

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS  
THE EMERGING DEMOCRACIES FORUM  
SANA'A, YEMEN  
JUNE 29, 1999

It is a great pleasure to be able to join all of you, as you conclude this historic Emerging Democracies Forum. As some of you may know, I had hoped to attend in person, to hear first hand about the challenges and opportunities you are facing in the often daunting struggle toward democracy. But when I learned I would be unable to come, I was determined, at the very least, to speak to you through the wonders of technology. Because the discussions you have had over the past few days will have an impact not only on the future of your own nations – but on our common dreams of living in a just and peaceful world.

I want to thank our sponsors, the Government of Yemen and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. We are particularly grateful to NDI's Les Cambell and the Prime Minister of Yemen, Abdul Karim Al-Iryani [Ab-DOOL Ka-REEM Al AIR-REE-An-EE] for their vision to bring us all together. I want to thank Margreeth de Boer [Mar-greeth de BORE] for speaking to us just now about the vital role that women can – and must – play in developing democracies. Appreciation also to Sally [Shelton Colby] for her kind words of introduction, and for all she is doing at USAID to promote democracy and economic opportunity worldwide.

I especially want to thank all of you, the political, civic and economic leaders of your nations, for participating in this important international forum. America's Secretary of State Madeleine Albright always reminds us that unlike dictatorships -- democracy can't be imposed. "It's always a choice." And I want to commend all of you for the work you do every day to ensure more citizens of the world not only make that choice for democracy, but can begin to fulfill its promise.

And what better place to hold this global conversation and strengthen these bonds of support among us than here in Yemen, where so much progress is being made. Yemen's multi-party system, and its democratically elected legislature, serve as a model for the region.

I'm impressed as well with Yemen's efforts to expand the rights and opportunities for girls and women. Wherever I go -- in my own country and overseas -- I talk about Yemen's remarkable commitment to girl's education. By eliminating school fees; providing families food and other incentives to keep their girls in schools; and by encouraging more women to enter the teaching profession, you are sending a powerful message. That access to education -- for every citizen -- is the very foundation of democracy -- and choice.

And that no nation can move forward until all of its citizens – including women -- are full participants in the social, economic, and political life of their communities.

We've come together here in this historic capital of Yemen at a time of unparalleled possibilities – as the forces of democracy are literally sweeping across the world. As Undersecretary of State Frank Loy noted a few days ago, 40 democracies existed in the 1970s. Today, the people of 120 nations are engaged in building democratic societies. Even now, we witness the first free elections in Indonesia in 40 years; the re-affirmation of multi-racial democracy in South Africa; and renewed hopes for peace in the Middle East. And finally – Serbia's brutal and systematic efforts to drive ethnic Albanians from their homes has been halted, and refugees are returning home.

As Kosovo so painfully reminds us, even as the forces of freedom move forward, age old ethnic, religious and tribal hatreds continue to tear apart communities and nations. And human rights continue to be trampled in almost every corner of the globe.

We also see that in newly emerging democracies, crime, violence, corruption – and citizen apathy -- threaten to dismantle many of our hard fought gains. And today, the rapidly changing world of technology and a global economy pose new challenges to democracies – young and old.

The work that all of you have been engaged in at this conference – to advance an international agenda of cooperation among democracies, and to help create the citizens of tomorrow -- has never been so critical.

Just a few weeks ago, I met in Palermo, Italy with a number of remarkable women leaders from around the world who are deeply engaged in making democracy real in their communities. They had come to Palermo to participate in an international conference promoting civic education. One woman from Argentina talked to me about how few women in her country held positions of power or authority – and how she and others are setting up a website to identify and promote women leaders.

A woman from Northern Ireland spoke about how women in her country were just beginning to find their own voices, and take their rightful place in society.

Many are joining the work force for the first time – and are beginning to organize themselves around issues like expanded child care, and access to loans and credit that have been denied to them for so long.

A young woman from Kuwait told me how proud she was that women in her country had just gained the right to vote only a few weeks earlier. But she is concerned that even the most educated women in Kuwait are not sure that casting a ballot is part of their civic responsibilities. She's working to mobilize women to vote in the upcoming elections – and to teach everyone that being part of the political process is the key to citizenship in a democratic society.

From what I've heard about your discussions over the past few days, these are the kinds of daunting challenges that many of you are grappling with in your own countries, as you struggle to expand economic and political reforms.

We know that establishing and maintaining a democracy is very hard work, for emerging and established democracies alike. It is, in fact, a never ending process. My own country became a democracy over 220 years, and we're still struggling to fulfill its promise.

But over the years, we have all learned some of the same lessons. That strengthening the rule of law, and creating the institutions of civil society, and moving toward a market-based economy are absolutely critical steps. And we must work together to support countries struggling to make progress in these areas. But we also know that democracy can only be sustained when its values are rooted in the hearts, minds, and actions of ordinary men and women. When citizens practice the responsibilities of citizenship in their daily lives. And when parents pass on that tradition to their children by their example, and by the stories they tell them as they put them to bed at night.

Over the years, I've been privileged to travel on behalf of my country, and I've seen firsthand the remarkable work that many of you have been doing – to strengthen civil society, and widen the circle of human rights in your countries.

A few years ago, I visited Mongolia, and saw how the people of that country were moving from a one-party dictatorship to a pluralistic political system. I was told that citizens demonstrated in the streets in freezing weather to advocate for their rights and freedoms. And that when elections were held – 90% of the people voted. That's a voting rate any democracy would envy -- including my own.

In Guatemala and El Salvador, I saw people struggling to make the difficult transition from war to a peaceful, democratic society. I met with women who were on opposite sides of those conflicts – but who became the architects of peace and reconciliation. They realized that what they held in common was far stronger than what had kept them apart. And they led the way as people began to rebuild their communities and put back their lives.

In countries as far apart as Nepal and Bolivia, I've seen how women's lives have been transformed – and empowered – as they gain access to life's basic tools of opportunity, like maternal health care and education. A few months ago in Morocco, I saw those same opportunities open up when I visited a small village nestled at the base of the Atlas mountains.

A non governmental organization was working with the villagers there to help spur new businesses, to encourage girl's literacy programs, and to organize a village cooperative. For the first time, these villagers had the tools and support to shape their own futures.

And in country after country throughout this region, I've seen young people of different cultures and religions spending time together -- learning to overcome stereotypes. Learning to respect each other's differences. Learning to become the leaders of tomorrow.

Many may not have heard your stories of progress and success -- whether it's expanding voting rights; strengthening the institutions of civil society; ensuring greater economic and political opportunities for women and ethnic minorities; or teaching the lessons of democracy to the next generation of citizens. But the world should know that while we all face different struggles, we speak the universal language of democracy and freedom. The overwhelming passage of the "Right to Democracy" resolution by the UN Commission on Human Rights a few months ago confirms that democracy is a fundamental human right -- and the only path to peace and prosperity.

So I hope that this historic conference will bring attention to the remarkable work that you are doing to nurture and sustain democracy in your own countries. But I also hope this gathering will help forge a new global community of democracies that can support each other in the years ahead.

We cannot minimize the formidable challenges each one of you is facing today. But nor should we underestimate the benefits that will come with increased international support and cooperation on your behalf.

Last year, in addressing the citizens of Poland, President Clinton said that “the struggle for democracy is never over, it must be fought every day.” I want to thank all of you for the invaluable work you do, every single day, to make democracy real in your own countries, and around the world. Thank you.



Noa A. Meyer

06/29/99 10:16:35 AM

Record Type: Record

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

cc:

Subject:

"...democracy remains our indispensable ally...It nurtures civil society and respect for human rights and the habits of simple tolerance. Its progress is slow and uneven, and as you doubtless know in this chamber, occasionally frustrating. But it cements economic reforms and security cooperation. And it offers once-captive peoples the opportunity to shape their own future."

1994 —  
Pd

## Public Papers of the Presidents

freer future.

Mr. President, you reminded us that it was in this palace where Benito Juarez corresponded with Abraham Lincoln. Our President, Mr. Lincoln, who many of us consider to be our greatest President, called in the United States in his time for a new birth of freedom. The ...

LEVEL 1 - 28 OF 79 DOCUMENTS

Public Papers of the Presidents

October 22, 1996

CITE: 32 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 2137

LENGTH: 4915 words

HEADLINE: Remarks to the Community in Detroit, Michigan

... Congratulations, Mayor, and to all the other local officials here. We're delighted to be here.

From its very founding, our Nation has stood for the idea that people have the right to control their own lives, to pursue their own dreams. In this century we have done far more than just stand for these principles; Americans have acted upon them and sacrificed for them, fought two World Wars so that freedom could triumph over tyranny, then made commitments that kept the peace, that helped to spread **democracy**, that brought great prosperity to ourselves and helped to win the cold war.

Now the ideas we **struggle** for, **democracy** and freedom -- freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, open markets, respect for diversity -- these ideas are more and more the ideals of humanity. When we adopted democracy as our form of government in 1776, and then when we ratified our Constitution a few years later, it was an unusual choice that we made. Democracy had largely vanished from the Earth for nearly 2,000 years, since ancient Greece.

In this century, amid all the wars and ...



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06/29/99 10:19:48 AM

Record Type: Record

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

cc:

Subject:

----- Forwarded by Noa A. Meyer/WHO/EOP on 06/29/99 10:19 AM -----



Laura J. Lewis

06/29/99 10:19:20 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Noa A. Meyer/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject:

**Hope this works...Mara**

**March 26, 1998**

**ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE PARLIAMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA**

**Chamber of the House of Assembly  
Cape Town, South Africa**

"From our own 220-year experience with democracy we know that real progress requires, in the memorable phrase of Max Weber, "the long and slow-boring of hard boards." We know that democracy is always a work still in the making, a march toward what our own founders called a more perfect union."

## Public Papers of the Presidents

did not bring the end of the **struggle** for freedom and **democracy**, for human rights and opportunity. If the history of this American century has taught us anything, it is that we will either work to shape events or we will be shaped by them. We cannot be partly in the world. We cannot lead in fits and starts or only when we believe it suits our short-term interests. We must lead boldly, consistently, without reservation, because, as President Reagan repeatedly said, freedom is always in America's interests.

Our ...

