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AS PREPARED

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REMARKS FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM
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Princess Margriet; Mrs. Kok; Mayor Patijn; Ambassador and Mrs. Dornbush;
Vim Slootweg of UNICEF; Sylvia Borrem of NOVIB; President Gevres,
Administrators, Faculty, Students, and Friends:

It is an honor to be here. Let me thank UNICEF, Novib and the Atlantic Pacific Exchange for sponsoring this gathering. This is my first trip to the Netherlands and I must say that the individuals and groups assembled in this hall are a testament to the Dutch example of community and partnership: A university that gives voice to ideas and knowledge and is part of this great city's living history. An organization that reflects the commitment of nations and governments to securing our common future by protecting our children. An NGO that brings together public and private interests to create opportunity for more people worldwide. A foundation that provides for greater dialogue and understanding between our nations. And of course, lots of tulips which, for me, just confirms something that you already know: Social progress and flowers go hand-in-hand.

In a few hours, my husband will arrive in the Netherlands to help mark the 50th anniversary of the Marshall Plan -- and to help celebrate a legacy of international commitment and cooperation that is needed just as urgently among our nations now as it was 50 years ago.

For today, on the eve of a new century, we see even more clearly that the enduring power of Secretary of State George Marshall's vision rested not solely in the financial commitment it represented, but in its understanding of our joint opportunities and responsibilities to create a united, peaceful and democratic Europe.

The Marshall Plan helped restore the economies of nations on this side of a cruel and arbitrary line that divided the Continent. But just as important, it gave strength to the democratic ideals upon which prosperity and peace depended: freedom, opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human dignity.

It reminded us, through the darkest days of a Cold War, that economic renewal and the flowering of democracy go hand-in-hand.

Today, we live in a time of great transformation. As promising as the future is, powerful forces are reshaping our world -- both for good and for ill. And the map to the future is still filled with uncertain forks in the road, just as it was in Marshall's day.

One need only read the daily headlines to know that, even as country after country embraces democracy and free markets, the rapid pace of change, global competition and the Information Revolution are creating new pressures on every institution in society, from governments on down to families.

The greatest threat to democracy is no longer a Communist monolith with imperial designs, but the volatile economic, political and social conditions that have emerged in the aftermath of the Cold War.

While the superficial homogenization of the world means that people on every continent wear the same jeans, eat the same fast food, and listen to the same music, these surface similarities do not override a longing for identity and meaning in our lives. Despite improving material conditions in advanced economies such as ours, families seem under greater stress. The gap between rich and poor in many countries grows wider. The social safety net -- health care, education, pensions, decent wages and good jobs -- is in danger of fraying for those less able to navigate this new world. *attached to culture*

These pressures pose unavoidable questions for us as we approach the 21st century:

Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how families will raise children in the face of pressures from the mass media and the consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload and high technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will be able to preserve their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others; about how or whether multinational corporations will be regulated within or across borders; and about how governments will combat threats from international cartels and terrorists.

As my husband often says, our challenge as democratic nations is to balance the competing and sometimes contradictory pressures of global integration and disintegration.

In the United States and across Europe, there is serious debate underway about how to achieve that balance -- and particularly, how to sustain economic growth without tearing at the social fabric.

In my country as in yours, the government is working hard to provide citizens with the tools of opportunity they need to confront the realities that await them in the 21st century. We are working hard to promote disciplined economic policies while still ensuring that our people are equipped with the education, health and jobs they need to succeed in a highly competitive world.

This is not to minimize equally pressing concerns of trade, diplomacy, and defense. We know, for example, that expanding the family of democratic nations in Europe is vital to our interests individually and collectively as democracies.

However, I would suggest that the future of democracy depends not solely on our concept of *realpolitik* between and among nations, but on what I have come to call *real life politik*. In other words, building and sustaining democracy is not just about allowing free elections, creating free markets, and protecting people's legally protected rights. It's about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It is about developing an "alliance of values" based on a shared belief in freedom, opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human rights.

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And it is about every nation rethinking how it can strengthen this alliance of values by doing more for its own people and for humanity.

You, the ^{Aguta} Dutch, have understood this better than most. Both when it comes to investing in your own people -- and in supporting social investments that improve the prospects for democracy and prosperity around the world.

Your leadership is reflected not only in the amount of foreign assistance you provide -- seven-tenths of your gross national product -- but in the public support such assistance enjoys among your own citizens. This has been an historic commitment: I recently learned that the first loan John Adams secured for the new Congress of the United States in 1782 came from banks in Amsterdam.

Today, the impact of Dutch assistance is felt around the world. In Bosnia. Among refugees in Central Africa. In the special attention you have paid to health, health, education, and women's issues at home and abroad.

