

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 5, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON *HRC*

CC: SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER
NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR TONY LAKE
USAID ADMINISTRATOR BRAIN ATWOOD

SUBJECT: REPORT ON CENTRAL EUROPE AND BALTIC TRAVEL
JULY 1-11, 1996

I recently returned from an eleven-day visit to Romania, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Estonia. My purpose was to demonstrate America's support to these countries rejoining the Western democratic family. These states rightfully consider themselves part of Europe, and they are eager to erase the artificial political and cultural dividing lines imposed during fifty years of totalitarian rule. I also visited Finland, which has played an important role in the Baltics region.

As I said during my first stop;

Let there be no doubt that... America will do her part to ensure integration into the family of democratic nations. Millions of Americans fought in two World Wars to keep the cause of freedom alive in all of Europe. And never once did we forget in the aftermath of 1945 that the liberation of Europe was incomplete -- that one-third of a continent was forced to endure dictatorship after dictatorship, oppression after oppression, indignity after indignity.

Now, with tyrants overthrown and the Cold War behind us, we are more determined than ever to help these countries replace the shackles of the past with the liberties of a democratic future. Americans of both political parties agree that the integration of Europe's new democracies is one of our greatest challenges in the post-Cold War world.

The timing of my trip was important. The runoff for the Russian Presidential elections on July 3 was a subject of considerable interest and some anxiety in the region. In addition, many of the countries I visited had either been through their own elections recently or were preparing for elections in the near future. Democracy was very much on their minds.

Each of these countries has approached the transition from a communist to a democratic and free market system in its own way, and with varying success, but I was impressed with the overall dedication to integration into the western family of democratic nations. A consistent theme in my meetings with heads of state and political leaders was their view that this integration depends to a great degree on the leadership of the United States. This is particularly true with respect to their views on the enlargement of NATO.

During my trip, I focused on the social building blocks of democracy, arguing that these countries' shared desire for integration with the West must include a shared commitment to the development of responsible, civil societies. I stressed the need for "an alliance of values" that make democracy strong -- rule of law, equal rights for women and minorities, freedom of the press, and inclusion of all sectors of society in addressing social, economic and humanitarian issues.

The Democracy Network Program, which you announced in Prague in January 1994, is now up and running in eleven countries in Central and Eastern Europe. I met with local groups involved in this program, which is improving social services, helping minorities, addressing women's concerns, and strengthening civil society. I saw evidence of the positive effects USAID has achieved by carefully targeting modest resources to NGOs under this program.

In each country, I was particularly encouraged by the enthusiasm and commitment of community groups and non-governmental organizations working at the ground level to build and maintain democracy. In each country, the NGOs emphasized the critical importance of U.S. assistance, both public and private, in catalyzing their own efforts -- showing them new ways to approach problems and helping them raise funds to sustain their important work. I remain concerned that decreases in the U.S. foreign assistance budget may cause us to prematurely abandon these fledgling NGOs which are playing such a vital role in creating and sustaining the new democracies.

I was pleased to see the partnerships that have emerged from U.S. investments from both the public and private sectors. I witnessed several such activities in the health care arena, where U.S. companies and educational institutions are finding that there are mutual benefits in the relationships they have established with the region's hospitals, medical training facilities, and clinics. The U.S. partners, sometimes with small SEED (Support for East European Democracies) support administered by USAID, are not only improving health conditions in these countries, but they are also demonstrating the principles of local responsibility and initiative.

Problems still exist: some minority communities feel less than welcome; private community organizations are frustrated by legislative and bureaucratic barriers; opportunities for women are underdeveloped; and some segments of society have yet to realize the benefits that flow from political and economic independence. Nevertheless, the countries and people

of the region have made tremendous progress and deserve our continued support.

I was privileged to make a speech on the Fourth of July at the headquarters of Radio Free Europe that was transmitted in 23 languages to countries in the region and the former Soviet Union. I conveyed a message of encouragement from America to people who might question the pace of progress or the pain of change, explaining that today's challenges are not unique to Central Europe, but face all democracies new and old. To meet them, the West needs to expand its democratic family by opening up the institutions that have served us for decades. But even as we do this, we must recognize that democracy is not just about institutions; it is also about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. Along with wider political, economic and strategic alliances, I stressed that we must develop an alliance of democratic values to guide us as we confront the unavoidable questions of the 21st century. We will do this the way it has always been done best: by building and strengthening civil society -- the vehicle for our values, the way we convey who we are and what we stand for. And when we encounter the inevitable setbacks and historical bumps in the road, the alliance of values that fuels civil society is what will carry us through.

ROMANIA

My first stop was in Bucharest, where I received an enthusiastic public welcome. Long considered to have been on the wrong side of the old dividing lines in Europe, Romanians are anxious to become a part of the West. They recognize they have an important opportunity now, but are not confident of acceptance, and worry that their neighbors, especially Hungary, are getting more attention. Romanian officials, including President Iliescu, stressed their desire for membership in NATO, which is supported by 97 percent of the population, the highest percentage of any country in the region. But they also expressed the fear that their old rival Hungary, once allowed into NATO, will work to keep Romania out.

Romania faces unique challenges. As I said in my remarks in Bucharest, "It is no secret that the oppressive hand of Communism left a deeper imprint in Romania than almost anywhere in Europe. You suffered through some of the most misguided economic policies, the most cynical disregard for human rights, the most abusive forms of social repression. From the smallest villages to the largest urban centers, the Romanian people bore a daily burden unimaginable in the West. Yet now, you are poised to break through to a new era -- a new era politically, economically and socially."

President Iliescu described to me the complex experience of the Ceausescu era which began as a popularly supported challenge to Soviet dominance, but degenerated into devastating totalitarianism after Ceausescu's exposure to Korean Dictator Kim Il Song in the 1970's. As a result, Romania was left far behind most of its neighbors when totalitarianism

collapsed in Central Europe. The scars of that experience are still too visible, even upon very young children as I saw tragically during my visit to a USAID-supported pediatric AIDS clinic. Romania has the highest rates of abortion, maternal mortality and pediatric AIDS in Europe. The NGO community and the government have begun to address these problems. In addition to the excellent pediatric AIDS center, I saw a progressive primary school jointly funded by USAID and UNICEF. The NGO community gave us a sense of how critical their work in Romania will be in advocating government action and in advancing the rights of women, children and minorities.

Romanians still seek clear affirmation that they will be welcomed into the new Europe. At the dedication of an Advanced Center for Nursing Education supported by American academic and health institutions, I reassured Romanian community leaders of U.S. support for Romania's integration with the West. I also stressed that building a democratic society is not easy. While meeting with a group of fledgling non-governmental organizations (NGOs) I noted that Romania, with the widest range of ethnic, religious and cultural groups in central Europe, must build its strength on the diversity of its people. This will require tolerance and a deliberate effort to assure all segments of society are free to participate and contribute.

I could see that Romania's political leadership -- the government and opposition -- is generally committed to democracy. But democracy in Romania needs more nurturing than many other countries of the region. Extremist views continue to play an important role in domestic politics. Nationalism remains a temptation. In fact, we found it necessary to cancel my visit to the Orthodox Kretzulescu church which, supported by the government, had tried successfully to restrict activities by a group of Jehovah's Witnesses just prior to my arrival.

Today, supporters of reform can appeal to the Romanian population's intense desire for integration with the West. However, should the people of Romania ever perceive this goal to be unattainable, reform could be jeopardized. My message to Romania was first one of encouragement for a country which has made tremendous progress with extremely limited resources; and second a reminder of how much remains to be done.

POLAND

Poland has been the most dynamically successful of the Central European countries since 1989. Its democracy has taken firm root despite frequent changes of government since 1989. Poland has instituted the furthest reaching economic reforms and now boasts the highest growth rate in the region. The ex-communist leadership has generally continued the reforms put in place by earlier Solidarity-organized governments. As I said in my speech in Warsaw at Lazinski Palace:

Today, the struggle for freedom is over in Poland. And at last, your nation's future is yours to shape. You have built a vibrant democracy in which elections are routine, the press is skeptical

and free, and politicians are held accountable for the decisions they make. You have reached out to your neighbors to overcome ancient disputes. Your economy is growing faster than any in Europe.

And thanks to the success of your democratic transformation and your economic reforms, America now looks at Poland in a very different way. Today Poland is becoming what you have always wanted it to become: a normal European country with normal European problems -- and most important, with normal European responsibilities.

Poland has made NATO membership its top foreign policy priority -- it enjoys nearly 80 percent support in public opinion polls. The prospect of NATO membership has helped stabilize Polish politics. This certainty of purpose, combined with Poland's economic success, seems to have created a confidence among Poles that the worst is over and the future is bright.

No longer distracted by misgivings about its own future, Poland is now actively "exporting stability" to neighboring countries, especially former adversaries Ukraine and Lithuania, with which it is establishing joint peacekeeping battalions. Poland understands that its eventual membership in NATO should not come at the expense of its neighbors, and is eager to work with us to foster regional stability.

I began my visit to Poland in Krakow, where I spent a day paying my respects to Poland's dramatic and often tragic history. I met with two intellectuals, veteran editor Jerzy Turowicz and Nobel Laureate Czeslaw Milosz, who were instrumental in keeping the flame of democracy and the rights of the individual burning during Communist rule. Accompanied by Poland's First Lady, Jolanta Kwasniewska, I also visited the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camps where millions of people, primarily Jews but also Poles and members of every European nationality were killed by the Nazis in World War II.

Later the same day, I arrived in Warsaw and visited the headquarters of the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation where several independent Jewish organizations, including a kindergarten for about 30 children, have begun to rebuild a small but vibrant Jewish community in Poland.

In a round-table discussion moderated by Mrs. Kozminska, a group of Polish women who are involved in grassroots and non-governmental organizations told me of their desire to become more active in Poland's evolving democracy. These women represented a variety of political views, from ex-communists to Solidarity veterans, but they shared a common commitment to becoming more directly involved in the building of Poland's democratic society.

In my speeches in Poland and elsewhere, I noted that women have suffered disproportionately both from the injustices of Communism and during this period of transition to the free market. Women are the primary caretakers for their families. They do much of the work in and out of the home. Yet, by and large, their wages have suffered the most since 1989. But I have also seen what happens when women do have access to education, health care, credit, jobs and basic rights. Their families are stronger. Their communities are stronger. Their nations are stronger. Women and children are key to building a civil society -- and to progress and prosperity in every country.

I saw a similar commitment when I met with recipients of \$700,000 in grants through the Democracy Network program administered by USAID. These grants will help Polish NGOs that are building democracy on the front lines in Poland by helping local groups protect their environment, improve health services, and teach children the values of democracy.

The enthusiasm of the women's groups and NGOs for democracy and their active role in building a civil society left me optimistic about Poland's future. USAID's assistance to these vibrant groups is a clear demonstration of what can be achieved through strong partnerships between our country and aid recipients.

I arrived in Poland just after President Yeltsin's re-election, and prior to President Kwasniewski's departure for Washington for his July 8 meeting with you. I met with President Kwasniewski to discuss Poland and its challenges and his upcoming visit to the U.S. He hosted a luncheon to which he invited leaders from Polish academia, media, the arts, politics and social concerns.

CZECH REPUBLIC

The Czech Republic is a fully functioning parliamentary democracy whose citizens enjoy the rights of free speech and free assembly. It has an independent legislature and free press. The Czech economic miracle -- growth, low unemployment, and macroeconomic stability -- is a shining example of what a free people can accomplish after years of tyranny. Because of the Czech Republic's success, other countries in the region look to it as a model for their development. As a result, the Czech Republic must continue to hold to the highest standards of democracy, including tolerance for minorities.

The key event of my visit to Prague was my speech on the Fourth of July, delivered at the headquarters of Radio Free Europe. I noted the world's admiration for the Czech Republic's bloodless "Velvet Revolution" and urged the Czech people to maintain their high standards for developing a civil society.

President Havel welcomed Ambassador Albright and me to a private dinner at his home. I also visited the Olga Havel foundation facility, an NGO founded by the President's late wife

which seeks to integrate into society those with disabilities or long-term health problems. The Foundation is an example of the important work being undertaken in the Czech Republic by voluntary organizations. I later participated in a meeting with representatives of NGOs active in the Czech Republic, where I emphasized the critical role their organizations must play in the building of a civil society.

I found the Czech NGO community well-established and driving toward establishing financial independence. Private U.S. groups, USAID and the Peace Corps have helped establish laws for philanthropy and have worked with foreign and Czech companies to support this community. I was impressed with how far Czech NGOs have come since 1989, but the groups still urged that U.S. assistance not be cut off prematurely, before the foundation of democracy is self-sustaining.

