when peace has taken wing. We have mourned together when the peacemakers' lives have been tragically cut short.

Today, thank God, is a joyous occasion. A time for celebrating the contributions of your heroic husband. A time for bringing the Yitzhak Rabin Center for Israel Studies to life.

The Yitzhak Rabin Center, as we've all just seen in the model on display, will be a magnificent facility. Moshe Safdie's reverent design incorporates hints of the ancient Western Wall in a setting as modern and lush as the nation Yitzhak Rabin helped to build.

MOSHEIT

The Center will be far more than a monument. When the Center opens its doors two years from now, it will be a vital institute, a museum, an archive, a library. The Center will be a place where scholars and students, parents and children will learn about and engage in the causes of tolerance and peace that Yitzhak Rabin gave his life to uphold. The Center will be constant and perpetual proof that this great man did not die in vain.

At Yitzhak's funeral, Lea's poised and beautiful granddaughter Noa brought the entire world to tears with her loving portrait of her grandfather. "Grandfather, you were and still are our hero," she said. "I wanted you to know that every time I did anything, I saw you in front of me."

I believe all of us still see Yitzhak Rabin in front of us. I know I saw him this past December, when I visited the hills overlooking the Ayalon Valley and met 30 courageous Jewish and Palestinian families who have chosen to live together side by side. The most wonderful moment was watching three kindergarteners of different faiths light a Menorah, a Christmas tree, and a Ramadan lantern. In the warm glow of those lights, everyone in the room saw beautiful rays of reconciliation.

And, of course, everyone in the room saw the guiding spirit of Yitzhak Rabin.

I am grateful to all of you who are heeding this spirit and keeping the flame -- by building the Yitzhak Rabin Center, by promoting greater understanding between neighbors, by striding toward a Promised Land not only of milk and honey but also of true tolerance, security, and peace.

And now, it is my great pleasure to introduce Yitzhak Rabin's daughter, Dalia Rabin-Pelossof [PELL-oh-sof], the Chair of the Executive Committee of the Yitzhak Rabin Center. She is also one of Israel's top labor lawyers, a candidate for the Knesset, and the proud mother of Noa and Jonathan. Please welcome Dalia Rabin-Pelosofoff.

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

*Good language
on universality*
Sure

United Nations Plaza
New York, New York

December 10, 1997

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

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

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

Let me read a passage from that document:

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

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

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

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

That act did not, however, take place in a vacuum. It was a response to evil, and I use that word deliberately. Those who study the Holocaust know that the Nazis were able to pursue their crimes precisely because they were able progressively to constrict the circle of those defined as humans. From the

moment they came to power, they proceeded step by step to dehumanize, through laws and propaganda, the mentally ill, the infirm, gypsies, homosexuals, Jews those whom they identified as life unworthy of life.

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

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

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

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

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

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

It has taken most of our 220 years, some of them bloody, few of them easy, to extend the benefits of citizenship to African Americans, to those without property, and to women. Eleanor Roosevelt herself was 35 years old before she could vote.

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

In too many places today what we fail to see are the injustices done to women. We choose not to see the injustice of legal systems around the world that continue to treat women as less than complete citizens. In too many places, female heirs are seeing less inheritance than male heirs. Inequitable divorce

laws compel women to remain in cruel marriages. And some courts of law require the testimony of two women to equal that of a solitary man.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In almost every country of the world, domestic violence is one of the leading causes of injury and death to women. In my country, 30 percent of female murder victims are killed by current or former partners. As Secretary of State Madeleine Albright has said, domestic violence can never again be dismissed, as it often has in the past, as part of a country's norm or as a set of private assumptions about family life. Let us say it loudly for the entire world to hear

✓ us: We do not believe that violence against women is simply cultural; we believe it is simply criminal.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

addresses China's argument that principles should be applied in the light of the specific conditions of each country

CSW Student

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you very much.