## LEVEL 1 - 15 OF 79 DOCUMENTS

## Public Papers of the Presidents

July 10, 1997

CITE: 33 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1051

LENGTH: 1154 words

HEADLINE: Remarks to the Citizens of Warsaw, Poland

... Europe, and we are working with a new Russia as our partner in building a Europe in which every nation is free and every free nation joins in securing peace and stability for all.

Now, as your President has said, you must continue to do your part. Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic will now become full members of our alliance, with the full responsibilities of membership: the responsibility to nurture and strengthen and defend your **democracies** because, as we in America know, after more than 200 years [the **struggle** for **democracy** is never over, it must be fought every day;] the responsibility to continue the remarkable transformation of your economies because, having known poverty, you know the true value of the prosperity you have only begun to achieve; the responsibility to reach out to all your neighbors, to the East as well as the West, including the people of Russia -- you must continue to build in tolerance what others destroyed in hate; the responsibility to meet NATO's high military standards and to help to ...



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28 JUNE 99

# PRESS RELEASE

Statement of the United States  
Emerging Democracies Forum  
Under Secretary of State Frank E. Loy  
Sana'a, Yemen  
June 28, 1999

Good morning. I'm pleased to represent the United States at this important and valuable conference. As I have listened to the eloquent remarks that have preceded mine, I am struck by four things.

First, one cannot help but be extremely impressed by the enormity of the progress made by each of the participating countries. The world should take notice of what you have accomplished and the spirit in which you have approached both political and economic reform.

Second, listening to you talk about the challenges you have overcome and the ones you see in your future, reminds me that my country is also an emerging democracy. Our democracy has been evolving for over 200 hundred years, putting behind it the odious institution of slavery, granting women the right to vote and grappling with the challenges of providing equal rights to all Americans. Our process, like your processes, is ongoing. Indeed, a functioning democracy, by definition, is always a work in progress.

My third observation is that the expansion of democracy and the widespread acceptance of the importance of consolidating democracy, so clearly illustrated by the 17 countries participating in this conference, is the most positive and stunning development of our times.

It is stunning in its scope. Today more people enjoy the right to democratic self-governance than ever before. In the mid-70s, there were some 40 democracies in the world compared to 120 today. And, to focus briefly, and with pride, on the Americas, a little more than a decade ago Latin America was dominated by military dictatorships and armed insurgencies. Today, 33 of 34 countries in the hemisphere enjoy some measure of democratic governance.

The trend is also positive not merely because it represents an abstract increase in the number of democracies, but because of what it portends for the people living in the new democracies and for the regions in which democracy is taking hold. We are convinced that democracy offers the surest route to stability, respect for human rights and increased prosperity.

As the discussion topics for this conference and the comments from the various country presenters make clear, democracy, however, requires more than elections. The keys to a successful democracy include an independent judiciary, a strong legislature, a free press, governance by rule of law, checks on the insidious cancer of corruption and healthy non-governmental institutions. When each of those elements is in place it becomes possible for a country to achieve its full potential.

My final observation is that the challenges confronted by each of the countries participating in this conference are formidable; but they can be overcome. I am confident that this conference itself, at which we will spend the next two and a half days discussing how to grapple with those shared challenges, will be one small step in the process of overcoming them.

During the last 10 years of democratic expansion, one lesson has come through loud and clear: We can all learn from each other. That is the inspired and inspiring idea of this conference. We should all take a brief moment to acknowledge Les Cambell of NDI and Prime Minister Abdul Karim al-Iryani of Yemen who together came up with the idea of this gathering, and to NDI and the Government of Yemen who took the lead in making it the reality we share today.

Their creative idea and perseverance in bringing it to life is part of a broader and important trend. Increasingly, democracies and democratic activists have been striving to find ways to work together to promote and strengthen democracy around the world. Opening new channels across regions and finding new ways to cooperate on bolstering democracy should be one hallmark of our relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Indeed, this conference represents a step in a process of forging a network or community of democracies that can work together to craft an international agenda of cooperation.

I am delighted to have the opportunity to participate in this process and look forward to talking with and learning from each of you.

Thank you.

***Managing the Twin Transitions:***  
**Political and Economic Reform in Emerging Democracies**

**Sana'a, Yemen, June 27 - 30, 1999**

**EMERGING DEMOCRACIES FORUM**

Often overshadowed by the trials and tribulations of their larger and more important neighbors and overlooked by an international community preoccupied with more pressing issues, is an emerging tier of small, developing countries that have cleared early democratic hurdles. These countries, including Benin, Bolivia, El Salvador, Georgia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guyana, Macedonia, Malawi, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Nepal and Yemen, are establishing a quiet track record of democratic progress, despite both internal and external setbacks. While the democratic transition process is well underway in each case, the long term outcome is far from certain.

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the Government of Yemen are organizing an international 'Emerging Democracies Forum' to bring together political leaders from these emerging democracies -- people like Dr. Abdulkarim Al-Iryani, Prime Minister of Yemen; Zurab Zhvania, Speaker of the Georgian Parliament; and Alpha Oumar Konare, President of Mali, as well as civil society leaders and key actors in the process of economic reform.

In a three day summit meeting entitled, *Managing the Twin Transitions: Political and Economic Reform in Emerging Democracies*, participants will analyze and address the common challenges faced in difficult democratic transitions, highlighting both the significant achievements and daunting problems of these small nations, in an effort to encourage an ongoing domestic and international commitment to the democratic reform process. The intended outcome of the initiative will be renewed pledges on the part of the participants to the course of political reform. The summit will take place in Sana'a, Yemen, from June 27 to June 30, 1999.

In addition to a renewed commitment to democratic reform, NDI and the Government of Yemen will encourage follow-up initiatives involving partnerships among the participating countries and/or between the countries and international donor and development institutions, leaving open the possibility of further initiatives under the rubric of the Emerging Democracies Forum.

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., NDI is a nonprofit organization working to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. Calling on a global network of volunteer experts, NDI provides practical assistance to civic and political leaders advancing democratic values, practices and institutions. Employing a nonpartisan and multinational approach, NDI engages more than 500 practitioners from more than 70 countries in its mission.

The Government of Yemen is cosponsoring and hosting the program. Partners contributing funding and/or expertise to the Forum include the National Endowment for Democracy, the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme and the governments of Canada, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

## BACKGROUND

A growing number of nondemocratic countries have passed through acceptably free elections, and have established, to different degrees, the "forms" of a democratic society. Examples now abound, around the world, of newly established legislatures, fledgling multi-party political systems, reinvigorated civil society organizations, restructured local governments, improved regard for human and civil rights, attempts to establish the rule of law and tentative moves toward more market-based economics. Increasingly, the challenge of democratic development is in the long-term consolidation of democratic institutions -- ensuring continued reforms, helping newly elected officials, civil servants and civic activists juggle the cultural and economic stresses that combine to weaken frail democratic structures and addressing the issue of public confidence in public institutions.

Unfortunately, "backsliding" has become a new buzzword in the lexicon of democratic development, a term describing some countries' tendency to move forward quickly with democratic reforms only to retrench when faced with economic difficulties, public unrest or political challenges to entrenched elites. While the backsliders often get noticed, there is a newly emerging class of transitional democracies, following quickly on the heels of acknowledged success stories like South Africa, Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic, that seldom receive the attention they merit.

What these countries share is a commitment to democracy despite facing seemingly intractable structural barriers to democratic development including: chronically weak economic conditions; conflict or post-conflict tensions; little or no participatory tradition; deeply entrenched traditional cultural and societal norms; and problematic colonial histories.

Another shared characteristic among this tier of transitional democracies is that their success stories are often overlooked or undervalued. While their efforts are laudable, the remaining obstacles to true democracy are formidable and constant effort and international engagement are an ongoing requirement. If gains made are to be cemented, international support and advice are crucial. If backsliding is to be avoided, vigilance and positive incentives may be necessary. Furthermore, successful moves towards democracy in these countries maintain the potential to transcend borders and positively affect larger, more volatile neighbors.

Often politically and geographically isolated, the group of countries this program is designed to benefit will gain measurably from sharing experiences and best practices from successful transitional countries, and, in an exclusive forum for newly emerging democracies, studying the successes and failures of other countries in similar circumstances as they pursue the same elusive goal.

### OBJECTIVES

- To provide a forum to analyze and address the significant achievements as well as the common hurdles of democratic transition in a select group of dynamic emerging democracies.
- To encourage an ongoing domestic and international commitment to the democratic reform process in these countries.
- To focus attention on the success stories of countries that receive relatively little international exposure yet have made democratic progress.

### FORUM ACTIVITIES

Non-country delegations will include representatives of the diplomatic community, co-sponsoring organizations, and selected experts and guests from international organizations and multi-lateral institutions. Many sessions will be open to the media and other interested observers.

The three day conference will include open plenary sessions, panel discussions/working groups, and a wrap-up session. In order to address the topics most relevant to the political consolidation of an emerging democracy, moderators will facilitate discussion in the following broad areas:

- Political development, including the establishment of democratic institutions, political party development and the role of women in political life;

- Civil society, including the role of non-governmental organizations, electronic and print media and citizens' democratic awareness; and
- Economic reform, including economic restructuring, foreign and domestic investment, privatization and issues of efficient management.

Each session will be tightly focused on eliciting constructive discussion of common problems and hurdles and putting forward practical plans and ideas for solving those problems. Plenary sessions will be used for setting out the broad agenda and goals of the conference, while smaller working groups will be the forum for in-depth discussion of specific issues and common problems and potential solutions.



## U.S. Department of State Office of the Spokesman Press Statement

Press Statement by James P. Rubin, Spokesman  
April 27, 1999

### Affirmation of the Right to Democracy

Following the overwhelming passage by the UN Commission on Human Rights on a resolution on the Right to Democracy, Nancy Rubin, U.S. Ambassador to the UNCHR, issued the following statement from Geneva:

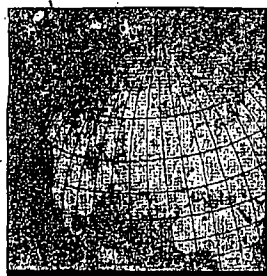
"Today, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights adopted--for the first time--by a vote of 51-0 with two abstentions (China and Cuba), a resolution acknowledging the fundamental link between democracy and human rights. In doing so, the Commission boldly confirmed that democracy is a universal and fundamental human right.

