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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	Legal Restrictions Applicable to Rule of Law Programs in China - Options (4 pages)	11/04/1997	P1/b(1)
002. cable	Eliminating Violence Against Women in China (3 pages)	05/21/1998	P1/b(1)

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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N60-
China

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 6, 1995

**Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
to the NGO Forum
Huairou, China**

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you. Thank you so much. I feel so much at home and so much a part of this group. I only wish that in addition to the enthusiasm and interest among all of the Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) who are gathered here, the weather had been more cooperative this morning and I greatly regret that we were forced to move this occasion indoors in order to avoid any of us drowning out there. I am very sorry that not everyone who wished to be with us this morning was able to, and I hope all of you will convey my personal regrets to anyone who was turned away or disappointed because of the size of this auditorium.

It is a great pleasure for me to be here, and I want to start by thanking Supatra and Irene for their leadership in this extraordinary and historic enterprise.

But I also want to thank all of you who are here, because I know from looking at the lists of people who have come, from knowing personally many of the Americans who have come, that in this auditorium and at this Forum, there are thousands and thousands of women and men who every day work to make life better in their communities for all people. And that is the greatest contribution any one of us is able to make, and that is why the United States and many other countries so strongly support the efforts of NGOs and have worked very hard to ensure that NGOs could participate in this Forum.

As many of you know, our government and other governments recognize the important role that NGOs play in policy and planning, in development and implementation and monitoring of programs that advance the progress of women.

I have come here, to Huairou, to salute you for your dedication to a cause greater than all of us. I know that many of you went to great efforts to be here. I know many were kept from attending this Forum. I know that for many of you who did get here, getting here was far from easy. Many of you did not even know until the last minute that you would be permitted to travel

here, and others bore great personal expense in order to come.

In addition to the weather, which is not in anyone's control, and is always unpredictable, I know that you have had to endure severe frustrations here as you have pursued your work. And I also want to say a special word on behalf of women with disabilities who have faced particular challenges.

But I mostly want to thank you for your perseverance, because you did not give up, you did not stay away, you are here, and the fact that you are, will make a difference in the days and months and years to come. Because even though you may not be physically present in Beijing at the Conference during these ten days, the wisdom that is accumulated here, the experience, the energy, the ideas are on full display.

Thanks to your resourcefulness, your tenacity, your sense of purpose and your spirit, you are playing an important role in this Conference, and you will be the key players in determining whether or not this Conference goes beyond rhetoric and actually does something to improve the lives of women and children.

As I said yesterday, the faces of the women who are here mirror the faces of the millions and millions who are not. It is our responsibility, those of us who have been able to attend this Conference and this NGO Forum, to make sure that the voices that go unheard will be heard. This Conference is about making sure that women, their children, their families, have the opportunities for health care and education, for jobs and political participation, for lives free of violence, for basic legal protections, and yes, for internationally recognized human rights no matter where they are or where they live.

Time and time again we have seen that it is NGOs who are responsible for making progress in any society. Some of us never knew we were NGOs twenty and twenty-five and thirty years ago. That was not even a phrase that any of us had ever heard. We were people working together on behalf of all of those rights which we care about and hold dear. But when one looks at the progress that has been made throughout the world, it is clear that it is the NGOs who have charted real advances for women and children.

It is the NGOs who have pressured governments and have led governments down the path to economic, social, and political progress, often in the face of overwhelming hostility. Again, NGOs have persevered, just as you have by coming here and staying here and participating in this Forum.

What will be important as we end the Forum and the Conference at the end of this week is that it will be NGOs who will hold governments to the commitments that they make. And it is important that the final Platform for Action that is adopted

be distilled into words that every woman, no matter where she lives, or how much education she has, can understand. I think we should want every woman, no matter where she is, to believe that there are women all over the world who care about her health, who want her children to be educated, who want her to have the dignity and respect that she deserves to have.

When I think of the faces that I have seen in my own country, when I think of the women who did not have health care because they cannot afford it in the United States of America, when I think particularly of a woman I met in New Orleans, Louisiana, who told me that because she did not have enough money she was told by physicians there in our country, that they would not do anything about the lump in her breast, but would merely wait and watch, while if she had insurance she would have been sent to a surgeon. I think about the woman I met in a village outside Lahore, Pakistan, who had ten children, five boys and five girls, and was struggling as hard as she could to make sure her girls were educated and wanted help to get that job done.

I think of the faces of the beautiful women I met at SEWA, the Self-Employed Women's Association, in India. All of them had walked miles and miles, some of them for twelve and fifteen hours to get to our meeting together, and I listened as they stood up and told me what it had meant that for the first time in their lives, they had a little money of their own. They could buy their own vegetable carts. They could buy their own thread and materials so that they could make income for themselves and their families.

I think of the women in a village in Bangladesh, a village of untouchables—women were Hindus—who invited to their village for my visit Moslem women from the neighboring village. I think of how those women sat together under a lean-to—Hindus and Moslems together in one of the poorest countries of the world, but so many of those women telling me how their lives had been changed because they had become borrowers and were now part of the Grameen Bank microenterprise effort.

I think particularly of the play that their children put on for me to see, a play in which the children acted out the refusal by a family to let a girl child go to school. And then further down the road from that village, I stood and watched families coming to receive food supplements in return for keeping their girl children in school.

Those are the kinds of women and experiences that happen throughout the world, whether one talks about my country or any country. Women are looking for the support and encouragement they need to do what they can for their own lives and the lives of their children and the lives of their families. The only way this Conference will make a difference to these women is if the

results of the Conference are taken and distilled to a minimal number of easily read pages which state the basic principles. When that is done, the message can be carried into every corner of the world where women will recognize and exchange shared experiences.

When I came home from Bangladesh, I visited in Denver, Colorado, a program that is modeled on the Grameen Bank, helping American women who are welfare recipients get the dignity and the skills that they need to take care of themselves and their children.

So despite all of the difficulties and frustrations you have faced in coming here and being here, you are here not only on behalf of yourselves, but on behalf of millions and millions of women whose lives can be changed for the better. Let us all resolve to leave this place and do what we can together to make the changes that will give respect and dignity to every woman.

I know that today at the women's conference there is a special celebration of girls. The theme is: "Investing in Today's Girls, Tomorrow's Women, and the Future." We know that much of what we do, we are doing not for ourselves, but we are doing for our daughters, our nieces, our granddaughters. We are doing it because we have the hope that the changes we work for will take root and flower in their lives.

When I was privileged to be in New Delhi, India, I met a young woman who I think spoke for many, many women, and someone asked me yesterday at the Conference if I had a copy of the poem which this young woman wrote. I said that I did and she asked if I could read it today, and I said that I would. This was a poem about breaking the silence, the silence that afflicts too many women's lives, the silence that keeps women from expressing themselves freely, from being full participants even in the lives of their own families. This poem written by a young woman, I think, is particularly appropriate since we are celebrating today the future of girls. Let me read it to you:

Too many women
in too many countries
speak the same language.
Of silence.
My grandmother was always silent—
always aggrieved—
only her husband had the cosmic right,
(or so it was said)
to speak and to be heard.
They say it is different now.
(After all, I am always vocal
and my grandmother thinks
I talk too much)
But sometimes I wonder.

When a woman gives her love, as most women do, generously—
it is accepted. When a woman shares her thoughts,
as some women do, graciously—
it is allowed.

When a woman fights for power,
as all women would like to,
quietly or loudly,
it is questioned.

And yet, there must be freedom—
if we are to speak.

And yes, there must be power—
if we are to be heard.

And when we have both
(freedom and power)
let us not be misunderstood.

We seek only to give words
to those who cannot speak
(too many women
in too many countries)
I seek only to forget
the sorrows of my grandmother's
silence.

That is the kind of feeling that literally millions and millions of women feel every day. And much of what we are doing here at this Forum and at this Conference is to give words to break the silence and then to act.

When I was at Copenhagen for the Summit on Social Development, I was pleased to announce that the United States would make an effort to enhance educational opportunities for girls so that they could attend school in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Today that effort, funded with United States' dollars, is being organized in countries throughout those continents by NGOs.

There are so many ways we can work together. There are so many things that must be done. And let me just end with a postcard that I received from a woman who, with many, many others, wrote me her feelings and thoughts about this Conference. I don't know this woman, but she wrote to tell me that she wanted me to carry this card to Beijing. And she went on to say, "Be assured of many prayers for the success of the Conference, to better conditions for women and children throughout the world."

She put on this card a prayer and the prayer was written in many languages. It's a prayer that applies and can be said by many, if not all of the world's religions. I want to end with that because I think that in many respects what we are attempting to do requires the kind of faith and commitment that this prayer

represents:

Oh God, Creator of the heavens and the earth, we pray for all who gather in Beijing. Bless them. Help them and us to see one another through eyes enlightened by understanding and compassion. Release us from prejudice so we can receive the stories of our sisters with respect and attention. Open our ears to the cries of a suffering world and the healing melodies of peace. Empower us to be instruments in bringing about Your justice and equality everywhere.

That is my prayer as well, and with my thanks to all of you I believe we can take the results of this Forum and this Conference and begin to translate them into actions that will count, in the lives of girls and women who will have never heard of what we have done here, but whose lives can be changed because of what you have done by coming here.

Thank you all very much.

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The Dalai Lama's Mission

THE DALAI LAMA of Tibet, to his people their temporal as well as spiritual leader, is in Washington on a difficult mission. This shrewd and pious Buddhist monk is trying to crank up the American government to put China's treatment of Tibet higher on the list of American priorities. His contention is that this time of leadership succession in Beijing, and of tension between Washington and Beijing, is a good time for the United States to take a "firm and principled" position on Tibet.

It is a good time. It always is. But it is a tricky time. Since the United States "normalized" its relations with China two decades ago, it has accepted Tibet as a part of China and treated the Dalai Lama mainly as a religious and cultural figure. On occasion, Congress has described Tibet as an occupied country whose legitimate representatives are the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government in exile. Officially, however, successive presidents ask for Tibet cultural and religious autonomy and respect for human rights and free speech. It is a demanding agenda, and China is far from fulfilling it, but it does not include the self-determination—which is short of independence—that Tibetans ask for themselves.

From China's crushing of the Tibetan rebellion of 1959, its policy has been regarded as a world-class political crime. The Dalai Lama, now 60, has lived in exile in India since that day. Tibet's geographical and cultural isolation, however, has tended to keep it in the second tier of international concern. This is what makes it hard for the United States, especially at this moment of major collision with China on other issues, to break with diplomatic practice and, directly, to take up Tibet's political cause.

The Dalai Lama believes that in the short run things don't look good for Tibet but in the long run they look better. He finds hope in the tenacity and spirituality of his long-suffering people and in the example of communism's collapse in the former Soviet empire. He is certainly right in thinking the process will move more quickly and—something of great import to one who does not believe in violence—more peacefully if other countries use their influence to help it along. There is much that public officials in the United States can do—President Clinton could still receive the Dalai Lama, for instance—to keep Tibet's ordeal and China's responsibility for it before the world.

Whitman-Walker Finds Funds

A SIGNIFICANT number of AIDS patients run out of money during the course of their treatment but have unreachable assets in the form of life insurance policies that will pay out only after their deaths. In recent years some insurers have agreed to pay these benefits early, at a discounted rate, to policyholders who have a terminal illness. In cases where an insurer does not allow pre-death payment, organizations called viaticum companies will often buy the policy, again at a discount, so that the patient can have access to the insurance proceeds. This is a sensible arrangement that makes a great difference in the lives and living conditions of the terminally ill.

In May, the Whitman-Walker Clinic, which is the largest provider of services to AIDS patients in this area, signed an agreement with Life Entitlements, a New York company that buys life insurance policies in these circumstances. In exchange for the use of Whitman-Walker's name in ads and brochures, the company has promised to donate 3 percent of the face value of all the policies it purchases within 100 miles of Washington. It's a good deal, because Whitman-Walker—another victim of the District's failure to pay

contractors on time—is in desperate need of funds to carry on its good work.

Some questions have been raised about this arrangement, and this is understandable, since few people are as vulnerable as the terminally ill and every caution must be taken to protect them from fraud, conflict of interest or other rip-offs. But Whitman-Walker has not endorsed this company or any other and will continue its practice of advising clients on all sources of funds and encouraging them to compare benefits and drawbacks.

Further, because there were a few questionable practices in this new industry when it arose, states have begun to regulate the companies. New York, the home of Life Entitlements, requires licensing by the Insurance Department, a procedure that involves financial disclosures, investigations of corporate officers and even fingerprinting of applicants. This company has a New York license and is continuously regulated by that state. On its face, therefore, the arrangement made by Whitman-Walker appears to be beneficial to the clinic and protective of its clients. In these days of unprecedented budget shortfalls in the nonprofit sector, new sources of funding that do not harm, and probably benefit, the community served are especially welcome.

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Matt Lorin

A Well-Known Hat Bobs at Women's Conference

Acclaim for Bella Abzug

By SETH FAISON

BEIJING, Sept. 11 — In a plush hotel ballroom this morning, far from the conference site where thousands of women were caucusing over how best to achieve equal rights, former President George Bush addressed a gathering of food production executives in his famously rambling, half-sentence style.