Given this long tradition of social investments, I am especially proud of the collaborative efforts between our governments and their development programs to enable people the world over to take responsibility, seize opportunities and live up to their God-given promise.

Two years ago I had the privilege of speaking at the United Nations Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen. What I said at the time, and what I believe is equally true today, is that social investments are as critical to democracy and prosperity around the world as free markets and trade.

But as we think of ways to protect our most vulnerable citizens at a time of increased global competition . . . as we consider the best strategies for creating conditions that can encourage individual initiative and a vibrant civic life . . . as we seek to ensure human rights, especially for women and children . . . we must also recognize that solutions cannot be solely government-driven or market-driven. They must reflect a balance of public, private, and individual power.

From the great capitals of Central Europe to villages in Africa, I have seen how social investments are giving more people, especially women, the chance to participate fully in the political, economic, social and civic lives of their countries.

And more often than not, I have seen that such investments are the result of innovative public-private partnerships sponsored by groups like NOVIB and other non-governmental organizations, UNICEF, corporations, foundations, and governments.

When I was in Central Europe last summer, I saw how the development of NGOs was becoming synonymous with the burgeoning of civil society. Grass roots organizations were building the pillars of democracy by helping to strengthen the free press, create an independent judiciary, establish a civics pedagogy for teachers, steward the environment, and honor the rights of all citizens, including minorities.

I saw the same grass roots efforts in a village in Senegal, where women performed a skit that taught local villagers about the importance of participating in local politics and taking responsibility for their common concerns.

From India to Uganda, I have seen a growing commitment to the education of girls. Economic prosperity is simply not possible when half of the population is not taught to read and write. And no investment yields greater rewards in developing nations than investments in the schooling of girls. I have seen myself how education has lifted whole populations out of poverty, enhanced women's roles as mothers, and increased their participation in civic life.

Equal rights and equal opportunities for women must also mean increasing access to health care and valuing women for the work they do.

Recently I was in Central America, where government leaders, private economists, and business people are recognizing that expanding economic opportunity to those on the margins -- especially women -- is essential to democratic progress. No wonder microcredit is finally finding its rightful place as a vital tool in the alleviation of poverty and the building of democracy around the world.

Throughout the developing world, we have also seen the transformation that can occur when women have access to health care, including family planning. Not only do such programs give women the chance to determine the number of children they have, they help reduce maternal mortality. And family planning is shown to have positive economic effects, enabling families to become more prosperous and thus improving the prosperity of nations as well.

In places as distant as Brazil and Zimbabwe I saw family planning programs that brought education and resources to people too long deprived of what most of us take for granted. And I am pleased that the United States Agency for International Development is working with your government in the Philippines on a program for medical education in reproductive, maternal and child health.

We have also witnessed in recent years the toll that ethnic conflict and civil strife have taken on the world's poor and disadvantaged, especially women. In Bosnia. In Rwanda. In other areas where the cataclysmic effects of violence and war leave their greatest scars on women and children.

Here again, I commend the Dutch people for recognizing that those of us who care about democracy have an obligation to help people rebuild their lives when history and circumstances have conspired against them.

And I want to offer special thanks for the Dutch role in drawing world attention to the tragic abuse and exploitation of children. You have galvanized many people and many nations to respond to that challenge, as I have seen from Thailand, to Brazil, to Nepal, where programs are working to rescue girls and boys from bondage, sexual exploitation, and abuse in sweatshops and factories.

Although I am not a student of Dutch history, I do know that your country has long been a leader in upholding the ideals of tolerance and respect for individual dignity and in promoting the common good. One reason that these values have thrived here is that you seem to have an uncommon capacity to achieve consensus, even in the face of serious problems. In fact, I recently read an article in which a leading Dutch economist, discussing the "polder economy," said that "a tradition of consensus runs deep in the Dutch psyche."

It is a tradition that every nation would do well to learn from as we confront the political, social and economic challenges of a new century. Cooperation, partnership, and a belief in our shared future is as essential to us now as it was when this continent was emerging from the ruins of war a half century ago.

Later today, I will visit the house on Prisengracht Street where Anne Frank and her family hid during the Second World War. Tomorrow, I will travel with my husband to The Hague for the commemoration of the Marshall Plan.

At each stop, I know I will gain greater insight into the unique role this country has played in moving us closer to a world in which peace, justice, and freedom prevail. And I will leave for home on Thursday with a new appreciation of the ties that have existed between our nations -- from the time the Dutch traders arrived in New York in 1609 to our joint efforts to bring peace and democracy to Bosnia and Haiti in the 1990s.

Benjamin Franklin once said: "In love of liberty and in defense of it, Holland has been our example." And I might add, the world's example. With your continued leadership -- and with the continued cooperation of our friends across this continent and around the globe -- we will fulfill George Marshall's vision in a lasting testament to humanity.

Thank you.

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