As primary sponsor of the resolution, the United States would like to thank its numerous co-sponsors - Commission members Austria, Bangladesh, Canada, Cape Verde, Czech Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Germany, Guatemala, India, Italy, Latvia, Nepal, Norway, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Republic of Korea, Romania, Senegal, South Africa, Sri Lanka, United Kingdom, Venezuela, and twenty-four non-members--as well as those countries that voted in favor. We are pleased to note that our co-sponsors include a number of states who only recently joined the community of democratic nations.

The right to democratic governance is both a means and an end in the struggle for human rights. Freedom of conscience, expression, religion, and association are all bolstered where democratic rights are guaranteed. Rights to a fair trial and to personal security are enhanced in genuine democracies. Elected leaders gain legitimacy through the democratic process, allowing them to build popular support, even for economic and political reforms that may entail temporary hardships for their people.

To be sure, democratization is a long and complex struggle, which does not come easily. Government "of the people" cannot be imposed from the outside. Rather, countries must come to democracy by their own path. As Secretary Albright has noted, "Democracy must emerge from the desire of individuals to participate in the decisions that shape their lives.... Unlike dictatorship, democracy is never an imposition; it is always a choice."

Democracies hold their leaders accountable to the people. They provide breathing room for civil society. They open channels for the free flow of information and ideas and for the development of diverse and vibrant economic activity. When democracy is absent, human rights suffer. It is no coincidence that the horrible violence and atrocities we have seen recently in Sierra Leone and Kosovo have taken place where the rights to a free exchange of ideas and democratic governance have been denied. Where democracy flourishes, so too do peace, prosperity, and the rule of law."



# EMERGING DEMOCRACIES FORUM

THE NATIONAL  
DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AND

THE REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

In Partnership with:

UNITED NATIONS  
DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR  
DEMOCRACY

And the Governments of:

CANADA

JAPAN

THE NETHERLANDS

THE UNITED KINGDOM

THE UNITED STATES

April 20, 1999

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton  
Office of the First Lady  
The White House  
Room 2/WW  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

On behalf of the Government of Yemen and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) we are pleased to invite you to participate in a unique three-day Forum entitled, *Managing the Twin Transitions: Economic and Political Reform in Emerging Democracies*, to be held in Sana'a, Yemen, from June 27 to June 29, 1999. The Forum will provide support and encouragement for a group of newly emerging democracies. They include: Benin, Bolivia, El Salvador, Georgia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guyana, Macedonia, Malawi, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Nepal, and Yemen.

The Forum will bring together political, civic and economic leaders – heads of state and government, cabinet ministers, political party and parliamentary leaders, civil society activists and key players in public and private sector economic reform – of countries advancing democratic reform. This progress has come despite challenges such as weak economies, corruption, conflicts or post-conflict tensions, and few or no participatory traditions. In addition to providing a setting to analyze and address the common hurdles of democratic transition, the Forum will draw attention to the achievements of countries that, unfortunately, receive relatively little international exposure.

Funding and in-kind contributions for the event are being provided by the United Nations Development Programme, and the governments of Canada, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Key topics in addressing political reform in this group of small, unheralded democracies will include: confidence building and gaining public trust; government accountability; the promotion of civil society; the imperative of women's participation; making hard choices in simultaneous economic and political transitions; and developing policy to address the rule of law and corruption.

We are in the process of inviting prominent international figures to serve as Forum co-chairs, and we would be honored if you would consider joining this group. The State Department views this event as a precursor to a broader initiative by the Administration to convene a worldwide meeting of democratic governments next year. Senior U.S. Government officials from the State Department and USAID are planning to attend the Yemen event.

We believe that you are in a unique position to bring your knowledge, experience and international profile to bear on the issue of popular political participation, particularly on the vital role of women in the democratic transformation process. It is noteworthy that this initiative is being hosted by the Republic of Yemen, the only country on the Arabian peninsula to have held legislative elections with the full participation of women as candidates, party activists and voters and the only country on the Arabian peninsula with women in the national parliament. At the same time, while Yemen has made laudable political progress, it remains a conservative society where greater civic education is necessary to promote the role of women in public and social life.

Given that a main objective of this initiative is to showcase little known democracies, your presence would mean a great deal to the participants who are well aware of your ongoing efforts to focus international attention on many of these countries. Your role as Forum co-chair would be to address a plenary session, perhaps lead one of the specific topic panels, and to help facilitate a summit joint declaration.

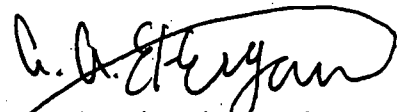
Your leadership would contribute measurably to the Forum and we hope you will be able to join us. We have attached a draft agenda for your review and look forward to your response.

With highest regards and appreciation for your continuing interest.

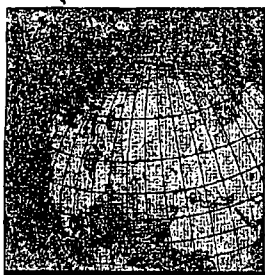
Sincerely,



Kenneth D. Wollack  
President, NDI



Dr. Abdul Karim Al-Eryami  
Prime Minister, Republic of Yemen



# EMERGING DEMOCRACIES FORUM

## *Managing the Twin Transitions: Political and Economic Reform in Emerging Democracies*

Sana'a, Yemen

27 to 29 June, 1999

THE NATIONAL  
DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AND

THE REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

In Partnership with:

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DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR  
DEMOCRACY

And the Governments of:

CANADA

JAPAN

THE NETHERLANDS

THE UNITED KINGDOM

THE UNITED STATES

### WORKING AGENDA

#### SATURDAY, 26 June

|         |                     |
|---------|---------------------|
| all day | Participant Arrival |
| evening | Welcome Reception   |

#### SUNDAY, 27 June

|             |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|-------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 9:30-10:45  | Welcome Address, President of Yemen<br>Remarks, Conference Chairpersons                                                                                                                  |
| 11:00-13:30 | <b>Opening Plenary - Heralding the World's Emerging Democracies</b><br>Presentations by country delegations on main achievements and challenges of their nation's democratic transition. |
| 13:30-15:00 | Lunch                                                                                                                                                                                    |

**Topic Discussions:** topic discussions comprise a plenary session followed by five concurrent small group working sessions. The plenary will be panel discussion moderated by a participating country delegate and framed by an expert. A case study from an emerging democracy will be presented as a point of discussion and responded to by 2-3 delegates. Small group working sessions will continue the discussion, compile best practices, and make recommendations for resolutions. This format will be followed for each topic discussion.

|             |                                                                                                                                                                  |
|-------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 15:00-18:00 | <b>Topic Discussion I - Setting the Context of Democratic Transition</b><br><i>The Politics of Hard Choices: political transition and economic restructuring</i> |
| 15:00-16:00 | Plenary: panel discussion with moderator, case study presenter and respondents                                                                                   |
| 16:00-18:00 | Small group working sessions                                                                                                                                     |

#### MONDAY, 28 June

|            |                                                                                                                               |
|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 8:00-10:45 | <b>Topic Discussion II - Confidence-Building</b><br><i>Gaining the Public Trust: elections, governance and communications</i> |
| 8:00-9:00  | Plenary: panel discussion with moderator, case study presenter and respondents                                                |
| 9:00-10:45 | Small group working sessions                                                                                                  |

- 11:00 - 13:45      **Topic Discussion III - Participation**  
*Vital Voices and the Politics of Democratic Decision Making: women, civil society, and pluralism*  
11:00-12:00      Plenary: panel discussion with moderator, case study presenter and respondents  
12:00-13:45      Small group working sessions
- 13:45-15:15      Lunch
- 15:15 - 18:00      **Topic Discussion IV - Management**  
*Good Policy for a Better Society: rule of law, fighting corruption, financial management and social considerations*  
15:15-16:15      Plenary: panel discussion with moderator, case study presenter and respondents  
16:15-18:00      Small group working sessions
- 19:00 - 21:00      **Working Dinner: Democracy, Stability and Investment**

**TUESDAY, 29 June**

- 9:30 - 11:00      **Working Session:** small group deliberation on possible recommendations
- 11:00 - 12:30      **Final Plenary - Presentation of Findings**
- 12:30 - 2:00      **Closing Lunch - Consideration of Summit Resolutions**
- afternoon      Tour of Sana'a
- evening      Participant Departure

**WEDNESDAY, 30 June**

- morning      Participant Departure

Piata Universitatii  
Bucharest, Romania

Like her marathon race, the marathon of freedom is not a sprint; it takes steady and persistent commitment to stay the course. After more than 200 years, America now knows the journey of democracy is never over. It must be traveled every single day.



Noa A. Meyer

06/29/99 11:03:56 AM

Record Type: Record

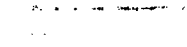
To: Christine N. Macy/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: more quotes

it's not too late to change if you prefer one of these.

----- Forwarded by Noa A. Meyer/WHO/EOP on 06/29/99 11:03 AM -----



Laura J. Lewis  
06/29/99 10:36:45 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Noa A. Meyer/WHO/EOP@EOP

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Subject:

Here are some more...

May 7, 1997

**REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
IN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF MEXICO**

National Auditorium  
Mexico City, Mexico

We know from our own 220-year experiment that democracy is hard work. It must be defended every day. But it is worth the effort, for it has produced more opportunity for people to make the most of their own lives than all its rivals.

July 11, 1997

**REMARKS BY PRESIDENT CLINTON  
AND PRESIDENT CONSTANTINESCU  
TO CITIZENS OF ROMANIA**

## FIRST LADY'S CIVITAS SPEECH, PALERMO, JUNE 18, 1999

Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor, for that generous introduction and for your leadership that has been so critical to the progress that we mark as we meet here in Palermo. To the Minister of Education, to the President-to-be of the European Commission and my friend Romano Prodi, to David Dorn, the Chair of CIVITAS International, to the United Nations Undersecretary, and to all of you who are civic educators and leaders from around the world.