The subject inevitably came around to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women under way here, and Mr. Bush singled out a favorite Republican target at a conference he described as damaging to the Chinese Government: Bella Abzug.

"I feel somewhat sorry for the Chinese, having Bella Abzug running around in China," said Mr. Bush. "Bella Abzug is one who has always represented the extremes of the women's movement."

To Ms. Abzug, who chuckled when first told of the remark, it was more than another example of Mr. Bush's uncanny ability to misspeak.

"If he knew what he was talking about, he wouldn't have said 'running around,'" she said, gesturing at the wheelchair she uses because of a bad leg. "He was addressing a fertilizer group? That's appropriate."

Then she frowned. "This is part of a right-wing effort to diminish what we're doing here," she said in her gravelly Bronx accent. "The right wing wants to pretend that women are happy the way they are, with violence in the home and discrimination on the job. It's just silly."

Ms. Abzug, now 75, who served three terms in Congress and ran unsuccessfully for United States Senate and for Mayor of New York in the 1970's, seems very much in the mainstream of the women's movement on display here.

Always wearing her trademark wide-brimmed hat, and never known to shy from attention, Ms. Abzug calls herself one of the principal architects of the methods non-governmental organizations use to lobby government delegates at international conferences.

She dismisses the label "extremist," pointing out that her own non-governmental organization is at the center of efforts to help negotiate a United Nations "Platform for Action" entirely through consensus. "We're in the middle ground, in that we're building consensus all the time," she said.

Yet her forceful personality and direct manner have made her a lightning rod of criticism by those who opposed the idea of holding a women's conference at all this year. After Bob Dole, the Senate majority leader, said he could not imagine why anyone "would want to attend a conference co-chaired by Bella Abzug," she responded that she was not chairing the meeting but simply participating with more than 30,000 other women.

Not that she is any ordinary participant. Ms. Abzug can barely get across a hallway without being stopped by women from different parts of the world who wish her well and tell her various



Associated Press

Bella Abzug, 75, feminist and former member of Congress, has drawn both raves and razzes as a participant at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.

ways she has inspired them.

"I love being here," she said, after a young Indian woman shook her hand and murmured her appreciation. "The presence of so many women, and the emotions going on here and at the forum, it's great."

Despite the many complaints of poor facilities and harassment by Chinese authorities, Ms. Abzug said choosing China as the site for the conference, was bound to have a long-term positive effect.

With the group she founded, the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WE DO), one of the main coordinators of the non-governmental forum held in tandem with the United Nations conference here, Ms. Abzug has tried to focus the efforts of dozens of smaller groups on obtaining commitments from government delegations to deliver on their promises. "We've had the words, now we need the music," she said.

Though she spends nearly all her working time on WE DO and other projects, Ms. Abzug does not receive a salary. "I've always thought that if you really believe in something, you should do it for free," she said, explaining that she supports herself with occasional legal work. "My children support me? Hah! I'm lucky that I don't have to support them anymore."

Ms. Abzug, who has lived in Greenwich Village

for decades, has two daughters. Her husband, Martin, died in 1986. "He was a lovely man," she said. "I haven't been entirely the same since he died."

Although she suffers from heart disease and was diagnosed with breast cancer two years ago, and now has difficulty walking, Ms. Abzug generally does not complain about her health.

"She's a woman of phenomenal energy, and doesn't go through a day without great physical pain," said Mim Kelber, a longtime associate whose friendship with Ms. Abzug began at Hunter High School nearly 60 years ago. "When we're sick, most of us would go to bed, but she just goes to another meeting."

What drives her so hard? "I was a second child," Ms. Abzug said succinctly. "I had to work hard to get attention."

Why the hats? "Now there's a story," she said. "When I was a young lawyer, I would go to people's offices and they would always say, 'Sit here. We'll wait for the lawyer.' Working women wore hats. It was the only way they would take you seriously."

"After a while, I started liking them. When I got to Congress, they made a big thing of it. So I was watching — did they want me to wear it or not? They didn't want me to wear it, so I did."

His Eye on China, Clinton Skips a Formal Meeting With Dalai Lama

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11 — The White House officials said today that President Clinton would not schedule a meeting with the Dalai Lama, Tibet's exiled leader, during his current visit to Washington, in another sign of the Administration's eagerness not to anger China while frayed relations are on the mend.

Instead, the White House said that Vice President Gore would meet with him on Wednesday, and that Mr. Clinton might drop in if he has time.

"The Chinese would clearly not be happy with such a meeting," an Administration official said, in explaining why Mr. Clinton might not see the Dalai Lama this year after meeting with him during his 1993 and 1994 visits to Washington.

In the past, Chinese officials condemned Mr. Clinton for seeing the

Tibetan Buddhist leader, complaining that such a move was improper interference in China's internal affairs. Beijing insists that Tibet is part of China, and the Clinton Administration supports that view, although it has repeatedly criticized China for violating human rights in Tibet.

The Dalai Lama, who has set up a government-in-exile in India, told reporters today that the United States should work to improve its relations with China and work for democratic change there, in part because that would help Tibet's efforts to win autonomy and fight China's efforts to suppress Tibetan culture.

He urged the Clinton Administration to press Beijing to start negotiations with him on granting Tibet "genuine self-rule in association with China," although he took pains to say that he was not asking for negotia-

tions on full independence. Tibet is now officially termed an "autonomous region" by Beijing.

Members of Congress quickly criticized Mr. Clinton's failure to schedule a meeting with the Tibetan leader.

"Just because our relations with China are a little shaky doesn't mean we should be kowtowing to them," said Senator Craig Thomas, a Wyoming Republican who sponsored a resolution, approved last week, urging Mr. Clinton to meet the Tibetan leader.

White House officials defended the decision not to arrange an Oval Office meeting, saying that it was little different from last year when a meeting was scheduled with Mr. Gore and President Clinton dropped in for 15 minutes.

The Dalai Lama told reporters it would be "O.K." if Mr. Clinton de-

cided not to meet him, saying he always sought to avoid embarrassing his hosts.

But John Ackerley, director of the International Campaign for Tibet, was clearly dissatisfied.

"We would like something more than that," he said.

Seeing to minimize any Chinese backlash to a meeting between Mr. Gore and the Tibetan leader, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Kent Wiedemann said: "We regard him as an internationally respected religious leader as well as one who deserves special admiration for his advocacy of peaceful resolution of disputes. We do not regard the Dalai Lama as a political figure or political leader. Any discussion the Administration has with the Dalai Lama does not in any way convey that we recognize the government-in-exile of Tibet."

Tibetan women speak out at conference about Chinese atrocities By Gayle Reaves Dallas

Morning News

BEIJING At the NGO Forum site at Huairou, two tents sheltered women wearing the same traditional Tibetan costume of silk shirts and striped aprons.

But the clashes between them and the political systems they represent highlight one of China's worst human rights situations.

B-99 was the headquarters for nine Tibetan exiles, whose families escaped Chinese-controlled Tibet after China's 1949 takeover. Despite government opposition, they returned to China to tell about atrocities against the Tibetan people and particularly Tibetan women.

Forced abortions and sterilizations are "threatening the survival of our culture," said Tenki Davis, a San Francisco physician and Tibetan exile. Many Tibetan women also have been imprisoned for speaking out against Chinese rule, she said.

Chinese officials and Tibetan women from the official Chinese NGO (nongovernmental organizations) group denied charges by Davis and the others.

"I think it is total lies to say the Chinese government is carrying out population-reducing policies in Tibet," said Tsering Drolkar, honorary chairwoman of the government-sanctioned Tibetan group.

Most of exile group members were born outside Tibet and have never been there, she said. "How can they know our situations?"

However, rights watchdog groups from Amnesty International to the Women's Rights Project have documented the forcing or coercing of Chinese women into having abortions and sterilizations.

And "by far the largest known group of female political prisoners in China is imprisoned in the Tibet Autonomous Region," according to a 1995 report from Amnesty International. The region covers about 40 percent of what had been Tibet.

Many of the prisoners are Buddhist nuns who participated in independence demonstrations, the report said.

Many women have been tortured in custody, Amnesty says, with the worst brutality apparently reserved for nuns. It lists five Tibetan women since 1991 who have died in custody or shortly after release.

But it has been China's coercive birth control policies that drew the most criticism for China, especially from first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and U.N. Ambassador Madeleine Albright.

Chinese officials had suggested that the United States mind its own business on such matters. But this week, Chinese Premier Li Peng said that "U.S. standards" in population policy should not be applied to China because of China's problems in feeding its 1.2 billion people.

If China does not control its population, Li said, the result could be chaos and self-destruction.

A Chinese government pamphlet implies that the small-family policy is not forced.

Human rights groups say China's small-family preferences (generally, for one child in urban areas, two in the countryside) are enforced by huge fines, threats, job loss, imprisonment and beatings.

When those measures fail, rights groups say, women reportedly have been taken forcefully from their homes to have abortions even in the last stages of pregnancy or sterilization operations.

In one instance reported to Amnesty, local militia surrounded a village, gathered all the pregnant women and took them to the hospital for forced abortions in the middle of the night.

But Drolkar said that, "the government has no limitations on the children a Tibetan family can have."

Only women are encouraged to limit their families, she said, because a large family "prevents her from participating in decision-making."

"There are many women in Tibet who have as many as eight or 12 children," she said. But a family of that size, she said, "is not good."

Drolkar also said Tibetan women generally have many

more rights now, to get an education, own land and direct their own lives, than they did "in the old days."

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

The harassment by Chinese officials that the Tibetan exiles say went on at Huairou scared the women.

But they said the attention and support for their homeland wouldn't have happened anywhere else, and they believe this will help improve their plight.

"We are happy that the conference happened in Beijing," said Kesang Wangmo, 37, an Australian housewife.

file to Smith
human rights

**SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND
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DATE:

TO: *Milan Benier*

TIME:

OFFICE:

FROM: *G.J. Rees*

MESSAGE:

*Here's the House-passed language
on forced abortion/sterilization victims —
+ background/talking points. — Joseph*

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING THIS COVER PAGE): _____

134

1 **SEC. 2252. PERSECUTION FOR RESISTANCE TO COERCIVE**
2 **POPULATION CONTROL METHODS.**

3 Section 101(a)(42) of the Immigration and National-
4 ity Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)(42)) is amended by adding at
5 the end the following: "For purposes of determinations
6 under this Act, a person who has been forced to abort
7 a pregnancy or to undergo involuntary sterilization, or
8 who has been persecuted for failure or refusal to undergo
9 such a procedure or for other resistance to a coercive pop-
10 ulation control program, shall be deemed to have been per-
11 secuted on account of political opinion, and a person who
12 has a well founded fear that he or she will be forced to
13 undergo such a procedure or subjected to persecution for
14 such failure, refusal, or resistance shall be deemed to have
15 a well founded fear of persecution on account of political
16 opinion."

Sec. ____ Persecution for Resistance to Coercive Population Control Policies.

• This provision is identical to that already passed by the House as part of H.R. 1561, the American Overseas Interests Act. It would simply reinstate the interpretation of refugee and asylum law which prevailed prior to August 1994.

• An applicant must prove his or her case: we would **not** have to let in 1.2 billion people. In fact, during the Reagan and Bush administrations the number of people granted asylum on this ground was usually less than 100 per year, and never more than 200 per year.

• Protection of coercive population control victims — and particularly of women who have been forced to have abortions, or who can prove a well founded fear of forced abortion — has enjoyed broad bipartisan support in Congress. In 1989 the Senate passed the Armstrong-DeConcini Amendment, which provided that nationals of the PRC who resist the coercive abortion and sterilization policy shall be viewed as engaging in an act of political defiance sufficient to establish a well founded fear of persecution, by a vote of 95-0. The House voted 300-115 to instruct its conferees to concur in the amendment. President Bush later vetoed the bill to which the amendment was attached, but his veto was for reasons unrelated to asylum protection for coercive population control victims. His promise to provide similar protection by Executive Order was decisive in sustaining the veto.

• Support for this provision has been bipartisan and has spanned the "pro-life" and "pro-choice" movements. The Center for Reproductive Law & Policy and the Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights have both endorsed asylum for forced abortion and sterilization victims. This form of persecution is a dramatic intrusion into bodily integrity and fundamental personal freedom.

• Forced abortion, forced sterilization, and other severe punishments inflicted on resisters to the PRC program are persecution on account of political opinion. PRC officials have repeatedly attacked resisters as political and ideological criminals. The infliction of extraordinarily harsh punishment is also generally regarded as evidence that those who inflict such punishment regard the offenders not as ordinary lawbreakers but as enemies of the state.

• Forced abortions often take place in the very late stages of pregnancy. Sometimes the procedure is carried out during the process of birth itself, either by crushing the baby's skull with forceps as it emerges from the womb or by injecting formaldehyde into the soft spot of the head.

• Especially harsh punishments have been inflicted on persons whose resistance is motivated by religion. According to a recent Amnesty International report, enforcement measures in two overwhelmingly Catholic villages in northern China have included torture, sexual abuse, and the detention of resisters' relatives as hostages to compel compliance. The campaign is reported to have been conducted under the slogan **"better to have more graves than more than one child."**

• INS and DOS officials have sometimes attempted to justify the denial of asylum to coercive population control victims on the ground that allowing such claims will be a "floodgate" and "magnet" for large-scale illegal immigration. The facts simply do not support such assertions. In the last year of the Bush Administration, when INS policy was to grant asylum to anyone who could prove a well-founded fear of forced abortion or forced sterilization, fewer than 200 such claims were granted.