Ambassador Albright and I met with Prime Minister and Mrs. Klaus where we discussed the recent election in the Czech Republic and the Prime Minister's achievement, earlier that same day, of establishing a new government. I also welcomed the Klaus' personal involvement in the problems of the Roma community. This community faces widespread employment and economic discrimination in the Czech Republic, and many of them have been unable to acquire Czech citizenship due to restrictive conditions and bureaucratic requirements. I learned personally the problems confronted by the Roma community when I met with several of their representatives and visited a USAID-supported hospital and orphanage which accepts and attempts to place Roma children. Under the auspices of USAID, the Charles University Vinohrady Hospital, a major Czech teaching hospital, has teamed up with several U.S. medical institutions to implement improvements to health care quality that can be transferred easily to other hospitals in the Czech Republic.

SLOVAKIA

Slovakia is unique among the Central European countries that I visited; although there is grassroots support for democracy, the government's acceptance of basic democratic principles is more ambivalent, as has most recently been demonstrated by official policies which could hinder the development of participatory democracy in Slovakia. Both Ambassador Albright and I drew the attention of the Slovak government to our government's concerns.

I was warmly received by President Kovac, who greatly appreciates your meeting with him last November, and by Prime Minister Meciar, and Mayor Kresanek of Bratislava. During these discussions I expressed America's support for Slovakia's integration into the West. However, I also stressed the importance of protecting essential freedoms as a firm condition of this process. In light of the government's proposed legislation restricting the environment for NGOs, I specifically urged Prime Minister Meciar to recognize the essential contribution which NGO's make to the fabric of democracy. The Prime Minister insisted both to me and to Ambassador Albright that his government is committed to democracy, but that

democracy in Slovakia would be "different." Unfortunately, some of that difference may have been demonstrated in the particularly rough way the Prime Minister's security treated members of the American press who were traveling with me.

My meeting with representatives of NGO's in Bratislava was very encouraging. They were enthusiastic, undaunted and exhibited a sophisticated understanding of the opportunities and limitations of Slovakia's political, economic and social environment. They spoke of the government's pressure on the NGOs, which they likened to the practices of the Communist regime.

I stressed the need for all elements of society to work together, and the importance of individuals taking responsibility for political life. I encouraged the NGO's to continue their work as they provide the opportunities for individuals and groups to exercise their civic responsibility. I expressed the view that it is often difficult for those in elected positions to accept the inevitable criticism that goes with holding public office in a democracy, but this criticism is an essential part of the democratic process. Praising the efficient management of the Democracy Network program, the NGO leaders appealed to me to assure continued U.S. support for their efforts.

I was warmly received by a large crowd of Slovaks in Bratislava's Old Town, all of whom exhibited great affection for the U.S.

HUNGARY

Hungary, like the Czech Republic, has made tremendous progress in re-establishing stable democratic institutions and broadening its civil and participatory society. Because it instituted significant economic reforms as far back as the 1960's, by 1989 Hungary was in many respects well ahead of its neighbors in economic development and ties with the international private sector. However, this head start inhibited the launch of ambitious market reforms after 1989, and Hungary has paid a price.

In spite of Hungary's success in attracting foreign investment to an increasingly dynamic economy, the government is still struggling with the difficulty of providing social services and security in its new economic environment. Social programs in Hungary under Communist rule were generous, at least in theory, and many Hungarians look at capitalism as a much harsher, less caring system. This can also impact on minority issues, and during my meeting with representatives of Hungary's Roma community, I learned that even Hungary's fairly advanced society has not been able to provide for its small minority populations as well as it might. On a more positive front, I visited the Pediatric Oncology Outreach Hospital (POOH) which, through a USAID hospital partnership program, has received help from the Kansas University Medical School, has become one of the premier pediatric oncology centers in Hungary and is now expanding that expertise to other countries in the region.

In my remarks and encounters in Budapest, I stated that we will continue to support Hungary and view Hungary as a good friend and reliable partner. I urged them to stay the course on economic reform, since sustained economic growth in coming years will bring tangible benefits to Hungarians who now feel left behind. I participated in a roundtable discussion with Hungarian women involved in a wide variety of professions, where I learned of issues confronting women in Hungarian society and stressed the importance of networking and communicating to better leverage skills and resources. The women lamented their insignificant numbers in government leadership and the fact that 50% of the unemployed are women. They underscored the patience that is required to get through this period of transition.

During my stay, I met with President Goncz and Prime Minister Horn and stressed our appreciation for our excellent bilateral relations. I thanked them for Hungary's willingness to host some 4,000 U.S. troops supporting IFOR in Bosnia, and its support in opening the FBI-led International Law Enforcement Academy in Budapest. Prime Minister Horn described the political difficulty of continuing the pace of economic and social welfare reform, but stressed his determination to do so, recognizing that while the present generation may not be able to enjoy the fruits of this effort, the next will.

We also discussed Hungary's relations with its neighbors, and the Prime Minister described his government's efforts to bring about a historic reconciliation between peoples in the region. I complimented him on recent progress with Slovakia and the Ukraine, and expressed the hope that efforts with Romania would progress as well.

ESTONIA

In Estonia, the excitement and pride over the 1991 reassertion of independence is a tangible and vibrant part of the national environment. This was made evident to me in the discussions I had with community leaders and representatives of NGO's, in my walk through Tallinn's Old Town, and in the music and the folk dances that I was drawn into during my visit. It was also evident in my meetings with President Meri and Prime Minister Vahi who impressed me as capable and dynamic leaders.

At the same time, there is a sense of precariousness due to Estonia's continual strained relationship with Russia and a sense of Russian pressure. Estonians are confident of their European heritage, but some fear the West might abandon them should Russia intensify pressure on their country.

I was told before I arrived of the complaints raised by Russia, sometimes in a strident fashion, about the treatment of Estonia's ethnic-Russian minority which makes up 29 percent of the population. I asked about this issue, particularly in my meeting with NGOs and community leaders and was impressed with the broad commitment to progress. A representative of the President's Roundtable on minority issues described the strains on the

ethnic-Russian minority that must adjust to its new situation. I heard about grassroots initiatives where localities have created their own discussion roundtables; about communities which have promoted courses for schoolchildren in civic responsibility; and how rural areas are being taught to establish their own political action groups. I heard the assertion that Estonia is coming to accept a new identity as a multi-ethnic society.

I told them the U.S. believes Estonia has made significant progress as a nation in recognizing problems which need to be addressed, and is working to include the broadest possible spectrum of society in this effort. I encouraged them not to be afraid of the political process -- electoral or non-electoral -- because politics is the process by which societies come to agreement, make decisions, and set priorities. I also specifically praised the government's continuing role in promoting a multi-ethnic society.

I visited the USAID funded hospital partnership between the Tallinn's Women's Clinic, the first in Estonia to offer a broad range of health services for women, and George Washington University. This collaboration seeks to explore length of stay for childbirth and innovative home visit programs which can shorten hospital stays, an issue which concerns both the U.S. and Estonian medical community.

Before leaving Estonia I delivered a speech addressed to the people of all three Baltic nations at Estonia's newly re-opened National Library before an audience of political and community leaders. The speech was also relayed by video monitor to a nearby square where hundreds of Estonians were gathered. I reiterated our support for the Baltics, stressing we stood by them in the past, and would not abandon them in the future. I praised the progress of the Baltic countries in democracy building and the economy, and expressed admiration for their courage. I also publicly stated our support for the Estonian government's enlightened and courageous approach to its minority population, and stressed the importance of carrying this even further.

I reiterated my call for an "alliance of values" to guide our democracies as we confront the inevitable challenges of the 21st century: the challenge of keeping peace in a world where ancient hatreds are slow to die and new ones are too easily born; the challenge of giving all citizens the chance to fulfill their God-given potential and participate fully in the life of their country. I told them:

Democracy gives us the capacity to cope with these challenges. But democracy can only thrive in the post-Cold War era if we are able to convey the values underlying it -- the values of opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human dignity.

And just how do we convey those values to ourselves and, more important, to our children?

We do it by strengthening civil society -- by strengthening the daily associations and actions that weave together the fabric of democratic life...In short, we are creating an alliance of democratic values.

FINLAND

Finland impressed me as being eager to intensify its already strong institutional ties with the West. During the Cold War, Finland learned how to deal with the Soviet Union and is taking great care to avoid damaging its relationship with Russia now. At the same time, Finland has steadily moved closer to the Western institutions. Curiously, Finland suffers from high unemployment for the same reason as do many CEEs -- the collapse of the Soviet market hurt Finland's (and other CEE's) uncompetitive industries.

In my discussions with President Ahtisaari and other Finnish officials, I was impressed by Finland's sense of responsibility for strengthening the security of its Baltic neighbors, especially Estonia. Finland, now an EU member, sees itself as a major actor in the economic and security affairs of the eastern Baltic Sea. This is a role we should encourage.

In Finland I participated in a lively discussion with prominent women in Finland, including the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defense, the Speaker of the Parliament, and the Governor of the Central Bank.

CONCLUSIONS

The countries that I visited have made great strides in developing the kinds of dynamic civil societies necessary to support healthy democracies. My trip demonstrated the importance of American leadership and the contributions we have made to this effort through our assistance programs, the Peace Corps, the contributions of American NGOs, the work of our embassies and by example.

These countries still face many challenges and we have an interest in contributing to their continued success. Our SEED assistance program in Central Europe will move toward being phased out as these countries "graduate" from our assistance. All countries I visited are mindful of this. Estonia is due for its graduation in September of this year, but we are wisely continuing some excellent regional programs, including the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund, the Democracy Network, the Baltic regional energy project, and our law and democracy program. We can still help throughout the region in many ways by taking advantage of other regional programs as countries graduate from bilateral assistance, and by helping to direct the

resources of international institutions and American private organizations. We should do so. In September I will host a meeting at the White House with American government officials and representatives of American foundations to determine how we might work together more effectively to leverage limited resources.

Minorities in particular continue to be an important issue for most of the countries of the region. Their situation in many ways reflect the fractured nature of society and politics which has caused instability and conflict in the past, and could do so again in the future. It is important for the United States to remain focused on this issue in whatever way we usefully can, from providing support to specific institutions to promoting progress on bilateral treaties between nations.

While my discussions were not specifically directed towards economic issues, it is clear that progress in economic development remains key to political and social stability in the region. I saw much evidence of the U.S. contribution to the impressive growth that has taken place since 1989, from SEED programs to helping governments put in practice market economic principles to the substantial investments by U.S. companies. I hope this can continue.

Nowhere, however, was the impact of the United States more noticeable and more appreciated than in our leadership in enhancing the independence and security of these nations by promoting their integration into the fabric of western institutions. And, among these institutions, none is perceived to be more important than NATO. Every leader with whom I spoke stressed the critical importance of developing the process of NATO enlargement in a way which avoids any new dividing lines -- real or perceived -- in Europe. This is certainly the most important challenge facing our government in this region for the foreseeable future.

Central Europe deserves our continued support. Some countries need more reassurance than others, but all require attention. It was clear that the governments and the people in all the countries that I visited appreciated and were encouraged by the high profile attention of my visit. As decisions critical to the future of this region are addressed by the West over the next year, I believe it will be important to maintain this kind of attention.

The United States devoted our leadership and billions of dollars of our resources to waging the struggle against communism. Today these countries are free, they are making impressive progress on the road to democracy, but they will confront many challenges until they have solidified their democratic, free market transformation and joined the democratic community of nations. Our support and encouragement continue to be critical.

Wednesday, June 26, 1996

Prev Ron Washington, DC

7:00 am Wheels up from Andrews Air Force Base
 (Flight Time: 7 hours, 25 minutes +6)

8:25 pm Wheels down in Lyon

Ron Hotel Sofitel
 Lyon, France

Thursday, June 27, 1996

Prev Ron Hotel Sofitel
 Lyon, France

morning DOWN TIME

1:40 pm Arrival

7:45 pm Dinner
 Opera House

9:45 pm Opera Performance

Ron Hotel Sofitel
 Lyon, France

Friday, June 28, 1996

Prev Ron Hotel Sofitel
 Lyon, France

xxx am Inaugurate Rose Exhibition at the Conservatoire
 National de Musique

noon Chateau de Bagnols

xxx pm Visit to Winery

8 pm Dinner
 Tour Rose in the Old Town

9:30 pm Cultural Event

Ron Hotel Sofitel
 Lyon, France

Saturday, June 29, 1996

Prev Ron	Hotel Sofitel Lyon, France
xxx am	Visit Textile Museum
12:30 pm	Lunch
6:15 pm	Wheels up from Lyon (Flight Time: 1 hour)
7:15 pm	Wheels down in Paris
7:45 to 8:15 pm	DOWN TIME
8:30 pm	Dinner w/President and Mrs. Chirac
Ron	Ambassador's Residence Paris, France

Sunday, June 30, 1996

Prev Ron	Ambassador's Residence Paris, France
morning	DOWN TIME
2 pm	Depart for Giverny
3 pm	Visit to Giverny
5 pm	American Museum
6:30 pm	Dinner
Ron	Ambassador's Residence Paris, France

Monday, July 1, 1996

Prev Ron	Ambassador's Residence Paris, France
11:30 am	Wheels up from Paris, France (Flight Time: 2 hours and 35 min +1)
3:05 pm	Wheels down in Bucharest, Romania

4:00 pm Walking History Lesson
 Revolutionary Square

-- Atheneum
 -- Royal Palace
 -- Lay Flowers in front of Romanian Senate

5:00 pm Kretzulescu Orthodox Church

6 - 7 pm DOWN TIME

7:30 pm Reception hosted by President

RON Sofitel Hotel + opposition
 Bucharest, Romania

Meet w/ opposition?
 -brief + debrief ethnics

Tuesday, July 2, 1996

Prev Ron Sofitel Hotel
 Bucharest, Romania

10:30 am Pediatric Aids Center

noon Meeting w/NGOs
 Village Museum "democracy network," civil society
 HRC remarks

2 - 3:30 pm DOWN TIME

4 pm Meeting w/Families Adopting Children ← build this
 Ambassador's Residence? into AIDS center?