As we gather here this evening, in this beautiful opera house, we can celebrate together its re-opening and we could even hear, if we listened hard, the shouts of joy from children who listened to their first concert two years ago after they helped re-open the doors of this historic building, the third largest opera house in Europe. I have heard stories of about how hard they worked, week after week, and month after month, as they helped bring this building, closed for twenty-five years, back to life.

The children held art exhibits to raise money. They urged their parents and their neighbors to be part of this historic effort. Their enthusiasm was infectious and soon everyone was involved, with electricians and craftsmen working so hard to restore the building to the cheers of community residents. These young people now serve as guides. They not only introduce visitors to this beautifully restored cultural center, they help introduce visitors and their fellow citizens to an object lesson in citizen action and democracy building. They have, it is to be sure, reclaimed their precious cultural heritage.

But, as importantly, they have become part of a remarkable citizens' movement to combat crime and violence that continues to transform life in this city. Today we have come from more than 80 countries to learn the lessons of Palermo and to underscore the vital role that citizens and citizens' movements play in strengthening the forces of democracy around the world.

I want to recognize the contributions of CIVITAS International. It has provided invaluable help and promoted important work to make the idea of civic education come alive, and by doing so it has helped to nurture democratic values around the globe. Thank you for sponsoring this important international conference.

I have seen the results of the work of CIVITAS in many different settings. Just a few years ago I had the privilege at the White House of meeting with some of the teachers who had been trained by CIVITAS who had been working with young people in Bosnia, helping to prepare future citizens following the end of that terrible conflict. I was impressed then with the work they were doing as they went into classrooms and communities, helping people not only to rebuild the physical aspects of their lives but to reclaim their rights as human beings and as citizens, to help build a new democracy. All of you know so well that a democracy proclaimed on paper alone does not guarantee that people understand their democratic and civic responsibilities.

But today the work of CIVITAS, and the work of the people and leaders of Palermo and the work of so many of you here, is helping to make clearer than ever that, if communities wish to enjoy the benefits and fruits of democracy, then they must produce citizens who understand what hard work it is to keep democracy alive.

We come together at a time of great possibilities and we can see the forces of democracy sweeping across the world. Even today we celebrate the first free elections in Indonesia in more than forty years, the reaffirmation of democracy by all races in South Africa, renewed hopes for peace in the Middle East and finally the end of Serbia's brutal and systematic effort to drive ethnic Albanians from their homes. Finally, finally, the Kosovars can begin to return to gather their families together and rebuild their lives.

And I wish to thank the government and the people of Italy for your stalwart support of our efforts in Kosovo. So there is much to celebrate. I could list many examples that would keep us here all night, but as Kosovo unfortunately reminds us, even as the forces of freedom, peace and democracy move forward, age-old ethnic, religious and tribal hatreds continue to be unleashed and strong undercurrents of crime, violence and corruption threaten to dismantle many of our hard-fought gains.

I have been privileged in the last several years both with my husband and on my own to travel around the world on behalf of the United States and I have seen firsthand newly emerging democracies take hold, find their footing, stumble, regain their footing and try to go forward. I have seen advanced democracies struggle with corruption and crime and violence. But I have seen how resilient the forces of democracy can be.

But in order to strengthen and maintain these forces for justice, peace and tolerance, we have to do more to nurture and build a strong civil society and to teach not only our children but ourselves the lessons of citizenship.

Now, building and maintaining a democracy is very hard work. It is, in fact, a never-ending process. My own country became a democracy, a newly independent state if you will, in 1776, and for over 220 years, we have been working hard to perfect that democracy. It took us more than 10 years to draft a constitution, almost 90 years to rid our nation of slavery, almost 150 years to give women the right to vote and even longer to ensure that all of our citizens were equal under the law.

It is still difficult for people to understand, even those in well-established democracies, that elections by themselves are not enough, that laws by themselves are not enough, that even peace agreements, whether it is between nations or between governments and organized crime, are not enough. What we have learned over the years is that our most cherished ideals can only be made real through the every day efforts of ordinary citizens.

Our laws and institutions are absolutely critical, of course, but democracy is nurtured and sustained only when democratic values are rooted in the hearts, the minds and the actions of ordinary men and women; when citizens truly believe that every individual is entitled to respect and dignity; when citizens practice the responsibilities of citizenship in their daily lives; and when parents pass on these habits of the heart to their children by their example, by the stories they tell them as they tuck them into bed at night.

It makes a very great difference whether a parent passes on the biases, the bigotries, the prejudices, the fears, the insecurities that stalked the past, or helps the child look to the future with hope. What better place to renew and strengthen our commitment to teaching these habits of the heart than here in Palermo? The lessons of citizenship could not have a better form.

I have been told that when the Mayor talks about how to go about creating the society in which we should all want to live, he talks about a cart with two wheels. That to move forward in a democracy and create a climate of lawfulness, you need law enforcement and civil society to work together. If one wheel moves too fast, the cart spins around instead of moving forward.

Again and again, in my country, here, around the world, we have seen that law enforcement cannot work in isolation or lose its accountability to the people it serves. It must work hand-in-hand with citizens to change the culture of violence and to strengthen the rule of law.

I, too, have a simple metaphor, like the Mayor, that I use to describe the challenges we face in building and maintaining democracy. I talk about a three-legged stool: one leg is the government, which of course includes, as its primary obligation to people, law enforcement; the second leg is the economy that provides opportunities for people to fulfill their own aspirations; and the third leg is what we call civil society.

Now, we cannot sit on that stool if there are only two legs, or even just one. We cannot sit on that stool if one leg is stronger than the other two, or longer or shorter. Creating the balance that we must have in society requires that these principal institutions work together, that the government be efficient and effective, honest and transparent, that it help do for individuals what individuals cannot do for themselves and what market economies cannot do or produce. We need governments that protect our freedoms and defend our lives.

But the government, no matter how well functioning, how honest, how transparent, cannot by itself create citizens. We know we also need a free market economy which creates jobs and wealth and gives consumers choices that unleash potential for families to pursue their economic goals.

But the market economy, no matter how much wealth it produces, cannot create citizens. Only civil society, which exists in that space between the government and the economy, can do that work. It is in that space where we live our lives; where much of what makes life worth living occurs; where our families are born and raised; where our faith gives us support and meaning; where arts and culture such as those from this magnificent stage lift our spirits and expand our minds. So, what we must do as we meet about educating for democracy is to understand how essential it is to build up civil society.

So, Mr. Mayor, whether the image is your two-wheeled cart or the three-legged stool, we are speaking the same language. We understand that a vibrant civil society is as essential to human progress as the institutions of government and the economy. We need them to balance and reinforce each

other and remain strong enough to support us all in the years to come. That is truly at the heart of our work together.

Today, whether we look at the ongoing violence in some of our cities, or the age-old hatreds and conflicts that still tear communities and nations apart, or the struggles that new democracies face to keep moving forward, we understand the task we have. You have accomplished a great deal here in Palermo, and we have much to learn from you as we stand in solidarity with you. Palermo teaches us about the emerging role that women are playing around the world in ending violence in our societies. You saw in the video -- that was at the beginning of the program--the white sheets hanging from balconies: "*basta*," the words, the feelings, the shouts of women. I have seen the role that women are playing all over the world, standing up against hatred and violence, standing for peace and security.

I have just come from a meeting at the Mayor's office with women from around the world who represent an initiative in our government called "Vital Voices," where we have brought together women who are on the front lines of the struggle for democracy. Every time I meet with such women leaders, I am awed by their courage and commitment.

And it is the same here in Palermo. It was the women of Palermo who helped spark the rebirth of citizenship. They knew full well that years of violence and bombings had left hundreds dead and people without hope, afflicted by despair. The voices of the people of Palermo were silenced and the symbols of this great city's history and culture were hidden or abandoned. But the brutal slayings of two beloved, honest and courageous magistrates sparked a level of outrage and people understood that they had reached the end of their tolerance. And when those women first said it with those sheets, I'm sure many thought that it wouldn't amount to very much. But those anti-Mafia slogans touched a deep place in the hearts of women, men and children.

The Committee of the Sheets was one of the first visible signs that the people of Palermo were going to stand against the violence and corruption that had held this city captive. Those voices were not just women's; they belonged to everyone. "Enough is enough" became the slogan of shopkeepers, religious leaders, business leaders, political leaders and even elementary school students who began in their own way to lay their stake in

the future right in the heart of Palermo. They began to adopt monuments and demand that they be restored and open to the public.

Educators played such an important role in all that we have seen happen here in Palermo. They created a lawfulness group and began to promote activities that promoted civic consciousness among their students. To the teachers, the parents and the students who rallied to demand the money pocketed by dishonest officials be used instead to construct new schools and repair old classrooms, we owe a great debt of gratitude.

Now, when I do travel around the world, I often go to places that are off the beaten track of visiting officials. I go to schools and villages or decaying urban centers. I go to hospitals that care only for the poor. I walk the streets of neighborhoods that are riddled with corruption and violence. And because I am coming, the local officials will repair the streets; they will paint the walls; they will fix the school room facilities. I remember being in a school and being told it was the first time they had ever had electricity, and the only reason they had it was because I was paying a visit.

I remember speaking to the teacher in that school and saying to her, “now that I have come and I will leave, I hope you will be able to keep your electricity.” And she said something very interesting. She said, “You gave us the excuse for the electricity, but now we know we have power.”

Well, it is that form of power that every citizen must obtain. People are standing up on behalf of democracy and against violence and corruption all over the world. Again, women often lead the way because they are tired of seeing their husbands, their fathers, their sons, their loved ones murdered, jailed, lost. So, they are often the ones who do say enough is enough, whether it is in Northern Ireland, where Catholic and Protestant women have come together to work to try to make the peace real; whether it is in the Balkans where women are working to repair that tragic area; or whether it is in one of the great horror spots of the last part of the twentieth century, Rwanda, where women are attempting to stand up against the forces of evil.

Think if you will for a moment of a place like Kigali, Rwanda, where 800,000 men and women and children were slaughtered in the space of just a few months. I have been there. I have met with women and men, with leaders and citizens, as they attempt to make sense out of a future that seems so bloodstained.

I recently met with women from Rwanda who asked me for one thing. They didn't ask me for a lot of help or resources from our government. Instead, they asked for my assistance in building a playground in the middle of Kigali. Because, just as the citizens of Palermo understood that it is those small steps, those daily acts of courage of bringing people together, of building a possible future, so too did these women from Rwanda: a playground where children would play again and where adults would once again believe in the future.