• The dramatic and well-publicized arrival of a few vessels containing Chinese "boat people" has tended to obscure the fact that these people have never amounted to more than a tiny fraction of the undocumented immigrants to the United States. The total number of Chinese boat people who arrived during the years our more generous asylum policy was in force, or who were apprehended while attempting to do so, was fewer than 2000. This is the equivalent of a quiet evening on the border in San Diego.

• Nor is there evidence that denying asylum to people whose claims are based on forced abortion or forced sterilization will be of any use in preventing false claims. People who are willing to lie in order to get asylum will simply switch to some other story. The only people who will be forced to return to China will be those who are telling the truth --- who really do have a reasonable fear of being subjected to forced abortion or forced sterilization. The solution to credibility problems is careful case-by-case adjudication, not wholesale denial.

• DOS and INS add rhetorical punch to the asylum-as-magnet argument by asserting that treating forced abortion victims decently will be a unique incentive to "smuggling" and "criminal gangs." Everyone is against smuggling. But let's prosecute the smugglers. But let's not take it out on the victims. The passengers on the *St. Louis* who were forced back to occupied Europe in 1939 were smuggled aliens too.

• Contrary to another frequent assertion, the number of "single young men" who ever got asylum under the former policy was zero.

• Finally, we should be extremely careful about forcibly repatriating asylum seekers to China in light of evidence that a number of those sent back by the United States since 1993 have been subjected to "re-education camps," forced labor, beatings, and other harsh treatment.

• When the Administration instructed immigration officials last August to deny all asylum claims based on forced abortion and/or forced sterilization, it announced a substitute policy by which an INS District Director may give a temporary stay of deportation to a person who can show that a forced abortion or sterilization is imminent upon her return to China. Although the 1994 policy appears to have been well-intentioned, in practice it is just a way of singling out forced-abortion victims for harsher treatment than other refugees. **This is the policy under which INS is about to deport the "Bakersfield women", even though several were found to have testified credibly that they were forced to have abortions.**

• The 1994 policy imposes a far heavier burden of proof upon people who fear forced abortion or sterilization than on other asylum seekers, even those who fear forms of persecution that are not nearly so harsh. The usual standard of proof for asylum applicants, under which the applicant must prove a "well founded fear" of persecution, is the appropriate standard. We should not be sending anyone back who has a serious chance of facing this extraordinarily gruesome form of persecution.

• The temporary stay of deportation is also discretionary on the part of the INS District Director. The exercise of discretion is reviewable by INS officials, but not by any court or administrative tribunal. Stays have been routinely denied, even to applicants whose testimony has been found credible by immigration judges.

• The underlying problem with the current policy or anything else like it is that it begins by assuming that resisters to coercive population control program are **ordinary lawbreakers, not refugees fleeing persecution**. It then, however, allows as how many Americans feel deep sympathy for these particular non-refugees, and announces that it will do them a special favor by temporarily staying deportation. This sends exactly the wrong message about the people in question. They are fleeing persecution and they do **not** need "special treatment."

• The H.R. 1561 language, which simply overturns the special exclusion of this group of refugees from refugee/asylum protection, is the cleanest, simplest, and most honest way to deal with this problem.

11/14/95 19:13

TO: Melanne Verveer
Office of the First Lady
FAX PHONE: (202) 456-6244 VOICE: (202) 456-6266

FROM: AAUW
Teri Bernardo (202) 728-7633

Urgent***Urgent******Urgent***

ASSAULT ON REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

CALL YOUR SENATORS

Thank you! Your calls along with those of other pro-choice advocates produced the pressure necessary to refer the Smith/Canady late term abortion ban bill (S 939/HR 1833) to committee. But, our job is not finished. On Friday, November 17, the Senate Judiciary Committee will hold a hearing on S 939/HR 1833. As you know, S 939/HR 1833 bans some late-term abortions without an exemption for the life or health of the woman. The full Senate is expected to consider S 939/HR 1833 on Monday, November 27. Senator Robert Smith (R-NH) and Reps. Robert Dornan (R-CA) and Chris Smith (R-NJ) have stated that this is the beginning of the end for abortion rights.

The radical right has made this bill their top priority. As a result, Senate offices are being flooded with anti-choice calls. **Pro-choice calls opposing the bill are needed immediately to Senate offices.** Please activate telephone trees and call your Senators at (202) 224-3121. In addition, Senators will be home over the Thanksgiving holiday; use this opportunity to express your opposition to this bill. Below are talking points to use in your phone calls or visits:

- **S 939/HR 1833 present a direct constitutional challenge to Roe v. Wade because this legislation provides no exception for cases in which the woman's life or health is in danger.**
- **S 939/HR 1833 would endanger women's health. S 939/HR 1833 would prohibit the abortion method that is most likely to preserve some women's health and ability to have children. Women facing late-term abortions because of health risks want to have children in the future.**
- **Congress must not interfere with a woman facing the tragic decision of needing a late-term abortion for life or health risks. This decision must be made in consultation with her family and her physician.**

ACTION NEEDED: CALL YOUR SENATORS
(202) 224-3121

Thank you for all your help in supporting a woman's right to choose.

November 14, 1995

Army Plane Sri Lanka Plunges Down, Killing All 75

By JOHN F. BURNS

NEW DELHI, Sept. 13 — After a succession of reverses in their war with the Tamil Tiger rebels, Sri Lanka's armed forces suffered a new blow today when a newly acquired transport plane plunged into the sea near Colombo, killing all 75 troops and crew members aboard.

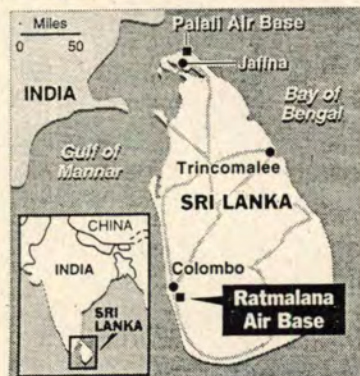
It was the third time in five months that a troop-carrying plane bound for the rebel stronghold on the Jaffna peninsula had crashed with the loss of all aboard.

Air force spokesmen said the crash appeared to have been caused by a combination of a thunderstorm and instrument failure. They said the plane, a twin-engine Antonov-32, was trying to return to Ratmalana air base when it disappeared from radar screens.

The crash came as the Sri Lankan Government pressed the military to mount a new offensive on the Jaffna peninsula, with the goal of capturing the city of Jaffna, headquarters for the Tamil Tiger rebels and blocking their bid to carve a separate Tamil state out of northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka. After a troop buildup on the peninsula, said to involve more than 40,000 soldiers, the Government wants to begin the offensive before the fall monsoons reach the peninsula in October.

According to diplomats in Colombo, President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga has been keen for military successes against the rebels to strengthen prospects for winning approval of a plan she put forward last month for ending the 12-year-old war.

The plan would create strong new regional authorities in Sri Lanka,



The New York Times

An army plane crashed trying to return to the base at Ratmalana.

previously a strongly centralized state. Among the new regions would be one where Sri Lanka's northern Tamil population, accounting for about 2 million of the country's 18-million people, would gain a wide degree of self-rule.

But Tamil Tigers leaders have called the plan a formula for "protracted war." Opposition parties that draw their backing from the island's majority Sinhalese have also condemned it.

Since the collapse of a cease-fire in April, Mrs. Bandaranaike, a Sinhalese who was elected President last year on a pledge to end discrimination against Tamils and reduce military pressure on the rebels, has approved a military buildup that includes more than \$100 million in weapons purchases. The plane that crashed today, one of three delivered by the Ukraine in July, was among these purchases.

Since ending a 14-week truce with an attack by a team of underwater saboteurs on Government gunboats in Trincomalee harbor in April, the Tamil Tigers have hit hard. Apart from the two transport planes that were downed by missile fire near the Palali military base on the Jaffna peninsula, the destination for the plane that crashed today, the rebels have also sunk five navy vessels, including two Israeli-made Dvora fast-attack gunboats that were sunk by Tiger frogmen last month.

The attack on the gunboats came after the vessels were lured close to what appeared to be a stricken ferry off the island's east coast. Rebels who had hijacked the ferry took 128 passengers prisoner and demanded the release of captured members of a Tiger sabotage team. In the last week, at least 40 of the passengers have been released to the International Committee of the Red Cross in Jaffna, and negotiations for release of the others continue. One passenger was killed in the hijacking.

A Government offensive on the Jaffna peninsula in July stalled rapidly after early gains against the rebels. According to military officials in Colombo, the plan has been to resume the offensive after a new troop buildup. But the buildup has drawn large numbers of soldiers from eastern parts of the island, exposing Government units there to costly attacks by the rebels.

Western military attachés doubt that a new offensive can succeed before the autumn rains neutralize much of the Government's advantage in tanks and other heavy weapons.

"They've left it too late," one attaché said. "The best they can do now is to wait for their next chance in the spring."

Wary of Irking China, Clinton Sees Dalai Lama Only Briefly

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13 — Seeking to show his concern for Tibet without igniting new tensions with China, President Clinton dropped in briefly to see the Dalai Lama today while the Tibetan spiritual leader was meeting with Vice President Al Gore.

White House officials said Mr. Clinton had this "drop in" meeting with the Dalai Lama for the third year in a row to avoid an official Oval Office meeting that would anger Beijing.

China insists that Tibet is part of China and protests any high-level American meeting with the Dalai Lama as improper interference in its internal affairs. But many Tibetans assert that China has been illegally occupying the remote Himalayan land since 1950.

The Dalai Lama, who is on a 10-day trip to the United States, saw Mr. Clinton for about 10 minutes during a half-hour meeting in Mr. Gore's office in the West Wing of the White House.

White House officials said Mr. Clinton expressed his concern for preserving Tibet's religion and culture after the Dalai Lama said he feared that Tibet's culture faced extinction because of China's efforts to suppress it by imposing the Chinese language and culture and by encouraging a immigration of Chinese into Tibet.

One Administration official who attended the meeting said the Dalai Lama told Mr. Clinton that "to insure the survival of Tibetan spirituality and culture, the Tibetans will need some level of self-governance." The Dalai Lama has repeatedly asked the United States to press China to begin a dialogue with him about granting Tibet more autonomy.

According to American officials, the Tibetan leader asked Mr. Clinton to increase American aid to hundreds of thousands of Tibetan refugees who have fled their homeland since 1950. He estimated that about two-thirds of the six million Tibetans live outside the Tibetan region under Chinese control.

Italy Demands a Voice

By The New York Times

ROME, Sept. 13 — Miffed at having been excluded from the latest round of Bosnia peace talks, Italy's Foreign Minister said today that Rome will henceforth consider all requests for logistical support of the NATO military effort in Bosnia on a case-by-case basis.

Speaking to a parliamentary commission, Foreign Minister Susanna Agnelli said that Rome's sudden decision this week to refuse a United States request to station F-117A Stealth bombers at an Italian air base was not a bargaining chip, but a "contingent decision" that depends on Italy's future role in the Bosnian peace process.

Italy has provided air bases and logistical support for NATO operations during the three-and-a-half-year Bosnian war, assistance which it feels has been taken for granted by its NATO Allies. Recently, Italy has been pressing for a greater role in international negotiations over Bosnia, including a place within the five-nation contact group.

Other members of the contact group are reportedly wary of including Italy for fear of encouraging other countries to try to join a group that is unwieldy enough as it is.

In the meantime, Pope John Paul II announced today that he had summoned bishops from across the former Yugoslavia to a meeting at the Vatican next month, to examine how the Roman Catholic Church can aid the peace process. The Vatican has encouraged the international rescue of the Muslim-led Bosnian Government, and has kept silent so far the NATO bombing campaign.

By Steven Mufson
 Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIJING, Sept. 13—Delegates to the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women, rushing to complete a consensus "Platform for Action," have struck deals covering women's rights in the politically sensitive areas of sexuality, inheritance, family and the responsibility of parents in the "reproductive health" of girls.

With just two days remaining, women's groups say they have kept language they won in the Cairo conference on population last year and made further progress in defining women's rights, asserting that women should have greater say in political decision making, promoting women's economic "empowerment" and giving women more control over their sexual lives.

"Ten years ago, you couldn't talk about women even having sexuality, much less having rights pertaining to it," said Dorothy Thomas of New York-based Human Rights Watch.

Up to 25 of the 180 nations are expected to express "reservations" about any one of the platform's dozen sections. In addition, a key part of the introduction being negotiated tonight could serve as a loophole for many nations. It would assert that the document should be enforced with regard for different cultural and religious traditions.

The document drawn up at this 12-day conference will have no binding effect, as China demonstrated. After losing a debate over whether countries should use "coercive" laws to control women's ability to choose the number of children they have, China announced that it would stick to its strict one-child policy anyway.

"It's a necessity, not a luxury," said Foreign Ministry spokesman Chen Jian, who noted that U.N. documents "are only recommendations and are not legally binding."

Nonetheless, many women felt they have won significant victories and produced a document that could help pressure governments into changing laws and practices that discriminate against or oppress women.