5 pm Embassy Meet and Greet
 Ambassador's Residence?

6:30 pm Wheels up from Bucharest, Romania
 (Flight Time: 1 hour, 20 min -1)

6:50 pm Wheels down in Hungary, Budapest

Ron Budapest, Hungary

Wednesday, July 3, 1996

Prev Ron Budapest, Hungary

9:30 am Meeting w/President

10:30 am Hospital Visit
 Partnership w/ Kansas City

noon Lunch w/Prime Minister
 Toast

2 pm Roma Community Center
 Gypsies

opposition

3:30 pm	Women's Event - <i>remarks</i>
5 pm	<i>Mrs. Blinker - 90 women</i> Embassy Meet and Greet - <i>brief remarks</i> <i>new building ribbon-cutting</i>
6:30 pm	Wheels up from Budapest (Flight Time: 1 hour and 5 minutes)
7:35 pm	Wheels down in Prague, Czech Republic
8 - 9 pm	DOWN TIME
9 pm	Dinner w/Havel
RON	Ambassador's Residence Prague, Czech Republic

Thursday, July 4, 1996

Prev Ron	Ambassador's Residence Prague, Czech Republic
9:30 am	NGO Forum <i>> discussion</i> Ambassador's Residence
10:30 to noon	DOWN TIME
12:30 pm	Speech Radio Free Europe <i>gov't + RFP's NGO's</i>
1:30 pm	Reception Radio Free Europe
3 pm	PM Meeting + <i>Mrs. RM</i>
4 - 8	DOWN TIME
8:30 pm	Boat Ride Fireworks
Ron	Ambassador's Residence Prague, Czech Republic

Friday, July 5, 1996

Prev Ron	Ambassador's Residence Prague, Czech Republic
10:30 am	Hospital and Orphanage Visit

AJD-Sponsored

~~noon~~ ~~Women's Event~~
~~Ambassador's Residence~~

3 pm Tour Palace and Havel's Office

6 pm Embassy Meet and Greet

Ron Ambassador's Residence
Prague, Czech Republic

Saturday, July 6, 1996

Prev Ron Ambassador's Residence
Prague, Czech Republic

9 am Wheels up from Prague
(Flight Time 50 min)

9:50 am Wheels down in Bratislava, Slovakia

10:45 am ~~Children's Hospital?~~

opposition?

noon Press Event??

mtg. w/ media

2:30 pm ~~Prime Minister~~ Meeting

President

3:00 pm Walk Thru Town Hall

4 pm NGO Forum / civil society location?
Remarks

5:30 pm Embassy Meet and Greet

6:30 pm Wheels up from Bratislava, Slovakia
(Flight Time: 50 min)

7:20 pm Wheels down in Krakow, Poland

Ron Krakow, Poland

Sunday, July 7, 1996

Prev Ron Krakow, Poland

9 am Cathedral + lay flowers
no services

10:00 am Depart for Auschwitz

11:00 to 1 pm Auschwitz and Brekinow

*where is from
Pope is from
Miles Lehman
talk w/ mayor*

Wednesday, July 10, 1996

Prev Ron Tallin, Estonia

10:30 am Embassy Meet and Greet

11 am Wheels up from Tallin
(Flight Time 35 minutes)

11:35 am Wheels down in Helsinki, Finland

12:30 pm Women's Event
Ambassador's Residence??

3 pm Market Square
OTR

5 - 10 pm DOWN TIME

Ron Ambassador's Residence
Helsinki, Finland

Thursday, July 11, 1996

Prev Ron Ambassador's Residence
Helsinki, Finland

9:30 am Embassy Meet and Greet

10 am Wheels up from Helsinki, Finland
(Flight Time: 3 hours and 30 min -2)

11:30 am Wheels down in Shannon, Ireland

11:30 to 1 pm REFUEL

1 pm Wheels up from Shannon, Ireland
(Flight Time: 7 hours and 15 min -5)

3:15 pm Wheels down in Washington, DC

Ron Washington, DC

OPTION 1

July 1996

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON*

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
	1	2 RON: Hungary	3 Hungary	4 <i>Independence Day</i>	5	6 Slovakia RON: Krakow
	Romania		RON: Prague			
7 Krakow RON: Warsaw	8 Warsaw	9 Estonia	10 Finland RON: Finland	11 Wash., DC	12	13
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OPTION 2

July 1996

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON*

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
	1	2 <i>Krakow</i> RON: Krakow <i>Warsaw</i>	3 Krakow Warsaw <i>dinner w/ Havel</i>	4 <i>Independence Day</i>	5	6 Slovakia RON: Hungary
	Romania		RON: Prague		Prague	
7 Hungary	8	9	10 Finland RON: Finland	11 Wash., DC	12	13
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6/12/1996

July 1996

OPTION 3

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON*

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
	1 RON: Romania	2 RON: Hungary	3 Hungary	4 <i>Independence Day</i>	5	6 Slovakia
	Romania		RON: Prague		RON: Estonia	
7	8 RON: Finland	9 Finland RON: Krakow	10 Krakow RON: Warsaw	11 Warsaw Wash., DC	12	13
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October 16, 1994, Sunday

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL; Pg. 32

LENGTH: 958 words

HEADLINE: Cold war divides the authors of Prague's new spring

BYLINE: by Tom Gross in Prague

BODY:

FEUDS between writers may be two a penny. But Bohemians do it with passion. Last Tuesday Milan Kundera was awarded yet another of his country's top literary honours - the prestigious Jaroslav Seifert prize. But Kundera will not be travelling to Prague to attend the award ceremony. Neither is he expected to appear next month, when his fellow Czech writer, Vaclav Havel, heads the ceremonies marking the fifth anniversary of the Velvet Revolution. For, five years after the collapse of communism, the two grand old men of the Czech cultural resistance are still not talking to each other. Czechoslovakia's 1989 revolution, one of the most romantic in living memory, was led by Havel, 58, and a host of other dissident writers, musicians, film-makers and artists. Havel addressed vast crowds in the city's Wenceslas Square. The assembled masses sang patriotic songs and jingled their key rings in a symbolic ringing that signalled the death knell of the hardline communist regime. Today Havel is president. Meanwhile, Kundera, the best known Czech writer since Kafka and the man who arguably did more than anyone else in the bleak years of the 1970s and 1980s, to remind the outside world that Czechoslovakia still existed in its own right, continues to sit, brooding alone, in his adopted home of Paris. "The animosity between Havel and Kundera dates to the late 1960s," said Jan Lukes, a Czech literary critic, "when, following the publication by Kundera of his article Inheritance Dispute, the two men disagreed over the value of Czech literature. But the rift became really acrimonious when it later assumed a more political dimension." Following the 1968 Prague Spring, freedom of cultural expression was curtailed and many writers became "non-persons". Kundera, for example, was dismissed from his teaching post at the film academy and his books were removed from shops and public libraries. Some, like Havel, chose to fight for cultural and political freedoms from within the country. Others, like Kundera, argued that such protests were futile. In 1975 he chose to emigrate. Two years later Havel and his fellow writers formed the country's principle dissident organisation, Charter 77, calling on the communist government to guarantee human rights and freedom of expression. But, in a move that provoked public and private criticism, Kundera, who was then living in safety abroad, refused to sign the Charter. In the years that followed, as Kundera was

being feted by the glitterati in Paris, Havel and his fellow dissidents were languishing in Czech jails or under house arrest. Rather than lend them moral and practical support, though, Kundera kept his silence, and - as they saw it - continued to mock their protests. In a 1981 essay in *The New York Review of Books*, for example, Kundera expressed the view that history was either "simply stupid" or amounted to a cruel joke played on humans by some comic Fates. Thus any attempt to change its course was futile. He further agitated the Czech dissident movement with the publication in 1984 of his novel *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* in which the hero, Tomas, is asked by his son to sign a petition showing solidarity with political prisoners. Tomas refuses, arguing that to do so would only reassure the petition's authors that they had some control over history. In his book *Disturbing the Peace*, meanwhile, Havel argued that this scene was merely Kundera's attempt to justify his own refusal to show solidarity with Czech dissidents. "Kundera may be a prisoner of his own scepticism," wrote Havel, "because it does not allow him to admit that it occasionally makes sense to risk appearing ridiculous and act bravely." For devotees of Czech cultural life, all this acrimony and bickering has been upsetting. When your country is under threat, what you need is unity, not bitter division. There was a certain amount of rejoicing then when, last November, rumours circulated that the feud was about to end. At an official breakfast in Paris, Kundera told the Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus that he would attend the Prague debut of his 1971 play *Jacques and His Master*. But on the appointed night two weeks later, as a host of dignitaries awaited Kundera and his expected public handshake with Havel, the prodigal son failed to show up. Indeed, Havel had been snubbed twice over. Kundera had agreed to meet Klaus, a bitter rival of Havel and an arch free market conservative, but not Havel. In apologising to the theatre management Kundera said he had not been to his homeland since the time of his emigration and therefore did not want to upset himself too much with new impressions. In fact Kundera had already made at least two visits since the revolution, to make arrangements for his previously banned books to be published. In France, the writer's friends have defended his behaviour. One, the writer Michel Tournier, said: "He's what you call a mediaphobe - he refuses to make appearances anywhere." Another, Phillipe Sollers, believes Kundera is concerned that media gossip and sensationalism are undermining serious intellectual debate and he sees himself as defending literature itself, which is under attack. But others charge 65-year-old Kundera with trying to create a JD Salinger-type mystique around himself. Either way, he appears to be moving further and further away from links with the homeland that he has championed in most of his work. Back in Prague the general feeling is that the least Kundera could now do is acknowledge that the man who led the bloodless revolution has indeed had some bearing on history, and - perhaps more important - that Czech culture not only survived communism, in underground dissident circles it actually flourished.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

June 27, 1993, Sunday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: FORUM; (NEWS); Pg. B3

LENGTH: 2057 words

HEADLINE: Confronting the nightmare of post-communism

BYLINE: VCLAV HAVEL

BODY:

For too many nations, facing up to the post- Communist world is an inconvenience best avoided. Understanding our destiny requires that we do.

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I remember a time when some of my friends and acquaintances used to go out of their way to avoid meeting me in the street. Though I certainly didn't intend it to be so, they saw me, in a way, as a voice of their conscience. They knew that if they stopped and talked with me, they would feel compelled to apologize for not openly defying the regime too, or to explain to me why they couldn't do it, or to defend themselves by claiming that dissent was pointless anyway. Conversations like this were usually quite an ordeal for both sides, and thus it was better to stay away from them altogether.

Another reason for their behavior was the fear that the police were following me and that just talking to me would cause them complications. It was easier not to go near me. Thus, they would avoid both an unpleasant conversation and the potential persecution that could follow. In short, I was, for those friends, an inconvenience, and inconveniences are best avoided.

For long decades, the chief nightmare of the democratic world was communism. Today -- three years after it began to collapse like an avalanche -- it would seem as though another nightmare has replaced it: post-communism. There were many, not just in the West but in the East as well, who had been looking forward for years to the fall of communism, and who had hoped that its collapse would mean history had at last come to its senses. Today, these same people are seriously worried about the consequences of that fall. Some of them may even feel a little nostalgic for a world that was, after all, slightly more transparent and understandable than the present one.

I do not share sentiments of that kind. I think we must not understand post-communism merely as something that makes life

difficult for the rest of the world. I certainly didn't understand communism that way. I saw it chiefly as a challenge, a challenge to thought and to action. To an even greater extent, post-communism represents precisely that kind of challenge.

In a situation where one system has collapsed and a new one does not yet exist, many people feel empty and frustrated. This condition is fertile ground for radicalism of all kinds, for the hunt for scapegoats and for the need to hide behind the anonymity of the group, be it socially- or ethnically-based. It encourages hatred of the world, self-affirmation at all costs, the feeling that everything is now permitted and the unparalleled flourishing of selfishness that goes along with it.