I think of the courageous women I have met in El Salvador and Guatemala who fought on opposite sides of those armed conflicts. They lost fathers, sons and loved ones but now they understand that they must work together to ensure that they have a peaceful future. They became the architects of many of the elements of the peace agreements that brought the sides together and they are continuing to work to bridge the differences that have kept them apart.

Democracy is also taking root in China. I have met with women there who had all the laws they needed on paper. I have met with the human rights activists who again had all the laws they needed but, of course, they were not being enforced or respected. They didn't understand how they could keep moving forward with democracy unless they could stand and be heard and let their voices join the chorus of those who understand fully that China's future must include the voices of all of its people.

So Palermo has taught us to listen to the voices, listen to the weak, the marginalized, listen to those who appear powerless but, once they decide to be citizens, are part of the most powerful movement on earth. Palermo teaches us another equally important lesson: if we are to ensure that we continue to move the forces of democracy forward so that they prevail, then we have to create the citizens of the future. That means education for citizenship in classrooms, but it also means education for citizenship in families and communities.

I have just come from one of the monuments that the children have restored. I saw the excitement and the pride in their eyes and on their faces. I have seen how this church that was closed for decades and decades and which is now reopened has helped to revitalize an entire neighborhood. The children were taught those lessons. They were taken there by their teachers. They

helped to create a CD ROM about what they have done and what they have learned. They are on the frontiers as pioneers in democracy building.

One of those young citizens, a girl named Anna, wrote:

“Let’s not be quiet. The death of the judges makes us understand that we have to talk and not be as silent as fish. If we see young people drugging themselves, we have to speak up and not be afraid.”

I love that image. Do not be as silent as fish.

Think about what that young girl is telling all of us. Think about what she is asking of us adults. This simple statement that she goes on to conclude by saying: “If we see someone who doesn’t respect our city, we have to scold them. All Sicilians must learn that Sicily is wonderful.”

If every child had that same sense of citizenship, we would not have to worry about the future of our democracies. Whether it is building a playground in Kigali or in Belfast, Northern Ireland, or as I have also seen young children in Lucerne, Switzerland, being given responsibility and a little bit of money to plan what they would like in their cities, we have to do more to involve our children. We are up against great competition. Yes, crime and corruption and violence: they are the worst enemies of democracy. But the consumer culture, the materialism, the hours spent in front of the television set also disassociate children from community activities, from participation, from being part of a collective effort, and democracy requires that kind of responsibility.

So we must go into our schools, our communities, and we must as nations do more to encourage democracy-building among children. One of my husband’s most important initiatives as President has been the AmeriCorps program, designed to encourage young people to serve their nation by tutoring children, helping the environment, providing health care, doing the work that citizens have to do. To a program called “Learn and Serve America” we are integrating community service into the basic school curriculum. That is, I believe, the important kind of initiative that we should be looking at. Because all of the studies show that if young people -- like those I just saw at the church or those I have seen in my own country -- feel that they are part of democracy, they will become the citizens we need.

I visited many places around my own country because, as I have said, this old democracy that I represent does not have all of the answers. We are constantly learning as well. But as I have gone in and out of communities time and time again, I have been struck by the energy and the honesty of the children: whether it is a young African-American girl in the poorest neighborhood in one of the toughest cities in America who is successfully tutoring a young child to learn, or whether it is a group of students who are coming together to solve an environmental problem, or here to save a monument, it is that kind of educational effort we have to pay more attention to. We cannot take for granted that the lessons of democracy will be passed down. Very little in the consumer culture helps people understand what it means to be citizens. So we have an extra responsibility that each of us must work to meet.

Many of you have heard the story of how in the early 1980s, after yet another Mafia murder, some unknown hand scribbled a message on a street here in Palermo. The message was "Here dies the hope of the honest citizens of Palermo." A very different message was written on a board after the murder of the magistrates a decade later, when the people of Palermo began to rise up together to end the culture of violence.

Today begins a dawn which will see no sunset. There can never be a sunset on democracy. And so Palermo provides us a model of citizenship. Its lessons are there for all to learn and follow. Its message of hope is one that should light our way into the next century.

I was thinking, as I was standing behind the stage ready to go on, about a very famous line that President Kennedy used many years ago. Remember when he went to Berlin, when Berlin's freedom was under attack, and he stood there in front of the Berliners and told them "Ich bin ein Berliner--I am a Berliner." Now, what he meant by that was that I am a lover of freedom; I am a person who will stand with those who stand for freedom; that I will walk the long road with you.

Well, today we are thankfully beyond the Cold War but we have new challenges to face. Those challenges of violence and crime and corruption stalk us. Terrorism, international trafficking of women, drugs and weapons, those are the threats to democracy today. We do not have to worry as we did about the past, but if we do not pay attention to the present and the future, we will find ourselves behind a new iron curtain of fear.

So, if you will, think with me about how we can ensure that the lessons of Palermo are built on and that we stand with the people of Palermo and brave people and leaders everywhere, that we stand with the forces of law and order and civil society, those two wheels on the cart.

And if we do, then I think we could say, as President Kennedy said in another context, "*sono Palermitana*." And when we do that, then we can say not only "Viva Palermo" but "Viva Democracy" as well. Thank you all very much.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
TALKING POINTS FOR DEMINING CENTER  
LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA  
JUNE 21, 1999

- ñ I am delighted to be here in Slovenia – to help strengthen the partnership between our nations and commend you for being such a model for the region. And nowhere is that leadership more clear than at this extraordinary facility.
- ñ I want to thank the medical director, the hospital director, the doctors, therapists, counselors and supporters of this clinic who are making such a profound difference in the lives of all who come here seeking care.
- ñ I've just met with a number of patients – including children -- who are beginning the long process of rehabilitation, but who can also now imagine a life of self-sufficiency and dignity. For landmine survivors, this Center represents more than hope. It represents life itself.
- ñ And this center truly reflects the generosity and leadership of the Slovenian people. I know that you don't have a landmine problem. But, by establishing this Center and the International Trust Fund, Slovenia has done so much to help rebuild shattered lives for all Bosnians – Serb, Croat, and Muslim. And it will be equally important now in Kosovo – as we work to ensure that the refugees can return to a homeland in peace and safety.
- ñ I am very proud that my country is part of this effort. We are committed to ridding the Balkans of these mines and healing their victims. That's why we've pledged up to \$28 million in matching funds for the International Trust Fund – which means that Slovenia could obtain as much as \$56 million by 2000.
- ñ I can't think of a better gift to the next century. I want to urge other nations to follow Slovenia's lead – and make contributions to this Trust Fund and those it heals.

ñ And I especially want to thank this country – and this Center – for standing up for peace and security and reconciliation throughout the region. We are proud to stand with you.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
TALKING POINTS – MEETING WITH SLOVENIAN WOMEN  
LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA  
JUNE 21, 1999

- ñ I want to thank Mayor Potocnik [poh-POHCH-neek], for that generous introduction and for her many years of public service.
- ñ I am delighted to be here in Slovenia – and especially pleased to meet with such a distinguished group of women leaders.
- ñ When I attended a women’s conference last fall in Bulgaria, I met leaders from all over Southeastern Europe – including Slovenia. And I heard about your commitment to ensuring that women are full participants in the social, economic and political life of this country. I very much wanted to come and learn more about the progress you’re making.
- ñ Each one of you has reached the highest levels of your professions – government, law, medicine, civil society, academia, and business – and opened the doors to so many women who will follow. [In addition to the Mayor, I know we are joined by the first woman Minister of Economic Affairs. A judge on Slovenia’s highest court. A physician and AIDS activist. A CEO of one of your most prominent financial institutions. A prominent attorney. A professor of family psychology. A member of the City Council. And the Head of the Women’s Policy Office.]
- ñ At the Beijing Conference four years ago, women from Slovenia, the U.S. and countries all over the world came together. We may have spoken different languages, practiced different religions, had different customs, but we all wanted similar things. We want access to health care, education, jobs, credit and other tools of opportunity. We want to be at the table when decisions are made about our lives and families. We want our children – our boys and our girls -- to grow up in a clean environment, a peaceful world, and with a chance to go as far as their dreams and abilities will take them.

- ñ And everywhere I've been privileged to travel, I've tried to meet with women leaders like all of you – who are making these promises real in their communities and countries.
- ñ I've been very impressed by the legal rights that women enjoy in Slovenia. I'm told there are no laws that deny women or minorities access to housing, jobs, or education. That there are no restrictions that bar women from voting or being involved in the political process. And that equal pay for equal work is the norm, not the exception.
- ñ In many ways, you are a model for countries all over the world where the law is used to deny women from being full citizens.
- ñ Yet, as we've certainly learned in my country, passing laws is only the first step. Changing attitudes and changing customs is often much more difficult. In the U.S. women earned the right to vote almost 80 years ago, but we are still struggling to make sure our voices are heard at all levels of the political system.
- ñ I am anxious to hear about your experiences – about the gains you've made and the challenges you still face.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

CIVITAS INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

PALERMO, ITALY

JUNE 18, 1999

Thank you , Mr. Mayor, for that generous introduction, but more so for your unshakable belief in the power of ordinary citizens to transform their communities. It is such a pleasure to join all of you here in this beautiful and vibrant city of Palermo, and to see for myself – if only briefly -- the remarkable rebirth of citizenship that is unfolding here. I want to thank the many leaders who have joined us today, and supported this conference: Minister of Education Berlinquer; David Dorn, chair of CIVITAS International; U.N. Undersecretary Pino Arlacchi; and most importantly, civic educators and leaders from around the world.

As I stand here today with you, and look around me at this beautiful Massimo Opera House -- I can almost hear the shouts of joy from the young children who were listening to their first concert two years ago -- after they helped re-open the doors of this historic building. I've heard how hard they worked -- week after week -- month after month -- as they helped bring this historic building back to life after almost 25 years of abandonment. I'm told the children helped raise funds by holding art exhibits of their own work -- and put on community plays about the history of the theater. Their enthusiasm was infectious -- and soon everyone was involved -- with electricians and craftsmen working feverishly to restore this building -- to the cheers of community residents.