Four issues have been given particular prominence. Violence against women ranging from domestic violence to wartime abuse, barely mentioned at the last major women's conference in Nairobi, is a centerpiece of the platform. It also stresses the need for innovative banks and other financial mechanisms to help "empower" women economically.

For the first time, women are said to have the right to "make decisions related to their sexual and reproductive health"—giving them the right to just say no. And governments have been asked to make commitments to come up with the money to follow through on the issues raised at the conference.

Today's negotiations took place as government delegates showed signs of fatigue from 10 days of talks. On Tuesday night, a Vatican delegate yelled at other delegates during one exchange. Another delegate said that a 3½ hour session was so fatuous that the page in her notes from the session was blank. A bleary-eyed Timothy E. Wirth, U.S. assistant secretary of state for global affairs, said he was "conferenced out."

In platform negotiations, the Vatican and Islamic nations have won compromises over language that they felt sanctioned or encouraged nontraditional families or sexual promiscuity. And they teamed up with other nations to push for the clause that acknowledged cultural and religious traditions.

But many people remained unsatisfied. Annetta Moran, part of a New Zealand antiabortion group, said the conference had "focused ad nauseum on sexual rights and sexual orientation" and that it was "full of hypocrisy." Moran said that the document should cast off "feminist newspeak" and protect the rights of unborn children.

Some of the key issues and lingo ironed out so far include:

■ **Family**—Should references use the singular or plural form of "family"? Catholic and Islamic nations argued that the plural implied approval of nontraditional families, such as lesbian couples, single parents and people living together with out-of-wedlock children. They wanted the document to refer to women's role "in the family," meaning married couples and their children.

"Family" won out, but a follow-up phrase points out that the word means different things to different people. The platform also says: "The family is the basic unit of society and as such should be strengthened."

■ **Inheritance**—Women's groups compromised with Islamic governments, which had battled to use the word "equity" instead of "equality" in the inheritance passage. Islamic governments believed that the word equity allowed a more flexible interpretation. In four places, the passage now reads that there will be "equal access to inheritance." In one it gives children an "equal right" to inheritance. It was, one organizer said, "a balancing act."

■ **Coercive policies**—The document's health section condemns "coercive medical laws and practices," a direct slap at China for a one-child policy that is often enforced with forced abortions, sterilizations or punitive fines. China tried unsuccessfully to water the section down, arguing that the word "laws" should be deleted because all laws are coercive.

The document also endorses sexual choices without "coercion, discrimination or violence." That terminology, one negotiator said, could eventually be used to help a woman being sold as a slave in rural China, or an unwilling child bride in India, or an American woman whose husband had raped her.

■ **Human rights**—The final document refers to "human rights," deleting the modifying phrase "universally recognized human rights." Human rights groups had campaigned for the deletion, arguing that human rights don't need to be recognized.

Women's groups also beat back an effort to add a clause to the human rights section that would have allowed modification for religious, cultural or national law.

■ **Sexual orientation**—A move by the European Union to guarantee rights of people regardless of sexual orientation was thwarted. But sections

prohibiting discrimination against women mentions sexual orientation as part of a long list of those protected.

■ **Sexual relations**—The document overcame objections from Islamic and Catholic nations. It says: "Equal relationships between women and men in matters of sexual relations and reproduction, including full respect for the integrity of the person, require mutual respect, consent and shared responsibility for sexual behavior and its consequences."

■ **Parents**—The health section mentions both parental responsibilities as well as children's need for privacy. This comes up in the context of whether minors need parental approval for abortion. The compromise illustrates why this document is more than 130 pages long.

It said: "Taking into account the rights of the child to access to information, privacy, confidentiality, respect and informed consent, as well as responsibility rights and duties of parents and legal guardians to provide, in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child, appropriate direction and informed guidance in the exercise by the child of the rights recognized in the convention on the rights of the child, and in conformity with the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. In all actions concerning children, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration."

■ **Gender**—Delegates agreed it means simply men and women and not five different sexual preferences as some groups suggested.

■ **Commitments**—More than 50 countries have outlined a series of measures they plan to take to bolster the status of women after the conference.

Many of these were existing measures repackaged for the conference. Before the conference wealthy nations had made sure each country need only commit for its own domestic actions. Wherever the document requested "new and additional resources," the United States cut out the "new and additional" portion.

"This Platform of Action is meaningless unless it is supported by new and additional resources," said Sarla Gopalan, India's secretary for women and child welfare.

Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala last week said that the United States had a series of initiatives planned, but little in the way of new money, either for its own citizens or for foreign aid. "It is clear for anyone that reads the American papers about what's happening to our budgets that we are not going to have additional resources to add," she said.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

For a full text of the proposed U.N. action platform for the conference, see *Digital Ink*, The Post's on-line service. To learn about *Digital Ink*, call 1-800-510-5104, ext. 9000.

File Beijing

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1995

Star at Conference on Women: Banker Who Lends to the Poor

By PATRICK E. TYLER

BEIJING, Sept. 13 — If there is one man who has achieved stardom of sorts at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, it is the soft-spoken economist from Bangladesh who wandered into a desperately poor village 20 years ago and got an idea that is changing the face of banking.

"Capital does not need to be the handmaiden only of the rich," said the economist, Muhammad Yunus, who founded the Grameen Bank to help poor people, especially women, by lending them small amounts of

money so they could become self-sufficient entrepreneurs.

"Access to credit should be a human right," Mr. Yunus says, "irrespective of economic situation."

He is a pioneer in extending "micro-credit" for "micro-enterprises," a poverty-fighting strategy that is widely supported by delegates to the conference. In its "Platform for Action," the conference is seeking a commitment from governments and financial institutions to expand credit to poor women around the world.

"We need to teach commercial banks how to lend to low-income

women," said Nancy Barry, a former official with the World Bank and president of Women's World Banking, which works with governments and financial institutions to stimulate small loans to women and create small-scale lending cooperatives and banks run by women.

Mr. Yunus says the owners of capital can be convinced that the poor represent a large, untapped credit market where survival instincts and local skills make the borrowers a good risk. As proof, the Grameen Bank had a loan volume of nearly \$400 million last year and is ap-

proaching \$500 million this year, making it the largest bank in the world serving the poor.

The bank has made small loans to two million families in 35,000 villages in Bangladesh, where more than 90 percent of the borrowers are women and repayment rates exceed 90 percent. Since Grameen served as the first large-scale demonstration that the poor are creditworthy, the concept has branched out to Latin American, Africa and Asia.

In 1985, micro-credit institutions and small credit cooperatives had about one million customers world-

wide. While the figure today is approaching 10 million, it represents only 2 percent of the estimated 500 million women worldwide who have virtually no access to credit. Because the concept remains largely disconnected to the mainstream of international banking, many of the advocates here hope to organize a summit meeting on micro-banking in Washington next year.

"Traditional commercial bankers have not been trained to consider this sector of borrowers," said Kathleen Weber, an investment broker with Smith Barney Harris Upham & Company in Bellevue, Wash. "Lending to the destitute is so totally foreign to their education but it is proving itself to be a viable, sustainable

and profitable program that also does a lot of social good."

Mr. Yunus began his experiment in 1976 by lending to poor women in a village near the University of Chittagong, where he was a lecturer. He noticed that while many of the women had the skill and the motivation to prosper, their businesses were drained by money lenders who charged usurious rates. So he lent money without collateral and created cells of five women who each could receive loans and guaranteed the repayment of the others. One might buy a duck to sell eggs; another cloth to sew; another bamboo to make stools.

"Someone had to demonstrate that it really works," he said.

Irish Priest's Tale Stirs Furor About AIDS and Unprotected Sex

By JAMES F. CLARITY

DUBLIN, Sept. 13 — A Roman Catholic parish priest has stirred a wave of national concern by asserting that an Irishwoman infected with the AIDS virus sought to avenge her condition by deliberately having unprotected sex with dozens of Irishmen in the south of the country and — in an assertion that the medical authorities doubt — transmitting the virus to at least 14 of them.

Whatever the facts of the case, it has raised a furor about AIDS that the country has never encountered before. AIDS in Ireland is at about

the same level as in other European countries, moderate by comparison with the United States or Africa.

"I haven't seen anything like it," said Sharon Oye, director of the Dublin Aids Alliance. "It's quite incredible that there has been such a mania. The mania is media driven, but it is expressing concerns of the people."

With his statement about the case, saying it was intended to alert the community to the risk of AIDS, the Rev. Michael Kennedy, a priest in the southern coastal town of Dungarvan, has drawn scores of Irish and British reporters and sound and

lighting technicians seeking the victims and the unidentified woman.

The story has been prominent on national television and on the front pages of all Irish newspapers, with the tabloids publishing headlines like "Last Days of AIDS Avenger" and "Save Us From AIDS Hell."

Hundreds have called radio shows expressing fear, anger and both sympathy and condemnation of the woman and of the way Father Kennedy disclosed the situation — at Mass last Saturday and Sunday. Father Kennedy's superior, Bishop William Lee, has criticized the use of the

pulpit to publicize the situation.

Government health officials have said that because female-to-male sexual transmission of H.I.V. is difficult, they seriously doubt that the woman could have directly infected as many men as the priest has estimated: 14 men who have asserted testing positive for the AIDS virus, and possibly 50 or 60 more.

Father Kennedy gave this account: In January he was told by a young man that a woman with whom he had sexual relations for several months told him that she had AIDS. Four other young men said the same.

The priest visited the woman several times, trying to persuade her to get medical help.

"The girl herself said that she went out of her way to do the best she could to spread it," Father Kennedy recalled. "She refused to allow anyone to wear condoms. The motive was to try to spread the virus."

He said the woman, who was well educated and had independent means to support herself in the seaside town, had told him that she received the virus from an English drug addict. Eventually, she went to a London clinic, where she is now dying, he said. He has refused to name her or the infected men.

Ms. Oye, of the Dublin AIDS Alliance, said that in Ireland, 1,570 peo-

ple had tested positive for the virus and 484 who were afflicted with the disease. She said she believed that because many people hide their illness, the true level is two or three times higher. Since the late 1980's, 249 people have died of AIDS.

"Because in the 80's we never saw the huge epidemic everybody believed would happen, that there would be an epidemic in the country, people thought it could never happen to them," she said.

"But now people are concerned and upset. Our phones are jumping. One positive thing is that people are now talking about H.I.V. and sex and people want a clearer account of what is happening and up to date information on safe sex."

What U.S. Business Wants From Immigration

To the Editor:

Re "Liberals Duck Immigration Debate" (Op-Ed, Sept. 7) by Michael Lind: American manufacturing no longer has an interest in maintaining a mass influx of unskilled, low-wage immigrants. While a large number of unskilled laborers helped fuel the Industrial Revolution, the technology-driven plants and offices of today's competitive global economy require the expertise of skilled workers.

Unskilled foreigners may be displacing some American workers in low-pay service jobs, but these immigrants enter the country through family-reunification immigration and illegal means — not through business-sponsored immigration.

The National Association of Manufacturers is interested in the immigration issue, but only to maintain the employment-based immigration that provides American companies with the essential technical expertise in short supply in the United States. The shortage of available expert workers is a growing concern of American business.

A survey by Arthur Anderson's Enterprise Group found that a quarter of small businesses surveyed fear that the lack of qualified workers will hamper their growth. Indeed, in Ohio, the shortage of qualified workers is already a reality. The State Bureau of Employment Services was unable to find a single candidate in the state to fill one manufacturer's tool-and-die opening.

It is important that American industry continue to have access to a limited number of skilled foreign workers who are in short supply. Only 140,000 highly skilled immigrants — less than 1 percent of the American work force — are allowed into the United States under law.

They help educate and train native workers, give United States companies a leg up in the development of cutting-edge technology and expand overseas markets for American-made products, thereby creating jobs for American citizens. Waves of unskilled immigrants may be dragging down the pay levels of similarly un-

skilled Americans, but not at industry's behest. JERRY J. JASINOWSKI

President
National Assn. of Manufacturers
Washington, Sept. 11, 1995

A Policy of Compassion

To the Editor:

In "Liberals Duck Immigration Debate" (Op-Ed, Sept. 7), Michael Lind dismisses the contention that "sinister racist 'scapegoating'" is a motivation behind the argument that legal immigrants take jobs away from American citizens. Yet he is quick to assert that "the white and black working poor have been fleeing the metropolitan areas of California, where the economic competition with Latin American and Asian newcomers is the most intense."

Mr. Lind's anti-immigration sentiment is commonplace, and his choice of words is banal compared with other expressions in the media and in Washington. After all, immigrant-bashing is in style once again.

The history of immigration in the United States is far from wonderful. Bigotry was the direct cause of the closing of America's doors to legal immigrants in the 1920's. As more

more frequently expressed on Capitol Hill and on Main Street.

Similarly, the Oriental Exclusion Acts of 1882 and 1902 (not repealed until 1943) were racially inspired. Asians, mostly Chinese nationals, first arrived in California in 1848. Over the years, as the number of Asians grew, so did xenophobia. Americans denounced Asians for, among other things, unsanitary and immoral habits.

During the economic depression of the 1870's, anti-Asian sentiment rose to such a level that numerous Asians were victims of mob violence. Instead of protecting hard-working residents who built our national railroads, Congress excluded them.