It gives rise to the search for a common and easily identifiable enemy, to political extremism, the most primitive cult of consumerism, to a carpetbagging of morality, stimulated by the historically unprecedented restructuring of property relations, and so on and so on. Thanks to its former democratic traditions and to its unique intellectual and spiritual climate, the Czech Republic, the westernmost of the post-Communist countries, is relatively well-off in this regard, compared with some of the other countries in the region. Nevertheless, we too are going through the same great transformation that all the post-Communist countries are and we can therefore talk about it with the authority of insiders.

Another factor that must be considered in any analysis of post-Communist phenomena is the intrinsic tendency of communism to make everything the same. The greatest enemy of communism was always individuality, variety, difference -- in a word, freedom. From Berlin to Vladivostok, the streets and buildings were decorated with the same red stars. Everywhere the same kind of celebratory parades were staged. Analogical state administrations were set up, along with the whole system of central direction for social and economic life. This vast shroud of uniformity, stifling all national, intellectual, spiritual, social, cultural and religious variety, covered over any differences and created the monstrous illusion that we were all the same.

The fall of communism destroyed this shroud of sameness and the world was caught napping by an outburst of the many unanticipated differences concealed beneath it, each of which -- after such a long time in the shadows -- felt a natural need to draw attention to itself, to emphasize its uniqueness and its difference from others. This is the reason for the eruption of so many different kinds of old-fashioned patriotism and expressions of hatred toward all those who appeared to be betraying their roots or identifying with different ones.

While the Western democracies have had decades to create a civil society, to build internationally integrated structures and to learn the arts of peaceful international co-existence and co-operation, the countries ruled by communism could not go

through this creative process. National and cultural differences were driven into the subterranean areas of social life where they were kept on ice and thus prevented from developing freely, from taking on modern forms of fresh air, from creating, over time, the free space of unity in variety.

At the same time many of the nations suppressed by communism had never enjoyed freedom, not even before communism's advent, and thus the basic questions of their existence as countries. Consequently, thousands of unsolved problems have now suddenly burst forth into the light of day, problems left unsolved by history, problems we had wrongly supposed were long forgotten. It is truly astonishing to discover how, after decades of falsified history and ideological manipulation, nothing has been forgotten. Nations are now remembering their ancient suffering, their ancient suppressors and their allies, their ancient statehood and their former borders, their traditional animosities and affinities -- in short, they are suddenly recalling a history that, until recently had been carefully concealed or misrepresented.

If we wish to understand the problems of the post-Communist world, or some of them, at least, then we must continually remind ourselves of something else. It is easy to deny the latent problems, ambitions, and particularities of nations. It is easy to make everything the same by force, to destroy the complex and fragile social, cultural, and economic relationships and institutions built up over centuries, and to enforce a single, primitive model of central control in the spirit of a proud utopianism. It is as easy to do that as it is to smash a piece of antique, inlaid furniture with a single blow from a hammer. But it is infinitely more difficult to restore it all, or to create it directly.

It seems to me that the challenge offered by the post-Communist world is merely the current form of a broader and more profound challenge to discover a new type of self-understanding for man, and a new type of politics that should flow from that understanding. As we all know, today's planetary civilization is in serious danger. We are rationally capable of describing, in vivid detail, all the dangers that threaten the world: the deepening gulf between the rich and the poor parts of the world, the population explosion, the potential for dramatic confrontations between different racial and cultural groups, the arming of whom no one seems able to stop, the nuclear threat, the plundering of natural resources, the destruction of the natural variety of species, the creation of holes in the ozone layer and the unstoppable global warming. What is unsettling is that the more we know about such dangers, the less able we seem to deal with them.

I see only one way out of this crisis: Man must come to a new understanding of himself, of his limitations and his place in the world. He should grasp his responsibility in a new way, and

re-establish a relationship with the things that transcend him. We must rehabilitate our sense of ourselves as active human subjects, and liberate ourselves from the captivity of a purely national perception of the world. Through this "subjecthood" and the individual conscience that goes with it, we must discover a new relationship to our neighbors, and to the universe and its metaphysical order, which is the source of the moral order.

We live in a world in which our destinies are tied to each other more closely than they ever have been before. It is a world with a single planetary civilization, yet it contains many cultures that, with increasing vigor and single-mindedness, resist cultural unification, reject mutual understanding and exist in what amounts to latent confrontation. It is a deeply dangerous state of affairs and it must be changed. The first step in this direction can be nothing less than a broad-based attempt by people from these cultures to understand one another and to understand each other's right to existence.

The new political self-understanding I am talking about means a clear departure from the understanding of the world that considers history, foreign cultures, foreign nations, and ultimately all those warnings about our future, as a mere agglomeration of annoying inconveniences that disturb our tranquility. A quiet life on the peak of a volcano is just as illusory as the notion I talked about at the beginning: that by avoiding an encounter with a dissident in the street, we can avoid the problem of communism and the question of how to deal with it.

This morning I had the honor of taking part in the opening of Holocaust Memorial Museum.

On this occasion, as I have so often before, I asked myself how could this have happened? How could people in the 20th century, aware of the theory of relativity, of quantum mechanics, who have penetrated to the heart of the atom and are exploring the reaches of outer space, have committed acts of horror so awful that to call them bestial would be to do an incredible disservice to all those creatures who happen not to be human. How could they have permitted it to happen?

In the context of what I have been talking about here, one aspect of a possible answer occurs to me. It was a failure of democracy, in which the politics of appeasement gave way to evil: what in my country we call the spirit of Munich. The inability of Europe and the world to recognize the emerging evil in time and stop it from growing to monstrous proportions is merely another form of what I have called here an understanding of the world as an agglomeration of inconveniences. The issue here is the absence of a wider sense of responsibility for the world.

Czechs remember well a remark made by a democratic statesman shortly before he signed the Munich agreement, the real beginning

of all the horrors of the Second World War. He was appalled, he said then, that his country was digging trenches and trying on gas masks "because of a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing." It is a classic example of how suicidal it is to try to avoid inconveniences. This politician regarded Nazism as a problem that would go away if he struck his head in the sand or, as it were, crossed over to the other side of the street.

And so the chosen people were chosen by history to bear the brunt for all of us. The meaning of their sacrifice is to warn us against indifference to things we foolishly believe do not concern us.

In today's world, everything concerns everyone. Communism also concerned everyone. And it also a matter of concern to everyone whether or not, and in what way, we manage to build a new zone of democracy, freedom and prosperity on its ruins. Every intellectual and material investment in the post-Communist world that is not haphazard but based on a deep understanding of what is happening there will repay the whole world many times over.

And not only that: It will also be one more step on the thorny pilgrimage of the human race toward a new understanding of its responsibility for its destiny..

(Vclac Havel , a playwright, was first president of post-Communist Czechoslovakia. This essay is excerpted from a speech at the convocation of George Washington University in Washington, D.C., where he was awarded a presidential medal. The speech was translated from the Czech by Paul Wilson and was first published in the New York Review of Books .)

GRAPHIC: Paul Gilligan, Citizen/ A piece of antique furniture can be smashed with a single blow

it is infinitely more difficult to restore it

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 29, 1993

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BBC Summary of World Broadcasts

October 26, 1995, Thursday

SECTION: Part 2 Central Europe, the Balkins; CENTRAL EUROPE;
CZECH REPUBLIC; EE/D2445/C

LENGTH: 788 words

HEADLINE: TURKISH CYPRIOTS;
President calls for UN to become parliament of peoples

SOURCE: Source: CTK news agency, Prague, in English 1026 gmt 25
Oct 95

BODY:

[1] Czech President Vaclav Havel has called for the UN to be turned from an organization primarily serving states into a body that brings the world's people together. The following is the text of a report by the Czech news agency CTK, including the "full text" of Havel's address to the special commemorative meeting of the UN General Assembly:

New York, 24th October: The following is the full text of Czech President Vaclav Havel's speech he delivered today at the special commemorative meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

Allow me a few words about my vision of the United Nations in the twenty-first century.

I am deeply convinced that the primeval foundations of the broad spectrum of cultures, civilizations and religions which we represent here contain certain basic moral principles which are identical to them all and which offer a key to human coexistence on this Earth of ours. I am convinced that we all share certain most profound experiences with ourselves, with the miracle of our very existence and with the miracle of the Universe of which we are a part. If the future of humankind is not to be jeopardized by civilizations and cultures in conflict, we have no alternative but to shift the ray of our attention from what separates us to what unites us. This is where I see the only possible source of a new spirit, of a new ethos of world cooperation, as well as of humanity's renewed responsibility for the world. This, too, is where I sense the only possible spiritual basis of any future meaningful existence of the UN.

So far, it seems to me, the United Nations has above all served states and their governments in reaching various agreements, but also in the competition of their interests, rivalries and prestige. In my vision, the UN of the future would

become more clearly an instrument serving all inhabitants of our planet, an instrument for pursuing their good life together. The point is not to expropriate any part of their internal identification with their own country, their people, their religious or cultural roots. The point is to forge a world in which everyone could be himself without being menaced by another, in which we would all feel that there are values which we all share, whose protection and nurturing is in the interest of us all.

The form of a 21st century UN could be shaped precisely by this spirit, by this sense of responsibility.

I have a vision of the UN General Assembly resembling one day a parliament of the world.

I have a vision of the UN Security Council assuming additional tasks. One day, it might become the focal point for the operational decision-making of this world organization, of all basic issues that concern it. Its permanent members, their composition better balanced than now, should one day include the most populous and most influential countries of the world, representing different continents and civilizations, indeed even certain integrated groups of states pursuing a joint foreign policy.

I have a vision of the UN one day establishing a permanent force capable of stopping aggressors, as well as a permanent peace-keeping force, with more of a police nature.

Generally speaking, I have a vision of the UN of the 21st century dealing only with matters that no one else can deal with, and only with matters it can really affect, quite a few of the issues it takes on today could probably be better dealt with by other global or regional organizations. All the more effectively and flexibly would it then deal with those issues that truly pertain to it.

This is connected with another major topic: cutting the UN bureaucracy down to size. I believe that the simpler its structure and the more independent and responsible its staff, the less it would actually cost us all.

And indeed, who should pay for it? Ideally, difficult though it is to imagine today, all citizens of this planet might one day contribute as directly as possible some minuscule portion of their income, to make it quite obvious that this is an organization people established for themselves rather than strictly the domain of professional diplomats serving various governments.

These few sentences should make it clear that my vision of the United Nations in the next century is not one of a monstrous superstate, a burden to all, but on the contrary of a flexible

and workmanlike instrument of service to all, infused by a common will to benefit humankind as a whole.

Let me sum up: mine is a vision of a United Nations consisting not - as happens so frequently today - of divided nations and in particular of divided states, but of united peoples, belonging to a world in jeopardy which can be saved only by uniting all human forces.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 26, 1995

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May 22, 1995, Metro Edition

SECTION: World & Nation; Pg. 6

LENGTH: 3805 words

HEADLINE: THE TRIAL: Anguish of change in the Czech Republic

BYLINE: Keith Harrison

BODY:

Each person comes to Prague for the first time with a different cargo of expectations. As I thought about my own, I realized they were a peculiar mix. As a kid, I'd heard Smetana's tone poem "die Moldau," that beautiful evocation of the river over which I would walk tomorrow. I also remembered Dvorak's Slavonic Dances with their rich and lively orchestration. These, and a few other hints and clues and memories, gave me the illusion that I had some sense of the spirit of the country I was about to land in.

My baggage was not all musical. I knew that about 40 miles north of Prague was the site of the German horror camp Terezin, where so many talented and totally innocent children were put to death, but not before leaving a record in poems and drawings of what they experienced and what they dreamed about. When I had first seen them in London, years ago, those paintings and poems had scoured me with the same helpless rage and pity I feel every time I remember them.

I also recalled some photographs, brought back recently by a friend, of the Jewish cemetery in Prague, which tells, in silent stone, the story of more than 50,000 people who have been reduced to their present population of fewer than 3,000. How can the mind encompass horrors such as these? They are literally unthinkable.

Then there was that other event, shared vicariously by millions of us throughout the world: the bloodless revolution of 1989 - the sudden collapse of the long reign of terror and suppression, and the astonishment and relief it brought, followed by the split, very quiet but very traumatic, of the old republic into Slovakia and the Czech Republic.

So many images, and layers of history, so many ghosts.

As I flew in, wondering and anticipating, the most powerful ghost was waiting for me. On my first night in Prague, as I walked through the deserted canyons of the streets near Dejvicka metro station, quite early - it must have been around 8 o'clock - I had

the impression that I was once again watching a film of the reign of terror. Some of the chill I felt can no doubt be put down to the dislocation of a long flight, but the eeriness of the streets in Prague at night is extraordinary. I made an entry in my notebook before going to bed:

I have the sense that I am not so much watching a film but that I am in the film. I hear boots. They are coming to take someone away. We don't know who he is, and we don't know why he's being arrested. I see white faces in a doorway, the look of horror and disbelief as another "dissident" is dragged off, possibly never to be seen again.