I've learned that young people now serve as guides – introducing visitors to this beautifully restored cultural center. Together with the entire community, they've not only helped reclaim their precious cultural heritage. They have become part of a remarkable citizens' movement to combat crime and violence that continues to transform life in this city.

*Alice  
Acher*

Today, we've come together from almost 80 countries, to learn the lessons of Palermo – and to underscore the vital role that citizen's movements play in strengthening the forces of democracy around the world. And I want to again recognize Civitas International – for its invaluable work in promoting civic education and democratic values around the globe; and for sponsoring this important international conference.

A few years ago at the White House, I had the privilege of meeting some of the teachers who had been trained by Civitas. They'd been working with the young people of Bosnia Herzegovina, and preparing them as citizens of the future. I was so impressed with the work they were doing – as they went into classrooms and communities – and helped people understand that just because a democracy is proclaimed on paper doesn't mean that people understand their democratic and civic responsibilities.

Today, the work of Civitas International – and the work that all of you do every day in your own communities to create the citizens of tomorrow -- is more vital than ever.

We come together in a time of great possibilities – as we see the forces of democracy sweep across the globe. Even today, we celebrate the first free elections in Indonesia in more than 40 years;; the reaffirmation of democracy by all races in South Africa; renewed hopes for peace in the Middle East; and finally -- the end of Serbia's brutal and systematic effort to drive ethnic Albanians from their homes. Finally, people there can begin to return to their homes, gather their families together, and begin rebuilding their lives.

So there is much to celebrate. Yet as Kosovo reminds us so powerfully -- even as the forces of freedom and peace move forward – age-old ethnic and religious hatreds continue to be unleashed, and strong undercurrents of crime, violence, and corruption threaten to dismantle many of our hard fought gains in every corner of the globe.

I have been privileged in the past several years, both with my husband and on my own, to travel around the world on behalf of my country. And I have seen first hand the newly emerging democracies take hold, find their footing, stumble, regain their footing, and try to go forward. I've seen how resilient the forces of democracy can be. But I've also seen that in order to strengthen and maintain those forces for justice, and peace, and tolerance – we must do even more to nurture and build a strong civil society – and teach the lessons of citizenship.

*Michelle Obama*

We all recognize how tough this work of building democracy is. It is, in fact, a never ending process. My own country became a democracy – a “new independent state” – in 1776 – and for over 220 years, we've been working hard to perfect it. It took us more than 10 years to draft a constitution, almost 90 years to rid our nation of slavery – almost 150 years to give women the right to vote – and even longer to make all of our citizens equal under the law.

It's still difficult for people to understand – even those in well established democracies -- that elections, by themselves, are not enough to create a democratic, peaceful, and tolerant nation. That laws – by themselves – are not enough.

That peace agreements – by themselves – are not enough. What we've learned over the years is that our most cherished ideals can only be made real through the everyday efforts of ordinary citizens. Our laws and institutions are absolutely critical. But democracy is nurtured and sustained only when democratic values are rooted in the hearts and <sup>mind</sup> actions of men and women. When citizens <sup>truly</sup> believe every individual is entitled to respect and dignity. When citizens practice the responsibilities of citizenship in their daily lives. When parents pass on these “habits of the heart” to their children by their example and by the stories they tell them as they tuck them into bed at night.

Be a person  
fear — Shall Use  
Not



And what better place to renew and strengthen our commitment to teaching those “habit of the heart” than here, in Palermo, where the lessons of citizenship are being taught every day.

I've been told that when the Mayor talks about how we go about creating the society in which we all want to live — that he <sup>should</sup> talks about a cart with two wheels. That to move forward in a democracy, and create a climate of lawfulness, you need law enforcement and civil society to work together .

If one wheel moves too fast, the cart spins around instead of moving forward.

Again and again, we've seen that law enforcement can't work in isolation, or lose its accountability to the people it serves. It must work hand in hand with citizens to change the culture of violence and strengthen the rule of law.

I, too have a simple metaphor to describe the challenges we all face in building democracy – ~~and creating a vibrant civil society~~. I talk about a three legged stool. One leg is the government [including law enforcement]; one leg is the economy; and one leg is what we call civil society. Obviously, we can't sit on that stool if there were only two legs or even just one. We could not sit on it if one leg was more powerful or longer than the other two. Creating that balance in society among these principal institutions that govern and in many ways define our lives together is something we are constantly striving to achieve.

We know we need government – effective; honest; transparent government that can do what individuals cannot do for themselves or what market economies cannot do or produce; governments that protect our freedoms and defend our lives.

But the government, no matter how well functioning, cannot  
itself create citizens.

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We know we need a free market economy – which can create jobs and wealth and consumers, and which can unleash the potential that is within so many people to have a better economic life for themselves and their families. But the market economy cannot create citizens. Only civil society, that third leg of the stool – can create citizens capable of transforming their own lives, and the communities around them.

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So, Mr. Mayor – whether the image is your cart – or my 3-legged stool – we are speaking the same language. That a vibrant civil society is as essential to human progress as the institutions of government and the <sup>economic</sup> market. We need them to balance and reinforce each other – and remain strong enough to support us all in the years to come. That is truly at the heart of our work together.

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Today, whether we look at the ongoing violence in our cities, the age old hatreds and conflicts that still tear communities and nations apart, or the struggles of new democracies to keep moving forward, we recognize how critical it is to nurture civil society, and to create opportunities for people to become citizens. And I believe that what you've accomplished here in Palermo can help us meet those critical challenges in our own communities.

*now we have to learn from you*

Among other lessons, Palermo teaches us about the emerging role that women are playing around the world in ending the violence in our societies, and creating the conditions for peace and democracy.

*on the front line*  
I've just come from a meeting with women who have been part of the Vital Voices conferences that have been held here in Europe and the Americas. These are remarkable events -- where women of all backgrounds, cultures, and beliefs come together to learn how to acquire the tools of opportunity -- like education; and health care; and their basic legal and human rights -- so that they can play an active role in their societies. And every time I meet with these women leaders, I am awed by how they have seized the moment to make their voices heard on behalf of themselves, and democracy's values.

*Barta*

Today in the video – we saw clearly how the women of Palermo helped spark this rebirth of citizenship. We learned how <sup>they</sup> the years of violence and bombings had left hundreds dead, and communities without hope. How the voices of the people of Palermo were silenced, and the symbols of this great city's history and culture were hidden or abandoned. But the brutal slayings of your two beloved magistrates [Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino] sparked a new level of outrage that people had reached their limit of tolerance for criminal violence. And that it was the women who first said, enough is enough, as they hung out their sheets -- often painted with anti Mafia slogans -- from their windows and balconies.

*touches  
a deep  
level*

The committee of the sheets was one of the first visible signs that the people of Palermo were going to fight the violence and corruption that had held this city captive for so long. But soon -- the voices of those who said : enough is enough; were not just women. They soon belonged to everyone. They belonged to the housewives and shopkeepers who joined youth groups and religious leaders in the streets. To the elementary school students who began to adopt the many monuments across Palermo – and demand they be restored and opened to the public.

To the educators who created a “lawfulness group” and began to promote activities that promoted civic conscience among their students. To the teachers, parents, and students who rallied to demand the money pocketed by dishonest officials be used instead to construct new schools and repair old classrooms.

Over the past few years, I’ve met with women from all walks of life, in many of the countries represented here today. Women like the women of Palermo – who stood up in their communities – often for the first time -- and said: enough is enough. I think of the Catholic and Protestant women of Northern Ireland – who while they may have worshipped separately on Sundays, all said the same silent prayer that their husbands and brothers and fathers would return safely every night. Having seen their lives and communities torn apart by sectarian violence, women came together as women have always done – around kitchen tables and in the market -- to talk about how to heal the divisions, and secure a peace. Their whispers of “enough” became a powerful chorus of protest that could no longer be ignored.

I think of the courageous women I’ve met in El Salvador and Guatemala, who fought on opposite sides of those armed conflicts, but who were now sitting around the same table.

Women who had lost fathers and sons to the war – and who saw their children had no future. They too said, enough is enough. What unites us – our dreams of peace, and opportunity; and a brighter future for our children – is stronger than what divides us. And these women, scarred by the violence of war, became the architects of the peace agreements that brought the sides together, and that began the difficult work of rebuilding their communities, and bridging the differences that had help people apart for so long.

I think of the women I've met in China, who understood that even as the laws stated on paper that their legal rights were protected – few women knew what those rights were – or had the skills or support to enforce them. I visited a small women's law clinic – where women lawyers were beginning to educate their peers -- primarily from the rural areas – about their legal and civil rights -- and defending them when those rights were denied. They worked at some risk to themselves – but were determined to say to the women of China – yes, you have the right to live in peace and dignity in your own homes and communities.

*Women's  
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Palermo teaches us another, equally important lesson. That if we are to ensure that the forces of democracy will prevail – and be strengthened – in the years ahead, then we must help create the citizens of the future. And perhaps the most powerful civic lessons that our children learn can take place not in the classroom—but in the community. Not just as students -- but as active participants in the building of their own futures.

Ed from  
Italy +  
done +  
beard

I've just come from a visit to Santa Maria Dello Spasimo – and I saw the excitement and pride in the eyes of the young people who told me the story of that beautiful place. How this once glorious 16<sup>th</sup> century church had been abandoned; and the surrounding neighborhood of Kalsa had become a magnet for thieves and crime – and despair. But then four years ago – the citizens of Palermo – including the children -- decided to reclaim this treasure – clearing away the rubble, restoring the church; and planting a garden.

I'd like to read a message from one of Palermo's youngest citizens. Anna wrote: "Let's not be quiet. The death of the judges makes us understand that we have to talk; and not be as silent as fish. If we see young people drugging themselves; we have to speak up, and not be afraid.

If we see someone who doesn't respect our city; we have to scold them. All Sicilians must learn that Sicily is wonderful." This simple statement expresses the kind of pride and confidence that children gain when given a chance to participate in the events and progress taking place around them.