The eradication of racial and national origin quotas from the laws of immigration did not occur until 1965. Mr. Lind erroneously claims that our immigration policy since then is "tailored to the convenience of the American overclass."

Our immigration policy is tailored to the American family, the American worker, the American employer and people fleeing from persecution.

The overwhelming majority of permanent visas approved by the Government are issued to relatives of United States citizens and lawful permanent residents. That is, family reunification is at the heart of American immigration policy. Visas are also issued to foreign investors who wish to come to the United States and infuse their money and energy to build a mighty enterprise.

Other employment-based visas are issued to foreign-national workers but, save for a few extraordinary cases, only after the Department of Labor certifies that there is no United States citizen who would perform the required task.

With the labor certification process, current law prevents foreign-alien workers from taking away jobs from American workers.

The social, political and economic contribution of immigrants to this country is and always has been tremendous.

E. SIMON RAPHAEL

New York, Sept. 9, 1995

The writer is an immigration lawyer.



Viktor Koen

Italians and Jews entered the United States at the turn of the century, anti-Roman Catholic and anti-Semitic attitudes became more popular and

Mr. Bush Stumbles in China

George Bush inexplicably seems to be amused by China's benighted handling of the international women's meeting in Beijing. On his own visit to China this week, the former President told a gathering of food executives, "I feel somewhat sorry for the Chinese having Bella Abzug running around in China."

The thoughtless remark is insulting to Ms. Abzug, but more broadly it betrays a baffling insensitivity to China's crude efforts to muzzle the women. It undercuts Hillary Rodham Clinton's strong criticism of the Chinese conduct last week.

Ms. Abzug was a main coordinator of an unofficial forum attended by thousands of women from around the world. The Chinese authorities hounded the women with visa restrictions and intrusive police snooping and videotaping. When Mrs. Clinton addressed the forum, senior Clinton Administration officials had to shove their way past a line of Chinese security agents to attend. Mr. Bush's flip-pant remark makes light of such behavior, sending exactly the wrong message to China's leaders.

George Bush, of all people, should know better than to make light of sensitive issues in United States-China relations at a particularly delicate moment in relations between the two countries. He surely would not have appreciated it if a predecessor had sent messages conflicting with official policy when he occupied the White House.

As a private citizen, Mr. Bush is entitled to express his own views on his paid speaking tour of Asia. But as a former President and former chief American diplomat in Beijing, he should be aware that the Chinese weigh his words carefully, looking for hidden diplomatic meanings or domestic political divisions that might be exploited in forthcoming meetings with Secretary of State Warren Christopher and perhaps President Clinton himself.

China's clumsy efforts to silence the women in Beijing and to wall off its own people from conference activities are not trivial matters. They are reflections of a repressive dictatorship that should make any American wary, particularly a former President.

U.N. Juggles Funds to Stay Afloat, Expert Says

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

UNITED NATIONS, Sept. 12 — The United Nations has run out of money to pay its regular operating expenses and is being forced to borrow from peacekeeping funds, which are also strained, an American accounting expert in charge of financial management here told a General Assembly committee today.

The regular budget ran out of cash in mid-August and \$98 million has been borrowed from the peacekeeping budget since then, Joseph E. Connor, Under Secretary General for Administration and Management

and a former chief executive officer at Price Waterhouse, told an oversight committee. If nations in arrears do not pay their debts, the diversion of funds from peacekeeping will rise to \$200 million by the end of October and to \$300 million in November, he said.

Mr. Connor said United Nations members are now about \$3.7 billion in arrears in paying both regular and peacekeeping assessments, up from \$2.8 billion at the end of May. He said the United States owes the largest amount, \$1.18 billion. Estimates of the shortfall differ because of varying projections and methodology.

The United Nations has no capital fund and cannot borrow from banks, so meeting expenditures is almost always an exercise in robbing Peter to pay Paul, officials say. But unexpected new expenditures, like the establishment of war crimes tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia; the loss of money in currency exchanges because of the depressed value of the dollar, and fears that Washington will delay payments even more than usual this year have exacerbated the crisis.

"This year the situation is different because the amounts involved are unprecedented," Mr. Connor told

the committee, elaborating on a state-of-the-organization report released by Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on Monday.

The United Nations already owes more than \$900 million to nations that provide peacekeeping troops, Mr. Connor said, and at the current rate the amount owed is projected to reach more than \$1.2 billion by the end of the year.

Mr. Connor, who was appointed to his position at the urging of the United States, said the Secretary General has ordered a freeze on recruitment, limits on staff overtime and travel, delays in payments to vendors and the issuing of monthly instead of semimonthly salary checks. More drastic measures are planned.

At Women's Forum, Peru's Leader Defies Church

By PATRICK E. TYLER

BEIJING, Sept. 12 — Peru's President, Alberto K. Fujimori, arrived here tonight and said he would speak out at the international women's conference here against the Vatican's opposition to contraceptives.

He said in an interview late tonight that he hopes to persuade other South American leaders to take part in a coalition he is trying to form to break the Vatican's influence over the South American continent's estimated 250 million Catholics on family planning issues.

"I will propose this is a very important subject for South America and we should join our forces," he said. "If we succeed as I expect in Peru, then the way will be easier for other countries."

His sudden decision to address the Fourth World Conference on Women in its closing days was a significant development as the Vatican and a number of countries with large Muslim or Catholic populations were making their final efforts to influence the language of the conference's policy declarations on the rights of women to family planning services and to safe reproductive health care.

It was not immediately clear whether his appearance would have any effect on the positions being taken by other Latin American countries, some of which are working closely with the Vatican.

Though the language adopted in the final documents at the United Nations conference here will not be binding on governments, Mr. Fujimori's mission to Beijing is one indication of the importance of these international forums in influencing national debate.

He said he would arm himself with the majority views expressed here in favor of family planning to defend his administration at home.

Peru's population of 23 million is 90 percent Roman Catholic, and

Seeking support at home from the world's women.

more than half the people live in poverty. In rural areas, many families have more than 10 children. Abortion remains illegal. Initial public opinion polls indicate that Peruvians overwhelmingly approve the spread of birth control education and access to family planning services.

"The Catholic Church has quite a strong power, and with a very large and influential network, and this is one of our obstacles in succeeding in family planning," he said.

The Catholic Church of Peru has mounted a vigorous campaign against Mr. Fujimori's family planning program, announced July 28. Legislation passed on Friday by Peru's Congress allowing voluntary vasectomies for men and tubal ligations for women as birth control options was denounced by church leaders as a move for the "mutilation" of men and women by the "power of darkness."

Mr. Fujimori, a Catholic and the son of Japanese Buddhist immigrants, said, "We are not trying to confront the church, but rather to help poor women and to express our solidarity to the women's movement."

Cardinal Augusto Vargas Alzamora, Roman Catholic Primate of Peru, said, "My feeling is one of deep sadness because at this moment, when Peru needs God's protection to emerge from many problems, the country accepts a law that goes against the law of God."

In a radio address during the weekend, he said his followers were "guinea pigs" being manipulated by

the state, and he warned that Catholics would be committing a "grave sin" if they availed themselves of the new birth control procedures.

As Mr. Fujimori arrived, the women's conference was still a grinding marathon of negotiations behind closed doors seeking to reach consensus on language for its final "platform for action."

Delegates and lobbyists reported especially tough going on the question of inheritance rights for women, which are denied in some African countries and are subordinated to men in many Islamic countries. A majority of nations here are determined to affirm a woman's equality in inheriting the land and property of husbands and fathers. But both Iran and Sudan have pressed for recognition of Islamic law, under which wives and daughters are treated as a sheltered class and are entitled to a smaller portion of inheritances than men are.

A member of the American delegation, Geraldine Ferraro, predicted today that the declaration of this

conference will assert a woman's "equality" in inheritance. Some Islamic countries are expected to withhold their support for this part of the final text, while joining the overall consensus.

From other negotiations Monday night and today, the conference appears to have reached agreement on the inclusion of language urging governments not to punish women who have had abortions and establishing a standard for parental responsibilities in the sexual health of adolescents.

"On parental rights, we've reached a reasonable compromise that recognizes that children have a need for confidentiality and privacy, but also that parents have a role to play," said Marcy Wilder, legal director of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League.

However, another advocacy group, the Family Life Coalition, called it "an antiparental rights document" that "will cause firestorms in the United States" because it "encourages sex for unmarried girls."

Governors favor Medicaid grants

Seek fair formula to fund states' needs

By Nancy E. Roman
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Republican governors have agreed on broad outlines of a federal Medicaid reform plan that gives states the money to insure their needy, but they are still feuding over how the money should be divvied among them.

House and Senate leaders are working to reform the federal health insurance program for the nation's poor and disabled, projected to grow faster than any other federal program at a rate of about 11 percent a year.

Republicans hope to save \$187 billion over seven years by sending the federal money to the states in block grants, capping the rate of growth, and leaving it to governors to argue over the best formula for distributing the cash.

Twelve Republican governors convene in Washington today to continue that discussion and sort out other Medicaid problems.

Northeastern states that have traditionally provided generous Medicaid benefits want the formula for block granting to be based on previous spending. High-growth states — like Texas and California — would rather weight the formula in favor of growth and per-capita income.

"The governors are still discussing it. There has been some progress, but at this point there are no agreements," said Mike Lawrence, press secretary for Gov. Jim Edgar, Illinois Republican and chairman of the Republican Governors Association task force on Medicaid.

"When you get down to details, it gets a little tougher," Mr. Lawrence said. "Some states could be winners and some could be losers, and so the idea is to try to come up with a formula for distributing the funds that will get support — if not of everyone — of enough."

He said governors have agreed to slow the program's rate of growth in exchange for flexibility. They do not want the federal government setting prices for physicians, requiring them to negotiate with all physicians or deciding which states may experiment in designing health insurance programs for the poor.

"They do not want micro-management from Washington if they are going to be expected to run these programs with less money," he said.

Republican governors would also like to see the end of Medicaid as an entitlement.

Medicaid is now guaranteed to welfare recipients, women and children whose family income is less than 133 percent of the poverty level, elderly or blind who receive Supplemental Security Income, and to needy Medicare beneficiaries.

Federal spending is tied to state spending, with no limits on federal contributions. In 1995, the federal government will spend about \$89 billion on Medicaid.

Rep. James C. Greenwood, Pennsylvania Republican and member of the Commerce Committee drafting the Medicaid reform, said he favors beginning with the current formula, and modifying it over seven years to favor population shifts. He said that would help to compensate states that offer more generous benefits and then attract more Medicaid recipients.

Mr. Greenwood favors block granting Medicaid: "But we've got to keep in mind that a large percentage of Medicaid recipients are senior citizens, mentally retarded and mentally ill. I'm not sure where I go with that thought, but it's an important thought."

Several aides on the hill say Medicaid is a sleeper issue.

Medicare — the federal health insurance system for the nation's elderly — has dominated both the news and House Speaker Newt Gingrich's agenda.

Medicare's constituency is 38 million senior citizens — many of whom vote — in contrast with Medicaid's less politically potent constituency — about 33 million welfare recipients, disabled persons and many confined elderly.

James D. Todd, executive vice president of the American Medical Association, and John S. Zapp, executive director of the American Dental Association, wrote to Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole last week, urging him to safeguard Medicaid's function as a safety net for the nation's most vulnerable.

U.S.-backed draft on children's rights irks conservatives

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Pro-family advocates at the U.N. women's conference reacted angrily yesterday to draft language adopted by a committee with U.S. support that they feel places the rights of children above those of their parents.

U.N. security guards led away five American women and an Australian who unfurled a protest banner at the end of a press briefing where leaders of the U.S. delegation explained the language that was agreed upon late Monday.

The protesters, who had been told earlier in the week that the American delegates were working to protect parental rights, said they felt betrayed by the draft language which explicitly endorses rights spelled out in the 1989 U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child.

That convention, which has never been ratified by the U.S. Senate, remains highly controversial among conservative pro-family groups that feel it opens the door to government interference in family matters and subordinates parents' rights to those of their children.

The language, which must still be approved by the full conference, spells out "the rights of the child to access to information, privacy, confidentiality, respect, and informed consent."

It also describes the "responsibilities, rights and duties of parents and legal guardians to provide appropriate direction and informed guidance ... of the rights recognized in the Convention on the Rights of the Child."

It adds: "In all actions concerning children, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration."

The Vatican, which has been a major defender of family rights at the women's conference, participated in the committee that drafted the language but still may register a formal reservation.

The pro-family advocates, angered when U.S. delegates said at yesterday's press briefing that they had worked hard for three days to help achieve the compromise language, unfurled a banner that read "U.S. delegation ignores pro-family U.S. women."

U.N. security men came for the women and led them to an office in the Beijing International Conference Center, where they were stripped of their delegate credentials.

One of the women, Karen McNeill of Life Choices in Memphis, Tenn., said later she was surprised by the action because first

lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, in a speech to the conference last week, had called for respect for those who oppose their governments.

A security officer, who declined to give his name, said a decision would be made today on whether the women would be allowed to participate in the rest of the conference, which ends Friday.

Purificacion Quisumbing, regional adviser for the U.N. Children's Fund for East Asia and the Pacific, explained some provisions of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in an earlier interview.