In America we have experienced only glimpses of a world that is run by a god who is evil and totally unaccountable. The McCarthy era, with its paranoid irrationality, gave us a mere shadow of what the people of Prague have endured almost continuously since 1938, first under Nazi domination, and then under the spirit-killing mindlessness of totalitarian Russia. The citizens have felt the central 20th century absurdity. Prague is, among many other things, the city of Franz Kafka.

Perhaps this is why, five years after their revolution, though the people of the Czech Republic are free, that adjective is troublesome. It has the taste of an apple full of nails. For, with freedom, after so many long years of repression, comes an army of unanticipated anxieties so that, as hard as it might be for us to believe, many Czechs even have a certain nostalgia for the pre-revolutionary era. I tried to understand this, and am still trying, and thought that the best way to get at these new anxieties was to inquire about them from several people who have looked at events carefully, and from very different angles. The sense that I had of knowing something about the Czech Republic because I had heard Dvorak and Smetana and read Kafka was rapidly dissipating.

The state of the arts

Vladimir Riha (pronounced Zee-ha) has lived most of his life in Prague as a writer - a man who loves his home with the kind of passion that only a few cities can inspire. I talked with him in his comfortable, book-lined flat in Dejvicka in the northwestern sector of Prague.

I was trained as a historian, but because I was brought up in a musical family, after graduating from the Faculty of Philosophy

in Prague, I turned to journalism in the arts, particularly music, mainly classical. I've also written about rock music, and I'm a fan of Bob Dylan, but most of my freelance is concerned with classical music.

Frankly, what you see going on in the world of music here, in fact in the arts generally, is something of a turmoil. There's a lot of quarreling and disaffection. . . . That concert by the Czech Philharmonic last night . . . the conductor, Gerd Albrecht, is a German. He was brought here a couple of years ago from Amsterdam because, although he didn't have an international reputation, everybody thought that now, in the full flush of the new freedom, he would be a very good contact for us with the rest of Western Europe.

Well, things have gradually soured. There are at least two factions. One wants the post of conductor to be given to a Czech national or to someone of international prominence who is not a German. I think, with our history, you'll understand the reasons for that. Anyway, others want to continue with the contract we made. A three-way fight between the Castle [Czech for "the White House"], the orchestra board and the ministry of culture is still going on after many months.

It's an unhappy situation, and no one knows what might come of it. In some ways, as far as the arts are concerned, it was somewhat better in the Communist era. Take film. We had a thriving studio here. We made contacts, and we turned out a certain number of films each year. People got paid. Not much, but they could live on it. Now the government is under severe economic pressure, and they want to cut back funding for music, film, the visual arts - everything. Some say they're right.

I know that other countries have political squabbles over how much the arts should be subsidized, but in America you have rich foundations and many other kinds of support for the arts. We don't. Not only that - all the cutbacks are coming at us at once, along with the collapse of other things we took for granted, such as health care. Under the Communists, health care was bureaucratic, somewhat ineffectual and impersonal, but it was steady. Now health is being privatized, and no one knows where we're going. All that creates conditions in which it's hard not to be apprehensive and cynical.

How would you describe the general influence of America in the new regime?

People have gone mad for anything American. Along with some good films, there's a flood of rubbish - porno films, thrash metal, drugs - there's a kind of blind festival of greed and

irresponsibility. It's very disturbing. I suppose it's understandable after all the years of censorship and control, but I think the greed really comes from a despair that things won't get better, and the truth is there's not much sign that they will. We simply don't know how to manage a market economy - we've never been trained. We know nothing about privatization and private responsibility. We're like ghosts after a tornado, wandering about looking for our houses. It's no one's fault and no one wants to turn the clock back, but the situation's pretty unhealthy, and the arts, which are my own concern, are part of it.

Still we Czechs are a resourceful people. We had a fine economy before the war, and there was a great deal of stability and creativity in the country. We have to find a way to capture that again. It will take a long time. We have to be patient and intelligent.

Mr. Livingstone, I presume

Olomouc (pronounced Ollo-moss), is a picturesque town of 60,000 in the eastern part of the country, not far from the Polish border. It is the home of Palacky University, which has grown so fast in recent years that the administration has had great difficulty in adjusting. It also was the home of some 25,000 soldiers during the period of Soviet domination.

I was made to feel instantly welcome by faculty members, including David Livingstone, of California, a young teacher of American literature who had been living in Olomouc for several years. Livingstone's take on the Czech Republic is an unusual one for an American. He had not only married a Czech woman, but was about to become a father. He was very pleased with both these things. Fluent in Czech, easygoing and observant, he seemed entirely at home in his new country.

These people have been very good to me. As you know, the economy here is pretty tight. But one gets by, and what holds me here is the generosity of the people. Hell, I'm not saying the Czechs are saints. They're much like people anywhere. If I had to make a single criticism, I'd say they've taken a little too much from the Germans. But I didn't come here to criticize, but to learn and to work and, apparently, to get married. Sure I miss California, but everyone misses something. I suppose, being the son of a minister, I have some kind of buried missionary zeal, though I don't think it's the usual kind. Most of all I want to help my students, and I've found to do that you have to overcome a very special problem.

Is it different from the usual student-teacher problem you encountered in America?

Yes, I think it is. I'll try to explain. What happened during the Communist era, as far as I can gather, was that a special kind of protective mentality arose. I suppose you could put it this way: Czech people have learned to think nothing whatever of conspiring to outwit the System. The System is impersonal, and it's the enemy. Everyone agrees that to betray your friend is a shocking thing . . . more shocking than in most places.

But to betray the System is perfectly OK. In fact, it's almost expected - it's almost a point of honor. The form this takes in education, in the new era of freedom, is very interesting. Although teachers, under the Communists, were also dominated by the System, what the students did, for reasons which become clear when you think about it, was to identify the teachers with the oppressors. After all, traditional European education is somewhat paternalistic and authoritarian. And to a young person growing up, there wasn't much difference between those who worked in the System as authorities and the Communist overlords. So they lumped them together and were suspicious of both.

This kind of thing isn't unheard of in America or elsewhere, but in America there's some attempt to make the students feel they are "special," that they're not being suppressed, and that they're even welcome. In the Czech Republic - and there are all kinds of exceptions to this, but it's generally true - students have a strong sense of group loyalty that gets a good deal of its meaning by being a loyalty against their teachers. People in authority certainly don't mean to make their charges uneasy and distrustful, but there is a gap, and that's the best explanation I've found for it so far.

How have you coped with it yourself?

Well, it was difficult at first - and then I began to understand the reasons. Even then, it took me about a year to engender a sense of trust in my classes, and it's still by no means perfect. Actually, it got me wondering about the American system of education, which also is highly paternalistic in many ways but . . . pretends not to be.

Here, there isn't any pretense, and because the lines are clear you can work at it. And I've made some headway. I have some excellent students here, and some of them know a great deal more about American and English and even Irish literature than I did at their age, in spite of the great difficulty they have in

getting texts. Even that has its positive side, though. The students here value their books because they're hard to get. I remember that in America such reverence for books among my fellow students at UCLA was pretty unusual. We just took them for granted, and we sold most of them at the end of the term. In America, books, like knowledge itself, are either useful or expendable.

After several years here, how do you see the larger question of the newfreedom?

There's a great deal I don't understand. You and I can never get into the mind of a people that have gone through what these people have. Or, if we did, it would take us years. So I have had to rethink my own purposes. If I have any mission at all, it's to help a little in whatever process of relearning is going on. There's not much you can do, and you don't have to understand all that much to be of use. You just have to be as human as you can be. Not "American," not an "expatriate" - just human. And sometimes you can feel it working. People begin to talk, really talk, and your students often forget the "rules" and argue with you. It's a very rewarding process. The country itself is in a mess, I suppose. But most countries are, aren't they? If the free-market economy solved everything, New York and L.A. would be Paradise. There's plenty of evidence that they aren't.

So I don't know what to make of the change, and I certainly don't know what will happen here. You just try to take every day as it comes. Sometimes you feel a little hemmed in because, once you've paid the rent, there's very little extra for travel or anything else. But that's only a problem when you think too much about it. I like it here.

A friend of the people

At that dangerous point when the Republic was about to overthrow the Communists, the town of Olomouc, with its large contingency of Soviet soldiers, was a tinder box. Many who were witness to the change from domination to freedom told me that it's a minor miracle the change was made with almost no outward signs of violence. One of the chief engineers in that transformation was Josef

Harab, rector (president) of Palacky University. His mind is fresh, wide-ranging and omnivorous. His knowledge of America is prodigious and his English is flawless, at times colloquial. I was lucky enough to travel with him in a car from Olomouc to Prague. I asked him if he played any public role in those events.

I was a faculty member, not a rector at that time. The students, as you can imagine, were in open rebellion, as they were on your campuses in the late '60s over Vietnam, and the faculty were very reluctant to join them. But at one of the rallies I crossed the line and said I would support them in their desire to rid the town of the Russians. Then things happened so quickly that it's hard to keep them clear. It's as if the film in my head is on permanent fast-forward. Somehow I was elected spokesman for the whole town, and they rigged up a platform on the statue in the town square, and there I was, standing in front of about 60,000 people. You've seen the town square, so you can imagine it: They were crammed together in the sidestreets so tight they could hardly move.

I'm used to dealing with small numbers, so I felt very odd standing up there. Then something peculiar happened. By a kind of force of common will, they made me their spokesman. So you understand what I mean? Something turned me from a "designated representative" into a voice. No matter how I tried to underplay my own role, each time I opened my mouth I became an instrument of the collective will of the people of the town. And I found myself saying things I never intended or expected.

You know, it was at that instant that I became frighteningly aware of how easy it would be to become a demagogue. I'm still appalled by that thought. How seductive and overpowering that feeling is!

Anyway, shortly after that demonstration, the Russian general, whose headquarters were in the Fine Arts building (they had just taken it over, years before) was so upset that he sent me a telegram summoning me to his office. So I replied with a telegram saying that I didn't take any notice of telegrams that summoned me to do anything. Somewhat miffed by that, but in an attempt to keep things peaceful, he asked me to come by for a chat. So I did. What he said, in effect, was that I had caused all the rebellious feeling in the town square, which I found immensely flattering but wildly off the mark, and that because I had made people rebel, I had the power AND the responsibility to call another meeting and tell them to forget all the nonsense and go back to normal.

My answer was, again, very simple. I told him, courteously and directly, that I was quite sure that I didn't have the power he ascribed to me and that, whether I had it or not, I had no intention of saying any such thing. Then, do you know what? There was a tiny moment when his hand, in a sort of reflex, reached for his revolver. Then he stopped himself, and laughed and, with the best appearance of cooperation that he could muster, we sat together and made some negotiations about the departure of his

troops.

One of the most amazing things in all this was not so much that the general was afraid of violence and bloodshed. His chief worry was that the townspeople would get very angry at the departing troops and - listen to this - that they would call out nasty things to his soldiers as they left. I realized that we had - what do you call it? - a cognitive gap, and I didn't bother to explain why the townspeople, after so many years of occupation, might be prompted to insult their invaders. My mind was concerned at this stage with one thing: getting him and his soldiers out of the town as quickly and as peacefully as possible. So I assured him that I would try to persuade the people of the town not to say rude words to his troops, and we left it at that. Shortly after - it was like the passing of a dark wind - the town was completely empty of Russians. It was all very strange.

While he told me all this, Dr. Harab's car was speeding toward the town of Brno, home of Masaryk University, where Vaclav Havel, now president of the republic, was to be awarded an honorary degree.

It was a windy morning, with a kind of chill that bores into the marrow. But inside the ceremonial hall at Brno, all was bright and festive. A small brass band was ready at the back of the hall, and a string quartet down near the stage. We waited a long time. Then, at last, the dignitaries began to process. Three things were immediately noticeable: This was a very serious occasion, full of what the ancients call "high solemnity"; the academic party was immensely large, and the color and variety of the robes were astonishing. They ranged from bright pink and chartreuse to dusky brown, puce and gold. The first row all carried golden maces - there were 10 of them. They entered and, in a row, faced the audience and sat. Finally, at a table such as one might see in a painting of the Italian Renaissance, came the highest-ranking members of the college, whose robes were as opulent, if not so wildly colorful, as the mace-bearers.

During several long speeches, Havel sat alone on the stage, facing the audience and looking somewhat uncomfortable. At a stretch it might have been a scene from one of his absurdist plays. Then he was duly invested with his new title and proceeded to the rostrum. He took the occasion to deliver a well-considered speech on the dangerous separation between common justice and the complex language and procedures of what is officially known as the Law. The audience listened attentively for the full 40 minutes or so and, perhaps as befitted the occasion, they seemed to me very reserved. At the very end, Havel made a small witticism, and it was greeted with polite laughter. Then, to the accompaniment of a beautifully played fanfare, the colorfully

robed guests filed out into the bitter cold.