I saw that same spirit of citizenship come alive when I visited a children's parliament in Luzern, Switzerland. Hands shot up eagerly as children voted how to spend their annual budget – whether – for example -- to build a park; or create more bike paths along the lake. [I admit – one of the most hotly contested policies was whether the afternoon snack would be croissants or jelly doughnuts.] But I was amazed at how articulate these young boys and girls were as they stood up to debate the pros and cons of each topic. These young people were learning fundamental lessons about the values of open debate, and the challenges of how we ensure public investment in a time of scarce resources. I particularly liked the fact that only the child who held a stuffed animal could speak [In this case, a stuffed money.] Learning not to interrupt each other is a valuable lesson in civility that many of us adults could use as well.

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I saw young people learning those same lessons of citizenship a few months ago, when I visited the site of a future playground in northern Ireland. This will be no ordinary playground. It will be place where Catholic and Protestant children, once locked away inside for fear of violence – will come out into the sunshine, and play together for the first time. And this playground isn't being designed by adults. It's being designed by the kids themselves – who've decided they want a tree house; and a footbridge, and an area to plant flowers in. Learning to be architects of their playground will give these young people a better chance to be architects of their futures later on – as they help build communities where their children can play in peace, and free from fear and violence.

And I see young people becoming citizens in communities in my own county – wherever they have the opportunity to tutor a younger student struggling to read; help renovate a house for a homeless family; transform a vacant lot into a community garden, or teach their peers how to resolve their differences, and respect each other. In America, we've developed the Learn and Serve America program – which integrates community service into the basic school curriculum.

The message that we want to reinforce – and one that CIVITAS underscores every day -- is that studying and practicing citizenship is as important as learning math, or English, or history. Because students learn that they have responsibilities to each other – and to the greater community. And that they can make a difference.

I'm proud that about half of our America's middle and high school students are involved in some form of public service. And for many young people who come from poor or difficult circumstances -- these programs have literally made the difference between lives of promise – and lives of despair.

One of my husband's proudest achievements is a program called AmeriCorps, our domestic Peace Corps. It gives young people the chance to pay for higher education, while at the same time giving back to the community. In the process, it teaches them that invaluable lesson of civic responsibility, and public service.

Studies show again and again that young people who serve get better grades; develop a stronger sense of personal and social responsibility; and strengthen their ties to the community.

The experience also transforms their own dreams, and expand their notions of what they believe they are capable of accomplishing.

I'll never forget hearing a young African American girl who lived in one of the poorest neighborhoods in town talk about her experiences successfully tutoring a young boy to read.

She was amazed she could make such a difference in a person's life. And it's programs like America's Learn and Service – and worldwide efforts like CIVITAS – that give young people that invaluable opportunity.

I can't tell you how many times in my travels around my own country and overseas, I have looked into the eyes of a child and seen so much promise and hope – which will either be ignited or snuffed out – depending upon what all of us do together. That is why we must do all we can to ignite the spirit of citizenship in every child – and give him or her a chance to serve. A chance to participate. A chance to be a citizen. There is no more important mission than instilling in our children a respect for democratic values, and teaching the next generation of leaders the skills they need to govern wisely.

I've heard that in the early 1980s, after a Mafia murder, some unknown hand wrote a scribbled message on the street: "Here dies the hope of honest citizens of Palermo."

A very different message was written on a board after the murder of the magistrates a decade later, when the people of Palermo began to rise up together to end the culture of violence. "Today begins a dawn which will see no sunset."

*Can never see sunset  
Demers*

Palermo has given us more than a model of citizenship. It has given us all a model of hope for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Hope that the power of ordinary citizens can triumph over the forces of violence and corruption. Hope that we can create the citizens of the future – by giving them the opportunity to learn – and serve -- in their communities. Hope that we can all decide our common obligations to each other – and our potential common future – offer greater promise than indifference or apathy. Hope that we can keep the wheels of the cart in balance – so that we can create the kind of vibrant civil society so essential to democracy and all of human progress.

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Thank you.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
REMARKS AT THE SORBONNE  
PARIS, FRANCE  
JUNE 17, 1999

Thank you. I want to thank Madame Chirac for her leadership, her extraordinary hospitality...and for all she has done to once again make my family feel so welcome. I want to thank Rector Blanchet [Blahn-shay], and the faculty, staff, and students at The Sorbonne for this gracious invitation. Mrs. Rohatyn, Ministers, distinguished guests, ladies and gentleman: I am honored to be here with all of you at one of the oldest and most distinguished universities in the world.

As I walked through this historic place, I couldn't help but think of the extraordinary minds who have called this university home, the powerful ideas borne and nurtured here, and the combination of tradition and change that has thrived within these walls – and is, in many ways, the topic I want to discuss today.

We hear quite a bit these days about globalization – and the dramatic changes it is bringing throughout the world. My husband talked about globalization yesterday in Geneva during a speech to the International Labor Organization. The leaders of the G-8 nations will discuss it at their summit this weekend in Germany. And in one form or another it is the topic of articles, t.v. shows, and conversations every single day.

All around us, we see remarkable increases in technology and shifts in the economy. We see the effects of rapid transportation and communication on our lives. And we see a world in which we are more interconnected – and I would argue – more interdependent than perhaps ever before.

Now, as with any sweeping change in history, there are those who are great proponents of globalization, whether they can define it or not. There are others who are its great opponents, whether they can define it or not. But, the real challenge is for all of us -- to not only understand these forces, but to use them to improve our societies...so we can ensure that globalization is never a substitute for humanization, never a force for marginalization, or an enemy of the values that have long shaped our two countries.

I'm told Thomas Jefferson used to walk these streets, awed by the architecture of Paris and buying books by Voltaire, Rousseau, and other leading thinkers of the Enlightenment. And what I imagine inspired him more than anything was the revolutionary idea that power comes from the people -- not from birth, not from religious order, not from social standing. That all people are born equal and shall remain equal under the law.

That simple, yet, powerful, idea built our sister republics. It has bound them -- through good times and tough times -- for more than two centuries. And it has constantly tested us to see if we can live up to their promise, to see if our actions match our ideals -- whether it be in our own backyards, or in places such as Kosovo, where the ethnic Albanians will -- thank God -- soon return home.

Recently, I visited a refugee camp in Macedonia. And it was there that I heard from families the most powerful arguments yet for why our international mission was so important. It was not told in statistics, but in stories -- heartbreaking stories of families separated and girls raped, of men executed and homes destroyed. None of us will ever forget those haunting images of children crowded into trains -- for they are images we had prayed we'd never see again. And I will always remember what one woman told me about that train ride. She was sitting on a cot in her tent. And she explained how her family had been herded like cattle into a train leaving her village. And how in the midst of the crowds and confusion, she was separated from her husband and three of her children. Now, she didn't know where they were -- or even whether they were alive.

But, in the face of the worst kinds of tragedy, I also saw the best of humanity – men, women, and children refusing to let hatred harden their hearts...relief workers, who were helping them heal and, one day, rebuild their lives.

And this was possible because from day one our countries and citizens stood up to Milosevic and reached out to his many victims. I know that here in France, there were high school students who raised money by selling bouquets of lilies in Normandy...school children who collected teddy bears and other toys in Brittany...and hundreds of thousands of refugees who were able to pick up a satellite phone to call their families and tell them they were alive [because of “Telecoms without Borders.”]. And I’m told that starting tomorrow, a public-private partnership between the U.S. and France will allow refugees in Lyon [Lee-on] to get on the internet and tell their stories, write to family and friends, and find loved ones who are missing.

The many democracies that waged the battle against Milosovic’s evil may have spoken different languages and held different views...but we sent a unified message at the end of this often bloody and tumultuous century.

We said that we will not turn away when human beings are cruelly expelled from their homelands... When human beings are denied basic rights and dignities because of how they look or worship. When crimes against humanity rear their ugly heads. We sent this message as an international community, but what about as individuals? How can we live the values in peacetime that we fought for in wartime? So that our children inherit a different kind of century and Millennium.

Like your Commission 2000, my husband and I created the White House Millennium Council to help all people mark this unique movement in history. We knew the year 2000 would come, whether we did anything about it or not. We knew it would be accompanied by great parties on New Year's Eve. We knew there would be entrepreneurs who would produce products like "millennium toothpaste" and "Millennium potato chips."

But we also knew that this was an incredible opportunity for all of us to think about who we are as a people – and what aspects of our history, culture, and values we want to bring with us into the next century. We have adopted in the United States a theme for the Millennium: honor the past, imagine the future.

And if we think about it, clearly by honoring the past, we must take a hard look at where we've been, we must acknowledge not only the progress, but the great violence and disappointment of the past century -- in order to better live in the present and imagine the future.

Now, at these times of great transition, there are always pessimists among us. I went back and read about the first Millennium's end and the myth of panic terror where people supposedly gave away their possessions and hid in churches in Europe waiting for the world to end. There was even a rather controversial monk who lived in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and consistently warned his neighbors of impending doom. He had quite a checkered past – he was expelled from a number of monasteries. But he always had an audience. There were always people who were ready to believe the worst about themselves and their futures.

Now, clearly the earth did not implode as he predicted. Rather, coming out of the so-called Dark Ages, there were changes that set the tone for what was to come. There was a spread of literacy. The emergence of craftsmen's guilds. Students congregating on the left bank of the Seine to study the liberal arts. And new universities and religious orders started.

Today, as we stand at a very different time, there is still much to be optimistic about in the world and much to be pessimistic about. But, when it comes to globalization, we have to be realistic -- it is here to stay. There is no turning back the clock, no doing away with computers, cutting off the Internet, stopping jet travel, preventing the mass media from bringing different cultures and ideas all over the world.

So, our challenge, given this reality, is how we harness these forces of globalization to deal with important questions that have always confronted humanity: Will the global economy lead to growth, stability, and innovation for nations or a race to the bottom of the economic ladder? Will it expand opportunities for all citizens or only those of us lucky enough to have the skills to navigate this new world?

Will it help us humanize each other and learn from one another? Or will it drive us further apart into our own self-proclaimed identities? Will we see our unique cultures uprooted by a one-dimensional consumer culture? Our spirituality replaced by materialism? Will the timeless fear of the unknown be transformed into racism, nativism, xenophobia and violence?