She said health care, including confidential sexual counseling and contraceptive services, would be required upon a child's request, with or without parental authority, depending on decisions by government officials.

"The best interests of that child shall be a primary consideration ... so that the child has a legal personality and can make a decision for herself," Mrs. Quisumbing said.

"There is no attempt to erode the family in the convention."

The family advocates, however, argued that the children's-rights language was part of a total agenda that promotes sexual promiscuity and other activities that have led to a breakdown of families and moral values in the United States and the industrialized world.

A coalition of 20 religious and pro-family groups said the provision would allow adolescent and teen-age children to use contraceptives and possibly have abortions without their parents' knowledge or consent.

They say it would also drive a wedge between parents and children by allowing the state to side with rebellious children and third parties that oppose parents' wishes.

Bonnie J. Campbell, a senior Justice Department official, said: "It is important for all of us to understand that women have rights and children have rights as well."

"As we apply these, there's a balancing of rights. Your right stops precisely where my rights begin. ... When it comes to the family, there are not that many instances when we intervene."

Melinda Kimble, deputy assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs, said, "This is not seen as anti-family by pro-family delegations," including the Holy See. "Both children and parents have rights."

No 'angry agenda,' no feminists at new Women's Quarterly Magazine called an 'antidote to Ms.'

By Joyce Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

At first glance, the Women's Quarterly looks like a longer-than-normal newsletter. But initial appearances are deceiving.

Editor Danielle Crittenden stresses "it's not a newsletter," but a groundbreaking magazine she describes as "an intellectual antidote to Ms."

Even though the Women's Quarterly consists of only 24 pages of heavy paper and is without color or photographs, Miss Crittenden sees it as a major contender among periodicals.

"Most women's publications are women/feminist... this one is conservative in tone. . . . In my head, I'm competing with the New Republic, even American Spectator," said Miss Crittenden, the wife of conservative author David Frum and mother of two who currently lives in Toronto.

Publisher Grace Paine Terzian of Oakton describes the Women's Quarterly as a "magazine for women who are human beings first, women second."

"We are not a propaganda publication. . . . We have no angry agenda," said Mrs. Terzian, also a mother of two, who admits she is somewhat uncomfortable about describing the periodical as "conservative."

"There is something universal in our point of view. I think we have a large market of women and men," she said, adding that the women "we target" are in the broad ideological expanse "between Gloria Steinem and Phyllis Schlafly."

Women interested in the magazine "like to read," she said. She

noted that the current summer issue, which is only the fourth issue of the quarterly publication, contains "nine meaty and interesting articles" on a range of cultural issues.

"We write the other side of culture issues that don't get serious coverage" elsewhere, said Miss Crittenden. "For instance, we've gone after women attorneys who wanted to take time off for maternity leave and get the same income as women who do not" have children and thus do not require such breaks.

Miss Crittenden pointed out that an article in the current issue is a "celebration of boyhood" that concludes today's youths have "poorer prospects than did their fathers" and cites affirmative action as one of the reasons.

An article on affirmative action that appeared in a previous issue of the magazine concluded women won't vote in support of this issue because they've "ceased to see benefits" from it, Miss Crittenden said. One key reason for the turn-off, according to writer Ellen Ladowsky, is that the white males "who have been the victims of affirmative action's discrimination" are the husbands, brothers and sons of women.

The year-old magazine is published by the 3-year-old Independent Women's Forum, an organization that promotes individual responsibility, strong families and limited government. In a May article titled "Angry White Females, Inc.," the Boston Globe said IWF is "well on its way to becoming the foremost media nemesis of the feminist movement."

Women are "so tired of the feminist-liberal viewpoint," Miss Crittenden said. "So many circumstances of life have been politicized by feminists that should not be politicized." She cited sex and motherhood as examples.

The cover story of the current issue of the Women's Quarterly was written by Camille Harper, a resident of a Chicago crack neighborhood, who described how government money to help the poor actually helps gangs control the poor.

In another article, writer Karen Fejer of Toronto wonders why the family meal cooked by Mom has become a "politically suspect act" and decides she can bake bran muffins if she wants to and doesn't have to make excuses for it.

The magazine also includes a lengthy interview with Honey Alexander, wife of Republican presidential contender Lamar Alexander. In the introduction to the interview, Mrs. Alexander is portrayed as a woman who could "revive the demure role of traditional first lady."

The interview, conducted by Mrs. Terzian, is the second in a series with wives of Republican presidential hopefuls. The first was with Wendy Gramm, wife of Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas. Miss Crittenden said Mrs. Gramm is "on our board."

The fall issue will feature an interview with Gayle Wilson, wife of California Gov. Pete Wilson. And Miss Crittenden said the magazine is hoping to run a fourth and final interview with Elizabeth Dole, wife of Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole.

But "a lot of essays" in the magazine "are not political at all," the magazine's editor said. She used the term "old-fashioned" to describe many of the stances the magazine takes.

The women who put out the magazine practice what they preach. Mrs. Terzian, the publisher, does most of her work on her dining-room table at home so she's there when her 4-year-old daughter, Gracie, who just started preschool classes, and her 10-year-old son, Hillman, get home from school.

Until recently, Miss Crittenden did all of her work at home.

Mrs. Terzian calls Miss Crittenden the "genius behind" the magazine, but Miss Crittenden credits Amity Shlaes, a friend of hers at the Wall Street Journal, for planting the idea in her head. For years, Miss Crittenden offered her nonfeminist views in columns that ran on the Op-Ed page of the Wall Street Journal.

"This was pre-Newt," and there were not a lot of outlets eager to publish such perspectives, Miss Crittenden said. Ms. Shlaes suggested that Miss Crittenden launch a new publication, and "she connected me with the Independent Women's Forum" as the vehicle to make this happen, the magazine's editor said.

The forum, she says, "tries to do politically what we're trying to do intellectually."

IWF agreed to finance the magazine, which costs \$15,000 to \$20,000 per issue, including mailings. "But they have given me complete editorial control and creative freedom," she said.

The magazine is put out by a staff of three — Miss Crittenden, Mrs. Terzian and art director Mitzi Hamilton — with a little help from their husbands.

"We're planning to add the name of Dawn Saul as circulation manager to the masthead of our next issue," Mrs. Terzian said.

An introductory subscription costs \$16.95 a year; it is \$19.95 a year thereafter. "And if you join IWF, subscription to the magazine is included in your \$30 membership cost," the publisher said.

"We don't have any advertising now. We definitely hope that's part of our future," she said, adding that Women's Quarterly staffers are "optimistic of success" in the years ahead.

Currently, 5,000 copies of the magazine are distributed. Approximately, 1,000 are sent out to subscribers and IWF members. The remainder are sent out to news organizations and congressional offices.

For information on the magazine, call 703/243-8989.

GEORGIE ANNE GEYER

Perhaps the Beijing conference on emancipated women is not the time to say this, but a woman has a right to change her mind. And this first week of the new work year, I have changed mine on a few hot-button issues and individuals:

- First, Hillary Rodham Clinton. Her performance in Beijing was little less than spectacular, proving, at least to me, that it is in this special inspirational venue, on issues she feels strongly about, that she finds a niche that no one else in the world can possibly fill.

When she spoke forcefully before that "confused" (to put it kindly) U.N. world conference — and spoke about women's rights being human rights — she was acting exactly as an American first lady should act. (Then when she sloshed through the rain and through those miserable, pushing, insufferable Chinese police to give courage to the poor NGO women isolated out there in Huairou, which means "Welcome to the Barbarians," she deserved a Purple Heart!)

Why was this so right for Mrs. Clinton? Because she was not meddling and manipulating, hiding her actions, as she did in the unfortunate health care disaster; she was acting as a true spokeswoman for the important principles of the modern world. Let's hope for more of this — and far less of the other!

- Then there is poor Sen. Bob Packwood. Now, as an early femi-

Revised visions of the passing scene



Hillary Clinton

Illustration by Elaine Chamberlain/ Special to the Washington Times

nist, I bear not the slightest sympathy for sexual harassers. But Bob Packwood? A woman should really be ashamed of her womanhood — she should skulk out of the room and hide in some dark bar — if she can't deal with the likes of Bob Packwood!

All indicators are that Mr. Packwood was a fine legislator, but, in the heat of his ridiculous advances and sloppy kisses, he was just a little skinny bothersome guy with pop eyes whom any self-respecting woman could knock over with the slightest brush of her knuckles. For goodness sakes, being apparently alcoholic in those days, he says he doesn't even remember these pitiful attempts to "conquer" all those women.

Probably it is because I am one of those girls from the South Side of Chicago, but our mothers taught us to take care of little guys like that right on the spot. They were, frankly, unworthy of too much of our time or attention, much less worth nursing grievances about for years.

- Next, focus for a moment on the beautiful sight of handsome Baltimore Orioles' shortstop Cal Ripken playing his 2,131st consecutive game and breaking Lou Gehrig's extraordinary record of 1939. Cheers that would not abate, cur-

tain call after curtain call, fireworks, a joy that would not stop as Ripken lapped around the Baltimore stadium. "An all-star gala as much as a baseball game," The Washington Post called it.

Until recently I blamed the cynical purveyors of popular culture for all the pornography, insipid television shows and seemingly endless trash that has become our popular culture. But now I blame us. Wednesday night in the Baltimore stadium shows what a healthy, joyous face we can put forward as a people when we choose to honor a healthy, joyous man and not all the sick "victims" that we have allowed to so catch our attention.

It is when we, as a people, won't honor the trash — when we insist instead on honoring the Ripkens who are all around us — that our present ugly cultural morass will change.

- Finally, did anyone notice one of the most fascinating stories of the first week of September? The visit of Panamanian President Ernesto Perez Balladares to see President Clinton?

You remember the Panama Canal treaties of 1977? Surely you recall that all American troops are to be withdrawn from Panama and all bases given to Panama by Dec.

31, 1999? (Perhaps you even know that Mr. Perez Balladares used to belong to the party of Manuel Noriega and thus could be expected to be an extremist super-nationalist.)

"Progressive" thinkers in the 1970s and even the '80s were so sure that we should leave the canal to the benighted Panamanians. (Frankly, I was not so sure, but in time I bowed to my progressive friends and instincts.)

Well now, the most interesting — and important — issue here is that 70 percent of Panamanians want the United States to keep both soldiers and bases there. It's partly security, partly drugs, partly the \$500 million we spend every year.

What does that say about changes in perceptions and in reality? It says that we are already in a wholly new foreign policy era — that those shibboleths that asserted every country has the right to total independence, without any dependence on others, are frauds. It says to me it is time we not only in small part "renegotiated," as Mr. Clinton and Mr. Perez Balladares are going to do, but that, more important, we need to drop all the ideological cant and rethink rationally what really best serves the majority of the peoples of the world.

Whew! Those are about all the changes I can stand for one September.

Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

ands of noises."

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

Indeed, NATO has a growing Russia problem. On Tuesday the Kremlin accused NATO of killing Serb civilians, including children. Boris Yeltsin's government, in its most strongly worded objection to date, said NATO's action threatened "the current generation of Bosnian Serbs, who are actually facing genocide."

In response, State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said, "NATO has gone to enormous lengths over the last two weeks to minimize civilian casualties during this phase of the air war. ..."

Concerned about the growing rift, the Clinton administration is sending presidential confidant and top Russia expert Strobe Talbott, the deputy secretary of state, to Moscow this week to try to smooth over the differences and to prepare for a Clinton-Yeltsin summit next month.

Britain, with a nod from Washington, is floating the possibility of a negotiated compromise in which the Serb weapons would be withdrawn as part of a cease-fire that includes some type of protection for Serbs in the area.

Evidence that the NATO bombing may be politically unsustainable may give the Bosnian Serbs reason to believe they can outlast the West.

Trying to put the best face on the standoff, Pentagon spokesman Bacon asserted that the bombing had achieved two of the U.N. goals "in a de facto way": The Bosnian Serb military, now preoccupied with surviving, have largely stopped shelling Sarajevo, and they have permitted U.N. food convoys to reach the long-besieged Bosnian capital.

Still, there is the problem of the big guns, which the Serbs have concealed in the heavily wooded hills and could pose a renewed threat at any time.

The Pentagon had little success in the desert finding Iraq's mobile Scud missile launchers during the Gulf War, and so far has avoided targeting Serb tanks and artillery around Sarajevo.

Instead, NATO has concentrated on fixed targets such as ammunition dumps and transportation hubs such as bridges that are less risky to go after. But NATO soon will run out of easier targets, prompting a decision whether to broaden its air war or ease up on the Bosnian Serbs.

U.N. women's conference attendees agree women must have equal education, but ask who will pay for it **By Uli Schmetzer Chicago Tribune**

BEIJING Everyone at the U.N. Conference on Women agrees that women must have access to equal education and equal economic opportunities. But who will pay for it?

Delegates from poor nations are telling their sisters from rich nations that the deliberations here are meaningless unless advanced nations commit funds to their cause. Bankers agree the gap between the program and funds available now is enormous.

Sarla Gopalan, India's Secretary for Women and Child Welfare, suggested that .7 percent of the gross domestic product of the developed nations would do nicely. She was loudly applauded.

But there was a more cautious response by delegates from affluent nations who have advocated the need to offer women small business loans and access to higher education as the best remedies for poverty and dependence on male providers.