Back in the car, on the way from Brno to Prague, Harab told me more about Palacky University and what had happened there in the past five years.

You can see we have a number of difficulties. On the practical side, we are very short of books, in fact we don't really have a library yet. At present, we are trying to convert what was the Russian regimental stables into the university library. It's a good building, but it has a problem with rising damp, which plays the devil with books, but we're making some progress. Another difficulty is that there are very few qualified graduates, and the reasons for that are very simple. The Germans simply shut down all the universities in 1939. And that ban lasted many years. Then, under the Russians, after 1981 there were no graduate programs. So we had our first crop of new Ph.D.'s last year. There were only 11. But it's a start.

Is there any way that American colleges might be useful as Czech universities gather their forces in the new era?

We should keep up and increase the exchange programs we've started. That's No. 1. The restoration is slow, but we are getting there. The fact that our students can experience other places and that your students can visit is immensely valuable.

The question not spoken

As I took the plane back to Minneapolis, though many scales had fallen from my eyes during my short stay, I realized that my ignorance of the Czech Republic and its problems had not been eliminated. I would have to go back and proceed much more slowly. But one thing was clear to me. It was a kind of subtext that I heard in a number of conversations that week.

The Czechs are a very proud people, and they do not in any way want to be patronized. They have their problems, and they are trying to get out from under. But they are highly suspicious of foreign expertise. If, for instance, they are to have a free-market economy, they want to have one after their own kind, one that is much more humane than most of the examples that

history has produced so far. This is the theme that Havel comes back to time and again in his speeches and essays.

So perhaps the real message of that unspoken subtext is one that we don't like to hear. When asked by Americans or others, "How can we be of any use?" my guess is that most Czechs would like to reply: "It seems to me that you have your own problems, and perhaps the place to begin is to take a look in your own back yard." They are, of course, too polite to say that, and I could be wrong. But in the silence between sentences I often felt that that admonition was floating in the air.

Keith Harrison is a professor of English and writer-in-residence at Carleton College in Northfield, Minn. In March he visited the Czech Republic, where he gave readings and lectures and met a number of writers and translators. He is author of "The Basho Poems" and "A Burning of Apple Wood, New and Selected Poems."

GRAPHIC: Map; Photograph

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BYLINE: By BURTON BOLLAG, Special to The New York Times

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BODY:

Three years after the fall of Communism and the unbanning of his books in Czechoslovakia, Milan Kundera has still not allowed any of his novels written after 1968 to be published in his native Czechoslovakia.

A number of Czechoslovak writers who know him say he has not got over the hurt he felt as a result of the often hostile reception his smuggled works received among Czechoslovak intellectuals during the Communist period.

Mr. Kundera, 63 years old, fled the persecution in his country in 1975 and moved to France with his wife, Vera, a banned television newscaster. They settled in Paris, where he writes and teaches today.

He has repeatedly refused invitations for an official visit to post-Communist Czechoslovakia. And he has ignored appeals by leading Czechoslovak writers, including his harshest former critics, to meet and patch up old differences.

"I don't think he has any real reason to be hurt; it's only a proof of how sensitive he is," said Ludvik Vaculik, a prominent Czechoslovak writer and former dissident who organized one of the main underground publishing networks under Communism. "He would do best to stay here for a short time, meet his friends, speak in public. No one would be hostile."

But up to now, that step has been too big for Mr. Kundera to take. A reclusive celebrity in his adoptive country, he has become a French citizen. Four years before the fall of Communism, Mr. Kundera told an interviewer, "France is my only real homeland now." He declined to be interviewed for this article.

Turning His Back

His latest novel, "Immortality," for the first time shows no connection to his country of origin. In many ways, he has turned his back on Czechoslovakia. But he hasn't stopped peering over his shoulder.

Recently he faxed greetings to the Regional Theater of Moravia in his hometown, Brno, on the opening of his play, "Jacques and His Master." And Mr. Kundera has promised to allow "Immortality" to be published in Czechoslovakia "soon."

In late October, Mr. Kundera, the former Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and three other Czechoslovak artists shared a dinner of wild pigeon at a small Left Bank restaurant in Paris. In Communist times Mr. Havel had been sharply critical of what he saw as Mr. Kundera's cynical attitude toward the efforts of the dissidents. But at the dinner and during a late-night discussion that followed at the Kunderas' apartment in Montparnasse, it was clear that old ideological differences had long been buried.

Asked about Mr. Kundera, Mr. Havel said later: "I found him very well informed about events here. I don't have the impression he's trying to live in isolation from his native country -- only from the media."

The criticisms of Mr. Kundera began shortly after the Communist ban on his teaching and publishing finally forced him into exile. There were a number of reasons for the hostility. But they all had one thing in common: While other writers inside Czechoslovakia were hounded by the police and forced to wash windows or stoke furnaces, Mr. Kundera was becoming one of the West's most exalted literary celebrities.

Poetry About Stalin

Some critics asserted that in the rare interviews he gave, Mr. Kundera glossed over the fact that as a young man he had been a Communist. He even wrote poetry glorifying Stalin, before becoming a critic of the Communist repressions and a leading literary figure in the reform current that eventually led to the short-lived 1968 Prague Spring.

Perhaps the most cogent criticism came from Mr. Havel. He explained his differences with Mr. Kundera in his 1986 book "Disturbing the Peace." Mr. Havel was then a dissident playwright who had already spent a long stretch in prison. In the book he comments on a scene from Mr. Kundera's 1984 novel, "The Unbearable Lightness of Being."

The son of Tomas asks his father to sign a petition calling for freedom for political prisoners. After hesitating, the father refuses because he realizes that it will do no good and is motivated primarily by the petitioners' desire to satisfy their

egos.

Mr. Havel wrote that in reality such efforts, even though they were often without any immediate effect, were immensely worthwhile. And he added, "It marked the beginning of a process in which people's civic backbones began to straighten again."

Since the fall of Communism in November 1989, the Kunderas have made only two short and very private visits to Czechoslovakia, to Brno. Mr. Kundera also visited Prague, but inognito. In Brno they stayed with friends, stopping for a brief visit at the comfortable gray stucco family house they used to live in.

Asked about his publishing plans in Czechoslovakia, Mr. Kundera provided a written answer confirming his intention to allow Atlantis, a small Czechoslovak publishing house, to gradually publish all his novels.

A Hope for 1998

Mr. Kundera explained that he wanted the new Czechoslovak editions to be the "critical and definitive" versions of his books. There are five remaining novels. "If all goes as I wish," he said, "around 1998 at the latest, all my novels will be published in my native country."

Jitka Uhdeova, the director of Atlantis, said, with barely concealed frustration, "He's a top, world-class author, but he isn't known here."

"The problem between Kundera and the writers living here," she continued, "is a problem of separation for almost 20 years. No one wanted the separation. But now it's not easy to come together again."

"This is the real tragedy of Eastern Europe. You can see it in the fate of a great man like Milan Kundera. But you can also see it in every family here."

GRAPHIC: Photo: Milan Kundera. (Vera Kundera)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 17, 1992

CENTRAL EUROPE TRIP

SLIDE 1: *"TRIP OF THE FIRST LADY TO CENTRAL EUROPE"*

SLIDE 2: *MAP OF REGION*

ROMANIA

SLIDE 3: *MAP OF ROMANIA*

ARRIVAL

SLIDE 4: *Arrival in Bucharest, Romania.
Romanian school children with flowers.*

SLIDE 5: *Arrival in Bucharest, Romania.
Romanian school children with flowers.*

REVOLUTIONARY SQUARE

SLIDE 6: *Warm welcome by the crowd gathered in Revolutionary Square.*

- Revolutionary Square is the main site of the 1989 revolution. I saw the Romanian Senate Building, formerly the Central Committee Building, from which the dictator Nicolas Ceaucescu (CHOW-chess-coo) was forced to flee by helicopter on December 22, 1996. The square was the site of armed clashes between rival groups struggling for political power during the uprising.

SLIDE 7: *Laying flowers at the Wooden Cross.*

- The wooden cross was erected in memory of the countless victims of communism in Romania and those who died on the streets during the Revolution.

SLIDE 8: *Receiving a revolutionary flag.*

- This flag flew in Revolutionary Square during the uprising and has bullet holes in it from the fighting.

SLIDE 9: Speaking at the Square of the Revolution.

THEMES:

- It was in this square that the Romanian people showed the world what can happen when people stand up for the cause of freedom.
- I brought a sense admiration, friendship and support from the American people. We share in Romania's aspirations for a free and democratic Romania -- a Romania where human dignity and justice are never again submerged to fulfill the whims of a despot.
- As Romania travels along the road to democracy, America will help. We will help Romania build a society that respects human rights, a free press, and the rule of law.

PEDIATRIC AIDS CLINIC AT LUPU HOSPITAL

SLIDE 10: HRC with staff and children.

- 2,291 Romanians suffer from AIDS -- 91% are children. Romania accounts for more than half of the pediatric AIDS cases for the whole of Europe.
- Many of the children contracted AIDS while housed in orphanages during the Ceaucescu era. The orphanages were a breeding ground for AIDS -- unsafe medical practices, badly screened blood, routine blood transfusions for underweight babies and antibiotics administered by injection all played a part in spreading AIDS to children.
- However, conditions have improved dramatically from the harrowing scenes immediately after the Revolution. Usually with the help of foreign charities, many of the worst hospital wards and filthy orphanages have been cleaned and care improved.

SLIDE 11: Children with sunglasses donated by US.

SLIDE 12: Group photo with staff.

GRANDINITA SCHOOL #57

SLIDE 13: Sitting at table in classroom.

- This school is an example of the education reforms in Romania. The school receives joint funding from UNICEF and USAID and is also strongly supported by the state. The

Minister of Education is a Fulbright Scholar who studied in the U.S. and has been advancing improvements in the Romanian education system.

SLIDE 14: Discussion with parents followed by entertainment by children.

- Parents are very pleased with the school's reforms. They see behavior improvements in their children -- most of the children actually enjoy going to school now.

ADVANCED CENTER FOR NURSING EDUCATION

SLIDE 15: HRC addressing group.

- My visit happily coincided with the dedication ceremony for the newly-established Advanced Center for Nursing Education, which capped the end of a six-year effort by the United States to help improve health care services to the Romanian. The Department of Health and Human Services worked with Humana Hospitals, Baylor University and 3M to assist the Romanian Ministry of Health with maternal and child health issues as well as broadening the role of nurses. They provided training programs, as well as direct donations of equipment, supplies and technical literature.
- This Center's funding initially came from a World Bank loan, which in turn leveraged the private funding. The Center is a wonderful example of the many public-private partnerships working in Central Europe. When the necessary tools are provided, a system like Romania's can become self-sufficient and begin to provide high-quality care to the people.
- It was at the Center that I made remarks to the people of Romania. I told them that it was no secret that the oppressive hand of Communism left a deeper imprint in Romania than almost anywhere in Europe. Romanians suffered through some of the most misguided economic policies, the most cynical disregard for human rights, the most abusive forms of social repression. From the smallest villages to the largest urban centers, the Romanian people bore a daily burden unimaginable in the West. Yet now, they are poised to break through to a new era -- a new era politically, economically and socially.

SLIDE 16: Group photo with nurses and American sponsors

- I was joined at the dedication ceremony by representatives of Baylor, Humana and 3M, who were seated next to me in the front row.

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ILIESCU

SLIDE 17: Remarks upon arrival at Controceni Palace

SLIDE 18: Meeting with President Iliescu (ILL-ee-es-coo)

- When I met with President Iliescu, I spoke with him about Romania's remarkable transition to democracy. I told him that the United States was aware of the difficult reforms they had undertaken and that the road to democracy is often a hard one.

SLIDE 19: Reception with Government and opposition leaders hosted by Pres. Iliescu.

VILLAGE MUSEUM

SLIDE 20: Looking on as woman paints eggs.

- The village museum represents for Romanians an embodiment of the country's national spirit. The museum was opened in 1936 and encompasses over 80 structures that were removed from Romania's five major regions and then reassembled at the museum. I was able to tour one beautiful house from the 1870's.
- I also met several local craftsmen demonstrating traditional handicrafts on the lawns outside the museum.

SLIDE 21: More egg painting.

SLIDE 22: Weaving.

SLIDE 23: Hand flutes.

NGO FORUM

SLIDE 24: NGO meeting at Elisabeta Palace.

- I met with heads of Romanian NGO's which were all attempting in various ways to strengthen the country's burgeoning civil society and private sector. They are promoting women's issues, safeguarding human rights, helping street children and orphans, and strengthening democratic institutions.
- Private sector activities like this, which are taken for granted in the United States, are completely new to many formerly Communist countries like Romania. They are struggling to establish themselves and become self-sustaining, and look to the United States for both support and guidance.

- Romania, with the widest range of ethnic, religious and cultural groups in Central Europe, must build its strength on the diversity of its people. This will require tolerance and a deliberate effort to assure all segments of society are free to participate and contribute.