If we stop for a minute to think about how popular culture imagines the future, it is not a pretty sight. In my country, many of the movies in recent years express our innate fear about what is to come. There are apocalyptic visions that leave only a few people left on earth. Or whole cities that can only survive under domes because we have depleted our natural resources. And for some reason these films always seem to begin or end with space creatures blowing up Washington, D.C. and the White House...which I don't really know how to take. Clearly, we don't yet have a popular image of this world that we hope we can create.

I think of the statue of Victor Hugo next door...and his words that should still echo through this auditorium today: He said "There is nothing like a dream to create the future." So what vision of the future do we dare to dream of today? Because globalization in and of itself it is neither a good nor an evil. It offers us tremendous opportunities if only we take responsibility to dream – and then create – a society where democracy can spread and all citizens have a stake in their future. Where free markets benefit all people, and not just the privileged few. And where a vibrant civil society fosters free and active citizens who will ultimately determine our common fate in the next Millennium.

When I think about these three different aspects of society, I often use a very simple metaphor – a three-legged stool. One leg is the government, another is the economy, and the third is civil society. Obviously we cannot sit on the stool if there is only one or two legs. We cannot sit if one leg is shorter or longer. We need three legs that balance and reinforce each other – and are strong enough to support us all in the years to come.

More than 50 years after Bretton Woods, we need to create new financial architectures that will enable us to tackle runaway economies, global capitalism, social safety nets for the most vulnerable and other challenges. We need to address the debt burden that is crushing many of our poorest nations – and I know that our countries will be talking about this at the G-8 Summit and in the days ahead. And we need to continue to respond to those who still assault government, who claim that if we'd only abolish or weaken it, then everyone will have great freedom and prosperity. That is, I think, a very mistaken notion – and one that hopefully we can put to rest as we end the century. We need strong and efficient governments, neither oppressive nor weak, but able to confront the problems of their citizens and empower them to take responsibility for their families and communities.

Similarly, with the economy, there are those who are great critics of the free market who probably overstate its capacity...and those who are great advocates who understate its defects. We must continue to grapple with how to enjoy the benefits of the free market without suffering from its excesses. And surely we could spend the next few weeks here discussing these two critical issues. [I just saw a look of panic on the students' faces!]

But, what I want to focus briefly on today is the third leg of the stool – the one too often overlooked. That of civil society, of citizenship. It is there, in the space between the government and the economy, where we live our lives and pass down our values. It is where we find what deToqueville called the habits of the heart. The families and religion that give life meaning. The voluntary associations that bind us together. The arts and culture that define us, challenge us, and make our spirits soar. The training ground that turns people into citizens.

The economy can create jobs and enough wealth so we can survive and enjoy what is best about life. It can create consumers and producers of goods, but not citizens. Government can protect our freedom and defend our lives. But it cannot create citizens. Only civil society can do that.

As I have been privileged to travel throughout the world, I have seen, in democracies old and new, fragile and strong, how essential it is to nurture civil society, and create opportunities for people to become citizens. Because, as the debate over globalization continues, we must remember the citizens behind the statistics and abstract theories. It is our citizens who will have to get up day after day to raise children and make a living in today's world. It is their individual fates that are at stake. And it is they who will ultimately determine whether globalization succeeds. Because when all is said and done, there will never be a strong, sustainable global economy without a strong global society. As my husband said yesterday, "We must put a human face on the global economy, giving workers everywhere a stake in its success, equipping them to reap its rewards, providing for their families the basic conditions of a just society."

If we want to ensure that the global economy lifts all people, then there are certain concrete things we must do. First, we must invest in every citizen – from education to child care to health care. And that is not about redistributing wealth...it's about distributing opportunity.

[Now, there are some in my country and elsewhere who still say these are “soft issues” and that putting them in the spotlight will lead to what they call the “feminization of politics”...which I assume they think is a bad thing. But, I prefer to think of it as the humanization of politics...because these are the issues that go to the very heart of how people live and raise their families.

I remember coming here 10 years ago to learn about your child care system – and returning home so impressed with the commitment this country makes to comprehensive care for its youngest children. And yet, I have also seen in too many places around the world the dreams deferred, the lives cut short, when we fail to make adequate investments in all children.]

We cannot be satisfied unless we give all children a better education. Both Jefferson and Rousseau saw equal education as a cornerstone of democracy. And in 1999 it should go without saying that this must always mean educating girls as well as boys. We cannot be satisfied unless all young people have the jobs and hope and opportunity they need to take their rightful place in society.

And we cannot be satisfied until we invest in people's hopes and dreams, by giving them access to credit, making it possible for them to create businesses, and ensuring that they are not left out by a global economy that pays too little attention to what happens on the micro-level, where most people work both inside and outside of the home.

I've met thousands of people around the world whose lives have been literally transformed because of a loan as small as \$100. I remember a woman who told me that after she received enough money to buy a bigger sewing machine for her business, she felt like "a caged bird set free." And I have seen how credit can not only give a woman financial independence, but a voice and the confidence to use it on behalf of herself, her family, and her community.

Now, if we are to ensure that the global economy lifts all people, then we also have to ensure that we preserve and pass on the culture and history that defines who we are today. No matter where we live, none of us wants the worst of the consumer culture to overshadow the best traditions of our own unique cultures. And no one wants the greatest lessons of our past to simply fade away.

I have heard about what you're doing through your Millennium project to make sure that doesn't happen – from the 100,000 trees and flowers that will be planted along the French Meridian on Bastille Day...to the 2,000 young artists who will be sponsored to live, work, and exhibit through Europe.

[Save America's Treasures?] And tomorrow, when I go to Sicily, I will see a glorious 16<sup>th</sup> century church in Palermo. It used to be abandoned. Its surrounding neighborhood was a magnet for thieves and crime and despair. But then four years ago, the citizens of Palermo -- including the children -- decided to reclaim this treasure. So they cleared away the rubble. They restored the church -- and planted a garden. And in the process, they not only resurrected a historic site and turned it into a vibrant center for the arts. They also became part of a citizens' movement to combat crime and violence that continues to transform life in that city.

*Recruitment  
needs to  
start early*

If we want to ensure that the global economy lifts all of us, then we must teach young people – through word and example – to respect each other and see their diversity as a sign of strength. In France, young people saw this strength in the faces of your World Cup Champions last year.

They see it in the young people who are involved with groups like S.O.S Racism. They feel it in the belief both our countries share – that citizenship is based on civic ideals, not blood.

[And they learn it in exhibits like Silence the Violence, which is currently being put on by the Foundation of France at the Children's Museum. It gives very young children problems to solve. They are shown, for example, two wolves that want to occupy the same land. And they can choose conflict, sharing, or calling in a third party as a referee. They are shown a camel that encounters a stranger who looks different. And they can choose to exclude the stranger, explain the difference, or allowing it to join as an alien.]

In both our countries, we have struggled to live up to our ideals, to promote tolerance and respect, and expand the circle of human rights and human dignity to all our citizens. And we don't have to look far to see how hard this battle still is. How many people who don't find the meaning in their own lives turn against one another, often in violence. How many leaders around the world still try to lift themselves up by pushing their citizens apart.

But, I have also met people who are defying history by rewriting it – including in Northern Ireland...where Catholic and Protestant mothers finally said enough...enough bloodshed, enough children killed in gunfire. And their whispers of protest became a chorus that could no longer be ignored.

[And I think about my own country, where the events in Littleton sent shock waves through communities everywhere...and are galvanizing many people to work to get guns out of the hands of children...to stop the media's culture of violence from plaguing young people...to get help to troubled kids...and to make it easier for parents to be involved in their children's lives.]

And, if we are going to ensure that the global economy lifts all people, then they must learn about their rights and responsibilities as citizens – and exercise them. I remember a small village in Senegal, where they were learning about democracy by performing skits for one another. People would stand up and make speeches for others to critique. They would act out going to vote.

And I have heard about the work of the Youth Councils in France...where students in one community planted flowers and trees and worked to clean up the neighborhood – and then taught others to do the same. And where children in another community started examining the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. They interviewed each other, organized debates and became particularly interested in children as victims of war. They even became pen pals with children in Bosnia. And they learned the everyday lessons about how to be a citizen in a democracy.

I'm told there are more than 600,000 young people taking their baccalaureate exams in France this week, who are nervous about what the future holds. And certainly, for nations all over the world, the future holds no shortage of challenges. But I am, at heart, an optimist. I believe that we have great opportunities ahead of us if only we will seize them. We know we have global neighbors, but we haven't yet decided if we will build a global neighborhood. When we care about a toxic spill or a terrorist attack, or an economic downturn or a civil war in another nation, it is not just because it may affect us down the road...but rather because we recognize that in a very fundamental way, we are more interdependent than at any point in human history.

So that brings me back to where I started. When we imagine a future over the next century and Millennium, what is it that we will see? I remember one of those popular movies I referred to earlier that swept my country called Independence Day. In the end, we all needed to cooperate to fend off an alien attack. And certainly in the theater in which I saw it, there were great cheers as people of all different races and backgrounds and societies around the globe came together as human beings to save ourselves. We don't expect it to come to that. But in a very real way, unless we do come together, we will not have the opportunities we deserve at the end of this very difficult and troubled century.

Our predecessors did a lot over the last century to create opportunity, to build democracy, to give more people a chance to fulfill their God-given potential. What will we do now?

I am reminded of a speech given by one of your many distinguished students, Elie Weisel, when he received the Nobel Prize. He remembered asking his father how it was that the world could have possibly remained silent during the Holocaust, and he imagined that perhaps at some point in the future a young boy would turn and ask him the same question, "Tell me what have you done with my future? What have you done with your life?"

“And I would tell him,” Weisel says, “that I have tried to keep memory alive, I have tried to fight those who would forget.” How would we answer that question? Because one hundred years from now, at the end of the next century, perhaps in a virtual auditorium, a group of young people like those here today will want to ask us, what have you done with my future? What have you done with my life?

And I hope we can say that we honored the past by never forgetting its worst forms of evil...and never again remaining silent when people are being stripped of their rights or dignity. I hope we can say that, under our watch, globalization never became a substitute for humanization. That, when given the chance, we worked to create a global economy that did not drive us apart...or push some up and others down. And I hope we will say that we instead created a strong global society that lifted all people and gave them a chance to imagine a future better than their past.

With all of you continuing to lead the way, I know that day is possible. Thank you very much.