The developed nations, including the European Union, took their cue from Donna Shalala, U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Resources, who bluntly said Washington's coffers are empty.

"It is clear to anyone who reads the American papers about what's happening to our budgets that we are not going to have additional resources to add," Shalala said.

The debate over how to fund the ambitious Beijing Platform of Action, a blueprint for women's rights over the next decade, is dogging the final days of the United Nations conference that ends Friday.

African delegates warned Tuesday that unless the rich help the starving poor, the latter soon would be migrating to the developed nations in greater numbers.

"We appeal to your human conscience in the name of justice and equity to restore the equilibrium of wealth," said Marie Avemeka, Congo's Minister for Women and Development.

But a European Union statement said it would be a mistake to link additional funds to the conference targets and suggested the developing world help itself by cutting budget deficits and embarking on more sound free-market economic policies.

Western governments have become more cautious in pledging financial assistance after most of them failed to deliver on promises made at the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

The funding debate isn't the only issue still hanging over the conference, which must accommodate the ethnic, religious and cultural views of 189 member nations before it can issue its Platform of Action on women's rights.

Delegates said they have worked out compromise language to give a balanced say to both parents and children regarding decisions on contraceptives and sex education. And the conference has managed to include a provision asking some governments to reconsider laws that punish women who submit to illegal abortions.

"It was a step forward from Cairo," said Jacqueline Jackson, chairwoman of the U.S. Planned Parenthood Association. "It gives women the right over their bodies, free of coercion and violence."

Jackson conceded, however, that most Arab countries probably would register their reservations when the issue comes up at the plenary session Friday. Most Muslim nations also are expected to voice opposition to granting women inheritance rights, something that often is reserved exclusively for men in their countries.

Former U.S. Rep. Geraldine Ferraro, D-N.Y., a member of the U.S. delegation, pointed out that while the Action Platform document won't be binding on governments, it will give women a collective basis for negotiating at home on women's issues.

But not all governments will be receptive. On Tuesday, China's foreign ministry spokesman, Chen Jian, said his country won't abandon its one-child policy despite a declaration by the Women's Conference that it violates a woman's right to decide her sex life free of coercion and violence.

"It's a necessity, not a luxury," Chen said of the one-child policy. "There is no chance for it to change."

Chinese authorities have been accused of forcibly sterilizing women and forcing them to undergo abortions, sometimes five to seven months into their pregnancies.

Although 130 questions remain to be resolved before the final document can be submitted to a conference plenary session, many of the opposing blocs already have declared victory.

The Vatican and Islamic nations claimed that "radical" elements have failed in their attempt to include language further liberalizing women's sexual rights, including greater access to abortions. But liberals said they in fact had succeeded, citing, among others, a clause calling on some governments to review their policies of punishing women who seek illegal abortions.

For the last two days there also has been a deadlock over four references to "freedom of sexual orientation."

Politics on His Mind, Yeltsin Warns West on Bombing in Bosnia

By STEVEN ERLANGER

MOSCOW, Sept. 7 — Russia's isolation over Bosnia deepened today as an obviously frustrated President Boris N. Yeltsin, domestic politics on his mind, warned Western leaders that Moscow would have to rethink its partnership with NATO if the alliance continued to bomb the Bosnian Serbs.

In a series of meetings over the last week with European leaders, Mr. Yeltsin has complained that Russia's views on Bosnia and its opposition to the bombing are ignored by NATO. But with each meeting his comments have become

harsher and more pointed as the West continues, in his view, to brush Russian reservations aside.

Today he told the Spanish Prime Minister, Felipe González, the current European Union President, and Jacques Santer, head of the European Commission, that NATO "declares its 'peacekeeping mission' but has actually appropriated the role of judge and bailiff" in Bosnia and was exceeding the United Nations mandate there.

The West is employing double standards, he said, bombing the Serbs while applauding the military exploits of the Muslims and the

Croats. "How is it when the Muslims attack, no sanctions are applied against them?" Mr. Yeltsin asked. "The same thing happens when the Croats are on the offensive."

But Mr. Yeltsin's concerns are less about the Serbs and more about NATO expansion. Beyond Bosnia, Mr. Yeltsin said, Russia is being ignored in efforts to create a new, post-cold-war concept of European security. "This is impossible," he said angrily. "This means a return to two camps that are at war with one another."

If the bombing of the Serbs and the dismissal of Russian views contin-

ued, Mr. Yeltsin said, "we will have to thoroughly consider our strategy, including our approach to relations with the North Atlantic alliance."

Leaving the meeting, Mr. Yeltsin told reporters: "There is definite discrimination in relations against Russia."

Western diplomats here and in Europe have generally put Mr. Yeltsin's remarks down to domestic politics and a continuing frustration with the new Russia's comparative weakness in the world.

Part of Russia's concern about Bosnia, the diplomat said, is the active military presence of the old ene-

my, NATO, in what used to be a clear Soviet sphere of influence.

Parliamentary elections are only three months away, Mr. Yeltsin and his Government are not popular, and the general tenor of the nascent campaign is strongly nationalist. The lower house of Parliament has voted to have a special session on Bosnia on Saturday, in which members are expected to fulminate against what they call the unfairness and anti-Serbian nature of NATO and American policy.

The Russian Parliament has already passed bills dropping sanctions against the Serbs and introducing them against Croatia. Mr. Yeltsin, despite his complaints, is expected to veto them.

In an effort to keep lines open, Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany visited last weekend, followed by Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind of Britain, and now Mr. González.

And the White House press secretary, Mike McCurry, hastened to say today that Russia's contribution to the search for peace in Bosnia is "very important," that Mr. Yeltsin's views are not ignored and that "we will have further discussions with the Russian Federation." But the White House is also seeking clarification about Russia's intentions to sell Iran up to four light-water nuclear reactors, when Washington wants none sold and Congress is threatening to cut off most American aid to Russia in retaliation.

THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1995

After China, Hillary Clinton Finds Mongolia a Gentler Place

By SETH FAISON

ULAN BATOR, Mongolia, Sept. 7 — Flying from China into this grassy, sparsely populated country, Hillary Rodham Clinton might be forgiven today for feeling as though she had passed through a looking glass.

In contrast with China, Mrs. Clinton found a functioning democracy here. The crowds that clog every Chinese city were nowhere to be found, and few Mongolians seemed to be disrupted when Mrs. Clinton's 10-car motorcade stopped traffic to speed through this shabby, almost

deserted-looking capital. In perhaps the biggest change, the security agents seemed friendly.

In Beijing for two days this week, Mrs. Clinton irritated her authoritarian hosts with a powerful speech on human rights. She also inadvertently created chaos at a nongovernmental forum, where thousands of women trying to hear her speak clashed with Chinese security forces.

But in Mongolia, when Mrs. Clinton gave another speech about the need for democracy and freedom, Mongolian officials responded with applause, not condemnation.

The stated purpose of her visit

here was to "express support for Mongolian democracy and for Mongolian independence," in the words of Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord, who accompanied her.

But away from politics, Mrs. Clinton seemed most excited today by getting a taste of the nomadic life that still dominates Mongolia.

After arriving at the half-built Ouyant Ukhua Airport and waving to a few dozen construction workers who seemed to be the only people around, Mrs. Clinton and her entourage headed about 20 miles into the Mongolian grasslands.

Wearing black suede cowboy boots

and a maroon shawl she bought last year in India, Mrs. Clinton entered the musty-smelling yurt of a man named Zanabaatar and his wife, Haliun. She stepped carefully past the silver pail of cow dung used as fuel and gamely tasted the offered mare's milk and horse cheese.

Mr. Zanabaatar, with his six young children wide-eyed nearby in the dark tentlike structure, said that the rains had been good this year.

Taken outside to watch one of the family's horses get milked, Mrs. Clinton spied some large animals ambling along the crest of a hill.

"What's that big...? It's a yak!"

she exclaimed.

After watching the children display their riding skills along a sloping green hill and presenting them each with a pack of M&M's, Mrs. Clinton sped off to spend lunch with Mongolia's pudgy and ever-smiling President, Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat, and his wife, Tsevelomaa.

"A visit like this can put a spotlight on a country like Mongolia, which Americans pay little attention to," said Mr. Lord. "It's quite a remarkable story."

Mrs. Clinton seemed eager to learn about Mongolia's moves away from one-party control in 1990, its loss of aid from the Soviet Union, its runaway inflation and how the changes had affected the status of

women, meeting with eight women in the residence of the American Ambassador, Donald Johnson.

But despite their new-found freedom to speak, the women — a doctor, a women's federation leader, a young politician among them — seemed to respond with rehearsed speeches. Mrs. Clinton's questions went largely unanswered.

At Mongolian National University, Mrs. Clinton emphasized the importance of working together by citing a lesson that Genghis Khan's mother tried to teach her children.

"To make her point, she showed them how easily one arrow could be broken, but how hard it is to break five arrows when they are held together," she said.

CONNIE MORELLA

Cultivating common ground

What happens when 50,000 women get together to talk about their children, their health, and their jobs? Lively discussion, heated debate, and new ideas. And that is what those of us attending the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women this week are counting on.

Conference Secretary Gertrude Mongello of Tanzania has said, "The problems [of women] are not different from country to country. They only differ in intensity." And she is exactly right. Women the world over are concerned about the prevalence of violence in their lives, the quality of their children's schooling, the challenges of pregnancy and childbirth, and economic security for themselves and their families.

This conference presents an important opportunity to strengthen the world's families, to increase the numbers of women in decision-making positions in government and business, and to ensure access for girls and women to education and health care.

This conference is not about adding genders, redefining families, denigrating motherhood, or tearing down capitalism. And it is certainly not about ignoring China's dismal record on human rights — if anything, the conference has focused the world's attention on the terror the Chinese people, particularly women, suffer day in and day out.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Burma's Nobel laureate, said it well in a videotaped message to the conference: "For millennia, women have dedicated themselves almost exclusively to the task of nurturing, protecting, and caring for the young and the old, striving for conditions of peace that favor life as a whole. It is time to apply in the arena of the world [this] wisdom and experience."

Before that can happen effectively, however, there are many challenges to overcome. Take, for example, crimes of violence against women. Domestic violence is the leading cause of death worldwide for women between the ages of 14 and 44. But, according to a report just issued by Human Rights Watch, "it is typically ignored by the state or only erratically punished."

The study, The Human Rights Watch Global Report on Women's Human Rights, states that the types of violence women face — murder, rape, assault and battery — are "condemned by the criminal laws of virtually all countries." Yet, these laws are not always enforced and in too

many instances the perpetrators — when they are husbands or boyfriends — are rarely punished. Human Rights Watch offers up a disturbing and long list of examples.

For example, in Brazil, where 70 percent of the violence against women is domestic violence, courts routinely refuse to convict men who kill their unfaithful wives or lovers. The men are exonerated because they acted to protect their "honor" and did so in the heat of passion.

In the United States, where every eight seconds a woman is physically abused, we have evidence that the "heat of passion/honor" defense is alive and well right here. Sentencing a man who killed his wife after he found her in bed with her lover, a Maryland judge said last year, "I seriously wonder how many married men . . . would have the strength to walk away without inflicting some corporal punishment."

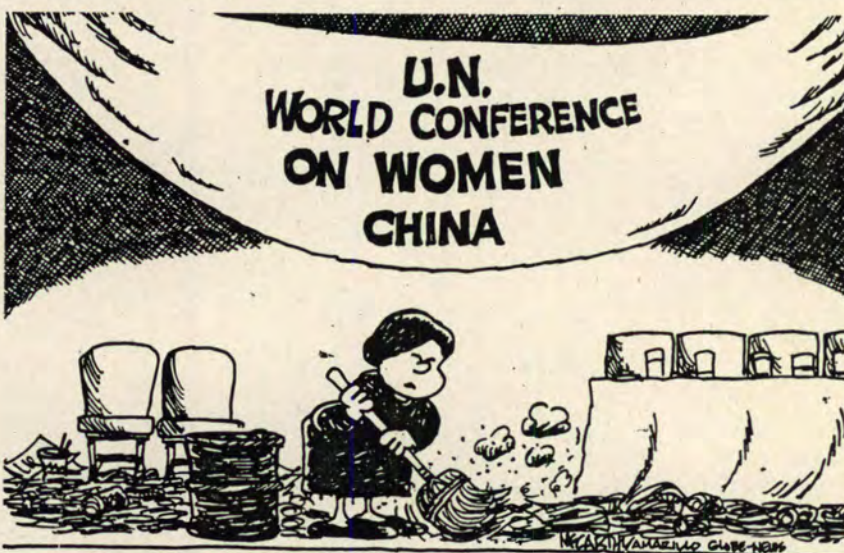
In Russia, where one in five mur-

nations including Haiti, Pakistan, and even in the United States.

Other issues also will be high on the conference's agenda. The education of girls and the advancement of health care for women will be discussed and debated this week. Two-thirds of the world's illiterate adults are women and two-thirds of the 130 million children who go without primary school education are girls.

Women's health worldwide is often precarious, especially in developing countries. Of particular concern is the HIV-AIDS epidemic among women. Today, women represent 40 percent of HIV-infected adults; by 2000, it is predicted that 15 million women will become infected. During the 1990s, 2.9 million women around the globe will die from AIDS.