SLIDE 25: Wide shot of NGO meeting.

POLAND

SLIDE 26: MAP OF POLAND

- Poland has been the most dynamically successful of the Central European countries since 1989. Its democracy has taken firm root despite frequent changes of government since 1989. Poland has instituted the furthest reaching economic reforms and now boasts the highest growth rate in the region. The ex-communist leadership has generally continued the reforms put in place by earlier Solidarity-organized governments. As I said in my speech at Lazinski Palace:

"Today, the struggle for freedom is over in Poland. And at last, your nation's future is yours to shape. You have built a vibrant democracy in which elections are routine, the press is skeptical and free, and politicians are held accountable for the decisions they make. You have reached out to your neighbors to overcome ancient disputes. Your economy is growing faster than any in Europe.

And thanks to the success of your democratic transformation and your economic reforms, America now looks at Poland in a very different way. Today, Poland is becoming what you have always wanted it to become: a normal European country with normal European problems - and most important, with normal European responsibilities."

ARRIVAL IN KRAKOW

SLIDE 27: HRC is presented with bread and salt by children in traditional dress.

WAWEL (VAH-vell) CATHEDRAL

SLIDE 28: HRC is escorted into the cathedral by Mrs. Kwasniewska and the Priest Prelate of the Cathedral.

- Wawel Cathedral is a living repository of the Poles heart-felt cultural and historical pride. The cathedral is also the emotional center of the Poles' long struggle for independence.

SLIDE 29: HRC and Mrs. Kwasniewska lay flowers at Kosciusko's (Kosh-CHOOSH-koh) tomb.

- Kosciusko (Kosh-CHOOSH-koh) was a hero of both the Polish and American revolutions and has been given a place of honor at the cathedral.

MEETING WITH INTELLECTUALS

SLIDE 30: Meeting with Czeslaw Milosz and Jerzy Turowicz.

- I was honored to meet with two of Poland's leading intellectuals, Czeslaw Milosz (CHEHS-wahv ME-wohsh) and Jerzy Turowicz (YEHR-zhee toor-OH-weech). They were both instrumental in keeping the ideals of democracy and the rights of the individual alive during Communist rule. Milosz won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1980. His writing was banned in Poland, which he had left after WWII when he became disillusioned with communism. He currently teaches Slavic Languages and Literature at the University of California at Berkeley, and divides his time between Poland and the U.S.
- Turowicz is a journalist and editor of a Catholic weekly which provided Poland with an independent voice under communism. He is considered by many to be Poland's moral compass and urges moderation and tolerance in religion and politics, and leads efforts to improve Polish-Jewish relations.

OLD TOWN SQUARE

SLIDE 31: Walking into Old Town Square with Mrs. Kwasniewska (kvash-NYEV-skah).

SLIDE 32: Mrs. Kwasniewska putting a coin into the collection box for the Old Krakow Restoration Fund.

SLIDE 33: Laying flowers at Kosciuszko's memorial plaque.

SLIDE 34: HRC is greeted by thousands gathered in the square.

SLIDE 35: A young Polish fan.

SLIDE 36: HRC making remarks in Old Town Square.

- I was so proud to be in Krakow, the historic capital of old Poland, the birthplace of Poland's democracy, and an important symbol for American democracy as well. Americans

can learn much from Poland's heroic determination to regain freedom, from Poland's commitment to democracy and from Poland's ability to weather the stresses of transformation. Having achieved so much so fast, Poland is set to be a leader and example for the 21st Century.

SLIDE 37: Young fans listening to the speech.

AUSCHWITZ CONCENTRATION CAMP

SLIDE 38: HRC and Mrs. Kwasniewska at the Main Gate of Auschwitz.

- The concentration camps at Auschwitz-Birkenau comprised the largest of the Nazi death facilities. Auschwitz was a concentration camp initially built for Poles; Birkenau was an extermination camp primarily intended to murder Jews. Millions of people, primarily Jews, but also Poles and members of every European nationality, were killed by the Nazis. Today the camps are preserved as a museum, with many of the original structures intact or restored.
- Words cannot express the horror of what happened at these camps. Remarkably, Auschwitz and Birkenau have become centers of remembrance and healing.

SLIDE 39: Barracks.

SLIDE 40: Cell room in barracks.

SLIDE 41: HRC at Wall of death.

- This execution wall is one of the most symbolic areas at the camp and is the site of the killing of a Polish priest who took the place of another man sentenced to die.

SLIDE 42: Photo of George Santayana quote.

BIRKENAU CONCENTRATION CAMP

SLIDE 43: Laying stone at train tracks.

SLIDE 44: Monument of Nations (an international monument to the victims of Auschwitz).

SLIDE 45: Memorial.

ARRIVAL IN WARSAW

SLIDE 46: Arrival in Warsaw.

LAUDER JEWISH CENTER

SLIDE 47: Young boy greeting HRC at Jewish Center.

- The Ronald S. Lauder Foundation is based in New York and encourages Jewish education and religious activity in Eastern Europe. The headquarters in Warsaw houses several activities: a kindergarten and Jewish youth club, the Polish Union of Jewish Students, a Jewish travel agency, a Jewish newspaper, a Jewish veterans group, and the Children of the Holocaust organization.
- The Lauder Foundation's mission is to rebuild a living Jewish community and it is thus far been remarkably successful. It is important for Americans to know that there is still a Jewish community in Poland. This center and the organizations it houses testify to the vitality of the Jewish community, to the triumph of life over death.

SLIDE 48: Group photo with children and staff at the Jewish Center.

SLIDE 49: Meeting with heads of Warsaw Jewish Community.

- After a tour of the building, I met with heads of organizations that are housed in the Foundation headquarters.

MEETING WITH POLISH WOMEN

SLIDE 50: Meeting with prominent Polish women.

- Many of the women I met with in Poland are involved in grass-roots and non-governmental organizations, as well as several leading women in Polish politics, including the Deputy Speakers of the Parliament and Senate.
- The discussion was hosted and moderated by Mrs. Kwasniewska. The women represented a variety of political views, from ex-Communists to Solidarity veterans, but they shared a common commitment to becoming more directly involved in the building of Poland's democratic society. In speeches in Poland and elsewhere, I noted that women have suffered disproportionately from the injustices of Communism and during the transition to the free market.
- Women are the primary caretakers for their families. They

do much of the work in and out of the home. Yet, by and large, their wages have suffered the most since 1989. But I have also seen what happens when women do have access to education, health care, credit, jobs and basic rights. Their families are stronger. Their communities are stronger. Their nations are stronger. Women and children are key to building a civil society -- and to progress and prosperity in every country.

SLIDE 51: Group photo.

GRANT ALLOCATION EVENT

SLIDE 52: Arrival at Lazienki Palace.

SLIDE 53: HRC speaks at grant allocation event.

- I was fortunate to announce that, as part of our ongoing commitment to the Democracy Network Program, the United States Agency for International Development was contributing \$700,000 for 36 small grants to be given out this summer. These grants will be delivered to non-governmental organizations that are building democracy on the front lines in Poland by helping local groups protect their environment, improve health services, and teach children the values of democracy.
- They will also help build bridges of understanding that promote tolerance and quench the flames of hatred stirred up by those who prey on the fears that arise in uncertain times. Above all, the NGOs that enjoy American support are helping people in Poland organize themselves and form associations to solve their problems at the grass-roots level.

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT KWASNIEWSKI

SLIDE 54: HRC is greeted at the Presidential Palace by Pres. Kwasniewski (kvash-NYEV-skee).

- We discussed Poland and its challenges, as well as President Kwasniewski's upcoming visit to the U.S.

SLIDE 55: Meeting with Pres. Kwasniewski.

SLIDE 56: HRC toast at luncheon hosted by Pres. and Mrs. Kwasniewski.

LITEWSKA (lih-TEW-skah) CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL

SLIDE 57: HRC greeting young boy during tour of endocrinology and hematology units.

- The 73 year old Litewska Children's Hospital is one of the oldest in Poland. It specializes in cardiology, nephrology, and oncology, and was the site of the first open heart surgery performed on a child in Poland.
- Litewska Children's Hospital is another example of a successful public-private partnership in health care. I met with The Friends of Litewska Foundation, which includes managing directors of major U.S. corporations such as G.M., Coca-Cola, Pepsico, and International Paper. The hospital was a wonderful example of how civil society and volunteerism are beginning to meet a wide range of social needs in Poland.

SLIDE 58: Young girl in hospital.

SLIDE 59: Meeting with Board Members of the Friends of Litewska Hospital Foundation.

SLIDE 60: HRC speaking at Board meeting.

PRAGUE, CZECH REPUBLIC

SLIDE 61: MAP OF CZECH REPUBLIC

- The Czech Republic is a fully functioning parliamentary democracy whose citizens enjoy the rights of free speech and free assembly. It has an independent legislature and free press. The Czech economic miracle -- growth, low unemployment, and macroeconomic stability -- is a shining example of what a free people can accomplish after years of tyranny. Because of the Czech Republic's success, other countries in the region look to it as a model for their development.

SLIDE 62: View of Prague skyline.

DINNER AT PRESIDENT HAVEL'S RESIDENCE

SLIDE 63: Pres. Havel greets HRC with flowers.

- I was honored to accept the invitation of Pres. Havel (hah-VELL) for a dinner at his private residence. I was joined by U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright, a native of Prague.

SLIDE 64: HRC, President Havel and Ambassador Albright sit outside President Havel's residence.

RADIO FREE EUROPE SPEECH

SLIDE 65: Kevin Klose provides a tour of the Radio Free Europe facilities.

SLIDE 66: Kevin Klose introduces HRC at Radio Free Europe.

SLIDE 67: HRC speech at Radio Free Europe.

THEMES:

- The key event of my visit to Prague was my speech on the Fourth of July, delivered at the headquarters of Radio Free Europe. I noted the world's admiration for the Czech Republic's bloodless "Velvet Revolution" and urged the Czech people to maintain their high standards for developing a civil society.
- Civil society is the vehicle for our values, the way we

convey who we are and what we stand for. And when we encounter the inevitable setbacks and historical bumps in the road, the alliance of values that fuels civil society is what will carry us through.

SLIDE 68: Walking in Wenceslaus Square after speech with Pres. Havel and Ambassador Albright.

OLGA HAVEL FOUNDATION

SLIDE 69: Meeting children who receive services from the Olga Havel Foundation.

- Mrs. Havel founded the Olga Havel Foundation in 1990 to give humanitarian assistance to those who face permanent or long-term health problems, and to facilitate their integration into society. Mrs. Havel passed away earlier this year, but I was pleased to see that the Foundation is carrying her important work.

SLIDE 70: Meeting board of Olga Havel Foundation.

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER KLAUS

SLIDE 71: Meeting with Prime Minister Klaus (rhymes with "house").

- Prime Minister Klaus has been the chief architect of the Czech Republic's remarkable transition since 1989. He is a strong advocate of the role of American ideals in Europe and lead government efforts to improve the condition of the Roma minority in the country.
- We discussed the recent election in the Czech Republic and the Prime Minister's achievement in establishing a new government.

SLIDE 72: Tea with Mrs. Klausova (KLOWS-uh-vah).

SLIDE 73: On Palace balcony overlooking Prague with Prime Minister and Mrs. Klaus.

NGO MEETING

SLIDE 74: Meeting with NGO's.

- Czech NGOs are numerous but are only now beginning to promote citizen participation and community involvement in public decision-making. They continue to look to the United States for guidance on how to become a vital element of their country's democratic institutions. Private U.S. groups, USAID and the Peace Corps have helped establish laws for philanthropy and have worked with foreign and Czech countries to support this community. Achieving financial independence is an important goal.

SLIDE 75: Listening to a foundation leader.

SLIDE 76: Greeting an NGO leader after the meeting.

END OF TRAY ONE!!

BOAT RIDE AND FIREWORKS

SLIDE 77: Enjoying a boat ride and fireworks display with Ambassador Albright and President Havel.

- I spent several hours on a wonderful boat ride on the Vltava (vuhl-TAH-vah) River with President Havel and Ambassador Albright. We enjoyed a Fourth of July fireworks display.

ROMA MEETING

SLIDE 78: Meeting with members of the Roma community.

- The Roma community in the Czech Republic numbers 250,000 and still faces widespread discrimination. I learned personally during my meeting with members of the Roma community the problems they confront. They face widespread employment and economic discrimination and many have been unable to acquire Czech citizenship.

PRAGUE CASTLE/HAVEL'S OFFICE

SLIDE 79: In Havel's office with Havel and Ambassador Albright.

- The Prague castle has been the official residence of the President since the founding of the first Republic in 1918. The castle was also the seat of the Holy Roman and the Hapsburg Empires.

SLIDE 80: Looking at a picture in Havel's Office of President Clinton's visit to Prague.

SLIDE 81: St. Vitus Cathedral (at the Prague Castle).

JEWISH CEMETARY

SLIDE 82: Visiting the Jewish Cemetery with Ambassador Albright.

VINOHRADY HOSPITAL

SLIDE 83: Tour of burn unit at Charles University Vinohrady Hospital.

- The Vinohrady Hospital is one of the oldest and largest of Prague's hospitals. Many of the medical staff at this teaching hospital are active in health care reform and development efforts. The hospital receives USAID funding to help improve management and care and to increase the effective management role of nurses. USAID funds also support health sector reform efforts.
- The hospital has teamed up with several U.S. medical institutions to achieve improvements in health care quality in ways that can be transferred to other hospitals in the Czech Republic.

SLIDE 84: Discussion with doctors, nurses and AID representatives at Vinohrady Hospital.

CHILDREN'S HOME

SLIDE 85: Arriving at children's home.

- I also visited a Children's Home associated with the hospital, which cares for 25 abandoned children, age 1-3. Many of them have been abused and many are Roma children. The home is unusual among Czech orphanages, and favors a flexible, family lifestyle for the children.

SLIDE 86: Little boy presenting picture of children.

SLIDE 87: Sitting with two children.

SLIDE 88: Little girl playing with microphone.

SLIDE 89: Sitting with little boy.

CHARLES BRIDGE

SLIDE 90: Walking across the Charles Bridge with Ambassador Albright.

SLIDE 91: Charles Bridge.

SLOVAK REPUBLIC

SLIDE 92: MAP OF SLOVAK REPUBLIC

ARRIVAL IN BRATISLAVA

SLIDE 93: Arrival in Bratislava

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT KOVAC (KO-vahtch)

SLIDE 94: President Kovac greeting HRC on arrival at the Primate's Palace.

- Pres. Kovac is Slovakia's first president. He has a leading role to play in protecting and expanding Slovakia's democracy. The U.S. supports Slovakia's democratic aspirations and we will not abandon Slovakia as they continue to build their democratic institutions.

SLIDE 95: Meeting with President Kovac.

SLIDE 96: Signing guest book in Blue Room.

NGO FORUM

SLIDE 97: NGO Forum at the Reduta, home of the Slovak Philharmonic Orchestra.

- I met with 20 leaders of Slovakian NGOs and expressed U.S. support for their role in meeting social needs. NGOs are critical to the fabric of democracy, and I continue to believe that with the help of NGOs, Slovakia will meet the challenge and become a truly pluralistic society.
- My meeting was very encouraging. The NGOs were enthusiastic, undaunted and exhibited a sophisticated understanding of the opportunities and limitations of Slovakia's political, economic and social environment. They spoke of the government's pressure on the NGOs.
- I encouraged the NGOs to continue their work as they provide the opportunities for individuals and groups to exercise their civic responsibility. I expressed the view that it is often difficult for those in elected positions to accept the inevitable criticism that goes with holding office in a democracy, but this criticism is an essential part of the democratic process. Praising the efficient management of

the Democracy Network program, the NGO leaders appealed to me to assure continued U.S. support for their efforts.

SLIDE 98: NGO Forum.

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER MECIAR (MAY-char)

SLIDE 99: MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER MECIAR

- In my meeting, I expressed America's support for Slovakia's integration into the West. However, I also stressed the importance of protecting essential freedoms as a firm condition of this process. In light of the government's proposed legislation to restrict the environment of NGOs, I urged the Prime Minister to recognize the essential contribution that NGOs make to the fabric of democracy.

SLIDE 100: HRC signs Golden Book of the City of Bratislava.

PRIMATE SQUARE/OLD TOWN

SLIDE 101: HRC walks en route Primate Square with Mayor Kresanek.

SLIDE 102: HRC greets cheering well-wishers in Square.

SLIDE 103: HRC receives traditional doll.

SLIDE 104: Dancers in traditional costume dancing in Primate's Square.

SLIDE 105: Touring Old Town with Ambassador Johnson.

SLIDE 106: Local shopping.

HUNGARY

SLIDE 107: MAP OF HUNGARY

- Hungary, like the Czech Republic, has made tremendous progress in re-establishing stable democratic institutions and broadening its civil and participatory society. Because it instituted significant economic reforms as far back as the 1960's, by 1989 Hungary was in many respects well ahead of its neighbors in economic development and ties with the international private sector. Hungary is still struggling, however, with the difficulty of providing social services and security in its new economic environment.
- In my remarks and encounters in Budapest, I stated that the U.S. will continue to support Hungary and view Hungary as a good friend and reliable partner. I urged them to stay the course on economic reform, since sustained economic growth in coming years will bring tangible benefits to Hungarians who now feel left behind.

ARRIVAL IN BUDAPEST

SLIDE 108: Visiting the Imre Nagy (im-RAY NAHJ) Memorial

- Imre Nagy, hero to freedom loving Hungarians, was the reform-minded communist Prime Minister who partially inspired the 1956 revolution. As my first stop in Hungary, this was a powerful symbol of the struggle for freedom.

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER HORN

SLIDE 109: Meeting with Prime Minister Horn

- I spoke with Prime Minister Horn about Hungary's continued integration into the Western democratic family. I told him how pleased the United States was, that, as Hungary celebrates its 1100th Anniversary, it is rejoining the West. Hungary has shown that the future can be faced with courage and democratic values -- in the 7 years since the end of communism and the 40 years since the Hungarian Uprising, Hungary has come so far.
- I also stressed our appreciation of our excellent bilateral relations. I thanked him for Hungary's willingness to host some 4,000 troops supporting IFOR in Bosnia, and its support in opening the FBI-led International Law Enforcement Academy in Budapest. We also discussed Hungary's relations with its neighbors, and the Prime Minister described his government's

efforts to bring about a historic reconciliation between peoples in the region.

SLIDE 110: HRC tours parliament building with Prime Minister Horn.

SLIDE 111: HRC sitting with Prime Minister Horn at a reception hosted by the Prime Minister.

SLIDE 112: HRC and a group of prominent Hungarian-Americans.

DAILY HELP SERVICE FOUNDATION

SLIDE 113: Local Roma girl greeting HRC

- Hungary's Roma community numbers almost 500,000. They face job and education discrimination and suffer a 60% unemployment rate.
- I met with representatives from the Hungarian Roma community at the Daily Help Service Foundation which provides legal and family counseling, activities for children, parenting classes, job placement and referral assistance in dealing with local government, as well as distributing subsidized food and clothing. The beneficiaries are mostly members of Budapest's large Roma community -- it is Hungary's only foundation offering these services to the Roma community.

SLIDE 114: Tour of Foundation - in discount grocery store.

SLIDE 115: Discussion with representatives of local Roma community.

PRIMAVERA MEETING

SLIDE 116: Primavera meeting.

- I met with the members of Primavera, a women's networking group initiated by Mrs. Vera Blinken, wife of Ambassador Blinken. The group includes women working in education, children's issues, health care, NGOs, Roma issues, politics, media, business and government. Our discussion focused on the impact of Hungary's post-1989 transformation on career women and on the growing role of women in civil society.
- The women lamented their insignificant numbers in government leadership and the fact that 50% of the unemployed are women. They underscored the patience that is required to get through this period of transition.

SLIDE 117: Talking to Dr. Maria Korodi (kuh-ROH-dee), Vice Speaker of Parliament.

HERO'S SQUARE

SLIDE 118: Touring Hero's Square with Ambassador and Mrs. Blinken.

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT GONCZ (goontz)

SLIDE 119: President Goncz greeting HRC at the President's residence.

- President Goncz has played an outstanding role in Hungary's democratic transition and in promoting national reconciliation. He was an insurgent in the 1956 Hungarian Uprising, and was imprisoned for many years afterwards.

SLIDE 120: Meeting with President Goncz.

POOH HOSPITAL

SLIDE 121: Visiting boy in POOH hospital.

- POOH, also known as the Pediatric Oncology Outreach Hospital, enjoys a partnership between the Kansas Univ. Medical Center through USAID. The Hungary partnership program is a \$2.3 million effort aimed at reducing death rates of children with cancer through early diagnosis, improved monitoring, new treatments, and reduction in infections through better nursing care. Dr. Schuler, the director of the POOH project, first drew the attention of Kansas Univ. through his writings on Hungary's unusually high rate of cancer in children.
- The hospital is one of the premier pediatric Oncology centers in Hungary and is not expanding that expertise to other countries in the region.

SLIDE 122: Staff person presenting HRC with gift

SLIDE 123: Touring hospital with Dr. Schuler.

SLIDE 124: Visiting with young patient.

SLIDE 125: Discussion with parents and physicians.

ESTONIA

SLIDE 126: MAP OF ESTONIA

SLIDE 127: TALLINN SKYLINE

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MERI (MAY-ree)

SLIDE 128: Meeting with President Meri.

- Pres. Meri is Estonia's first president since the country regained its independence in 1991. Estonia has truly been an inspiration for its patriotism and endurance throughout the half-century of occupation.

SLIDE 129: Close-up of meeting.

SLIDE 130: Pres. Meri showing HRC map of Estonia.

SLIDE 131: Walking with President Meri at reception with Estonian leaders.

TOUR OF OLD TOWN

SLIDE 132: Pres. Meri leading HRC on a tour of Old Town.

- I could feel the vibrancy of independent Estonia.

SLIDE 133: Walking through Old Town.

SLIDE 134: Old Town.

SLIDE 135: Visiting a Co-op for local artisans.

SLIDE 136: Co-op.

CENTRAL TALLINN WOMEN'S CLINIC

SLIDE 137: Outpatient clinic.

- The Tallinn Women's Clinic was recently established by Tallinn Central Hospital under the auspices of a partnership between USAID and George Washington Univ. The innovative Women's Clinic provides both reproductive and general health care services for women. This is the first clinic in Estonia to offer a broad range of health services for women.

The collaboration with GW seeks to explore the necessary length of stay for childbirth and an innovative home visit program.

SLIDE 138: Visiting a Lamaze class at the Clinic.

- The Clinic also offers a lamaze-type program designed to prepare pregnant women and their husbands for labor, delivery, and infant care upon their return home.

SLIDE 139: Woman holding newborn baby.

- The Women's Clinic has introduced a family delivery program where fathers participate in the birth of their children.

SLIDE 140: HRC holding baby.

SLIDE 141: Surgical room with new equipment.

- The clinic's surgical suite received \$42,000 worth of equipment donated under the partnership program shortly before my visit. The new equipment will be used for diagnostic procedures, infertility surgery and tumor removal.

NGO FORUM

SLIDE 142: Folk dancers at NGO forum.

SLIDE 143: HRC dancing with folk dancers.

SLIDE 144: HRC dancing in line.

SLIDE 145: Meeting with NGO's.

- I was very pleased to meet with members of the NGO community from Estonia. Estonia's ethnic-Russian minority makes up 29% of the population. I asked about this issue in my meetings with NGOs and community leaders and was impressed with the broad commitment to progress. A representative of the President's Roundtable on Minority Issues described the strains on the ethnic-Russian minority that must adjust to its new situation.
- I heard about grass-roots initiatives where localities have created their own discussion roundtables; about communities which have promoted courses for schoolchildren in civic responsibility; and how rural areas are being taught to establish their own political action groups. I heard the assertion that Estonia is coming to accept a new identity as a multi-ethnic society.

SLIDE 146: Close-up of meeting.

SLIDE 147: Group photo of meeting participants.

SPEECH AT NATIONAL LIBRARY

SLIDE 148: Meeting with Prime Minister Vahi (VEH-hee).

SLIDE 149: Speech.

- Before leaving Estonia I delivered a speech addressed to the people of all three Baltic nations at Estonia's newly re-opened National Library before an audience of political and community leaders. The speech was also relayed by video monitor to a nearby square where hundreds of Estonians were gathered. I reiterated our support for the Baltics, stressing we stood by them in the past, and would not abandon them in the future. I praised the progress of the Baltic countries in democracy building and the economy, and expressed admiration for their courage. I also publicly stated our support for the Estonian government's enlightened and courageous approach to its minority population, and stressed the importance of carrying this even further.
- I reiterated my call for an "alliance of values" to guide our democracies as we confront the inevitable challenges of the 21st century: the challenge of keeping peace in a world where ancient hatreds are slow to die and new ones are too easily born; the challenge of giving all citizens the chance to fulfill their God-given potential and participate fully in the life of their country. I told them:

"Democracy gives us the capacity to cope with these challenges. But democracy can only thrive in the post-Cold War era if we are able to convey the values underlying it -- the values of opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human dignity.

And just how do we convey those values to ourselves and, more important, to our children?

We do it by strengthening civil society -- by strengthening the daily associations and actions that weave together the fabric of democratic life...In short, we are creating an alliance of democratic values."

SLIDE 150: Speech.

SLIDE 151: Farewell ceremony outside National Library.

SLIDE 152: Boys giving HRC flowers at farewell ceremony.

SLIDE 153: MAP OF REGION

-- end --