All of us in the U.S. delegation — from the first lady to members of Congress to Sister Ann Kelly, presi-



der victims is killed by a spouse and most of those killed are women, battered women who call the police for help are ignored because domestic violence is a private matter.

Rape is prohibited under every national law and under all international laws regarding international and internal conflicts. Yet, the rape of women and girls as a consequence of warfare and as a tool of political repression is an accepted fact of life in many parts of the world. Combatants in such places as the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Peru, and Kashmir have routinely used rape to terrorize civilian populations, to expedite "ethnic cleansing," or to reward mercenary soldiers.

Human Rights Watch has documented rape by security forces and prison guards to get information or confessions or simply to abuse incarcerated women in many

dent of the College of New Rochelle — are here in Beijing because we want a world for our children that is free of hate and terror, poverty and disease, a world where they will be free to develop their gifts and talents unhindered by bias and discrimination. Some may deride these goals as unattainable and perhaps naive, but engage the effort we must.

Whether the issue is advancing human rights, promoting sustainable development, or mediating issues of war and peace, women will take an active role in their countries and around the world. The U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women is charting their course.

Connie Morella is a Republican member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Maryland.

Contrary to Senate, House Approves Adding to Stealth Bombers

By ERIC SCHMITT

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7 — The House today narrowly approved financing to begin expanding the nation's fleet of B-2 Stealth bombers, a step the Pentagon says it neither needs nor can afford.

The House vote set the stage for a battle with the Senate over whether to add, at a cost of billions, to a program that is now capped at 20 planes.

The vote, 213 to 210, defeated an amendment to the \$244 billion Pentagon spending bill for the fiscal year

that begins on Oct. 1. The amendment would have eliminated \$493 million for components for two more B-2's, the 21st and 22d in the fleet.

The narrow margin of the vote reflected budget constraints that had caused support for buying more of the bat-winged, radar-evading planes to slip since the House, in a 219-to-203 preliminary vote in June, first gave approval to B-2 expansion.

The Senate, which until this year favored the B-2 more than did the House, has rejected any additional financing for the plane. As a result, the fate of additional B-2's now rests with a conference committee of Sen-

ate and House members that will hammer out a compromise later this month.

Until the Republicans assumed control of Congress this year and reopened the debate over the size of the B-2 fleet, the Defense Department and Congress had implicitly agreed to halt production of the bomber at 20 planes, at a total cost of \$44.4 billion. Seven of those planes are already in the fleet, and all of the remaining 13 are to be delivered in the next few years.

Now backers of the B-2 hope for 20 more.

In debate on the House floor today,

B-2 supporters said the radar-evading bombers would risk fewer pilots' lives than would the lumbering, 40-year-old B-52's. One lawmaker even invoked the name of Capt. Scott O'Grady, the Air Force pilot who, flying an F-16 fighter-bomber, was shot down over Bosnia by a surface-to-air missile in June.

"If we don't go with the B-2 bomber, we are going to see pilots go down just like Mr. O'Grady went down," said Representative Duncan Hunter, a California Republican who is chairman of the House National Security Subcommittee on Military Procurement. "Don't reject this

technology. Protect our pilots."

Opponents of the B-2, led by fiscal conservatives like Representative John R. Kasich, Republican of Ohio, and liberal Democrats like Representative Ronald V. Dellums of California, noted that it would cost more than \$30 billion to add 20 of the planes and said such an expense would defy military logic and common sense.

"At a time when this Congress is cutting Medicare, Medicaid and education, it is unconscionable to spend more than \$30 billion on this," said Representative Richard J. Durbin, Democrat of Illinois.

Even the military balked when lawmakers backing the B-2, many of them from Southern California, the

Pacific Northwest and Texas, where components for the plane are built or assembled, began arguing for more.

Gen. John M. Shalikashvili, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Adm. William A. Owens, the Vice Chairman, summed up the military's position in a letter to Mr. Kasich before the House vote in June.

"The service chiefs and combatant commanders have been consulted on this issue," the letter said, "and with us unanimously support the Secretary of Defense's position that there are more pressing requirements than the marginal increases in capability offered by procuring additional B-2 bombers."

THE NEW YORK TIMES NATIONAL FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1995

White House Refuses to Release Files in Travel Office Incident

By ALISON MITCHELL

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7 — In response to a new request from a Congressional investigative committee, the White House has refused to turn over more than 900 pages of internal documents and memorandums concerning its dismissal of seven employees in its travel office early in the Clinton Administration.

In a letter this week to the House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, the White House counsel's office said that the documents were "subject to" claims of

executive privilege, but that the White House would be willing to consider "particularized requests" from the committee to review specific documents.

"It may be that some of the documents are ultimately turned over," said Mark Fabiani, special associate counsel to the President. "We've identified documents on a log and invited the committee to engage in a process to determine which are necessary."

But in a letter of protest to the White House, Representative William F. Clinger Jr., the Pennsylvania Republican who heads the commit-

tee, said the "exhaustive amount" of documents being withheld would "seriously impair" the committee's ability to examine the controversy. Mr. Clinger said he hoped the President would reconsider.

The White House's handling of the travel office is just one of the controversies that have come under renewed scrutiny by Republicans since they took control of Congress in January.

The travel office, which handles travel arrangements for some Administration officials and the White House press corps accompanying the President, became an issue in

the first months of the Clinton Administration when White House aides expressed alarm to superiors over possible mishandling of travel office money. Seven employees of the office were abruptly dismissed in the spring of 1993 and the White House asked the Federal Bureau of Investigation for a criminal inquiry.

But within days it was disclosed that the complaints leading to the dismissals were lodged by Catherine A. Cornelius, a distant cousin of Mr. Clinton who wanted to run the travel operation, and by Clinton friends who had been seeking the travel business for themselves.

Five of the travel office employees were ultimately restored to Government jobs. One, Billy R. Dale, who had been head of the office, has been charged with embezzlement. His trial is scheduled for October.

In its own internal review of the incident, the White House rebuked four officials and faulted the chief of staff at the time, Thomas F. McLarty 3d, for the way the matter was handled. A report in 1994 by the General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, went beyond the White House review of the dismissals, depicting Hillary Rodham Clinton as playing a more active role. But Mr. Clinger said the accounting office had not had access to the documents that he and the

White House were tussling over, which include witness accounts of the events, collected by the White House when it was conducting its review.

"They really didn't see them nor has anybody else," the Congressman said.

IN THE LOOP

Hunter Meets Hunttee

By Al Kamen
Washington Post Staff Writer

There was Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman **Jesse Helms** (R-N.C.) at the White House for a secret meeting last month to tell **President Clinton** why the Agency for International Development, the U.S. Information Agency and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency should be abolished.

And there was Helms's top aide on this effort, **Steven K. Berry**, briefing Clinton and other top officials on the details of the proposal, which has been stalled by administration opposition and a Democratic filibuster.

Wait a minute . . . **Steven K. Berry**? The former acting assistant secretary of state for legislative affairs? The one who lost his job after the department's inspector general accused him of a "serious lapse in judgment" and "total inappropriate conduct" during the Clinton passport scandal? (Remember: When during the 1992 campaign, Bush State Department officials went in the dead of night to Suitland, Md., to look in old passport files for dirt on Clinton and his mother?) The **Steven K. Berry** who underwent an independent counsel's investigation and was cleared of any wrongdoing?

Yep. The very same **Steven K. Berry**.

(Clinton apparently had no idea who **Berry** was. And **Berry** probably felt it inappropriate to open up with: "Gee, Mr. President, your passport photo really doesn't do you justice. . . .")

Anyway, sources say Clinton listened carefully, digested and repeated **Berry**'s case and said he'd get back to the **Helms**'s folks. During the meeting it fell to Vice President **Gore**, the chief opponent of the plan at the White House, to take the lead in opposition and argue against the **Helms** proposal. Secretary of State **Warren Christopher** was said by one source to have been "conspicuously silent." White House chief of staff **Leon E. Panetta** and deputy national security adviser **Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger** also attended the hour-long session.

How secret was the meeting? So secret that the heads of the affected agencies apparently did not know about it for several days. They found out from Hill Democrats, those loyal folks who united behind the administration to stall the bill. Sources say some of the Democrats found out from Republican Senate staffers.

Meanwhile, Sen. **Phil Gramm** (R-Tex.), who runs the Appropriations subcommittee for the State Department's budget, ratcheted up the pressure. **Gramm** weighed in this week with a letter to **Helms** saying he would not fund the department without **Helms**'s approval.

Caught by a Beagle, but He Didn't Have to Peel

■ It seemed like just another baggage inspection drill last Sunday for veteran reporters waiting to board the White House press plane leaving Hawaii as

Clinton returned from V-J Day ceremonies. The bags were lined up on the tarmac waiting for the usual German shepherds to come by and check for bombs and drugs.

But out trotted two little beagles (part of the government's downsizing?) wearing little green and white vests that said: "Beagle Brigade." The dogs are employed by the Department of Agriculture to sniff for contraband produce.

The dogs went up and down the line calmly sniffing away when one of them got very agitated, its little tail wagging furiously.

The inspector looked into the suspect bag. Sure enough, there was an illegal banana, property of CNN White House producer **Kevin Bohn**. "No one warned us" it was against the law to take produce to the mainland, **Bohn** said yesterday.

The inspector seized the banana as evidence. **Bohn** was not detained.

The Penultimate Finale

■ When last we checked, White House deputy chief of staff **Erskine B. Bowles** was outta there, absolutely, no question, going home to North Carolina to spend more time with his family. People were saying he was gone this month or next at the latest.

Next thing you know, he's playing golf with **Clinton** out in Wyoming. Now we hear he's been convinced by **Clinton** to stay until the budget battle is over, which could be the end of this year.

He may stay even longer.

Starr Deputy Now Lawyer for Lawyers of Rose Law

■ Washington attorney **Mark H. Tuohey III**, who has been independent counsel **Kenneth W. Starr**'s deputy in Washington, is settling in this week as a new partner in the Washington office of the Texas-based mega-law firm **Vinson & Elkins**. An eyebrow or two might arch over this move because **Vinson & Elkins** represents the **Rose Law Firm**, which is being investigated by federal regulators over its role as counsel for **Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan** in Arkansas.

Tuohey said he had been in negotiations with **Vinson & Elkins** for several months but only after getting an ethics opinion from **Starr**'s ethics officer, former Watergate counsel **Samuel Dash**, and screening himself off from participation in any matters directly or indirectly affecting the **Rose** firm.

Gergen Circles Back to Way Station

■ The door doesn't revolve much faster than this. **David R. Gergen**, counsel to the presidents—as in **Nixon**, **Ford**, **Reagan** and **Clinton**—is going back to **U.S. News & World Report** as editor at large.

Gergen was there before going to the **Clinton** administration for 18 months. He left last year to become a visiting professor at **Duke**.

Gergen also plans to return to his talking head role on **Public Broadcasting Service's MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour**.

First Lady Sips Mare's Milk in Mongolia

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Foreign Service

TOV, Mongolia, Sept. 7—Sitting today at the hearth of a Mongolian hut and sipping mare's milk below a two-stringed horse fiddle, Hillary Rodham Clinton turned to the Zanabaatar family, her nomadic hosts, and asked them if they had had a good summer.

They replied, as the American first lady nodded her head, that it depended on whether you were talking about the cattle and the sheep, which had done quite well, or the horses, which could use a bit more fattening up. The conversation turned to snuff boxes and the Zanabaatars' impending move to warmer pastures.

Also jammed inside the circular hut were the Zanabaatars' six children—and more than a dozen American reporters and cameramen who descended like a Mongol horde to record the last leg of Clinton's six-day Asian journey.

For Clinton, this stop in one of Asia's emerging democracies has also been a move to gentler pastures after two tumultuous days in China at the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women. There the first lady irritated the Chinese government with thinly veiled criticism of its forced abortion policy and a blunt rebuke for its handling of the conference.

"Some people from some countries have made unwarranted remarks or criticism of other countries," said Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Chen Jian in reply to a question about the first lady's remarks Tuesday in a speech to the Beijing conference.

"We would like to caution these people to pay more attention to the problems in their own countries," Chen said this afternoon as Clinton was dining with Mongolian President Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat and his wife.

But Clinton had already moved on to less sensitive matters.

Mongolia is a nation of just 2 million people, whose president once said that his favorite pastime is sleeping. A former communist coun-

try, wedged between Russia and China, Mongolia became a democracy in 1989 and has begun opening and reforming its floundering economy. It has no political prisoners and an independent judiciary, and more than 90 percent of its people took part in its first open elections in June 1992 and 1993.

After years of prohibiting the open practice of religion, the government has allowed people to openly practice the Tibetan Buddhist Lamaism once popular here. The Dalai Lama, an exile from Chinese-ruled Tibet, recently visited.

Gone are the days after Genghis Khan united the nomads here into a single state and conquered nearly all of Asia and European Russia and sent his armies as far away as Europe and Southeast Asia. "Mongolia is situated between two giants. Therefore our cooperation with the United States is very important from the point of view of security as well as our progress toward democracy," said L. Galbagrakh, an adviser to the president.

More than half the country lives in huts like the one the first lady visited: wooden-framed, domed, covered with layers of horsehair blankets tied down on the outside by horsehair ropes. Built to withstand bitter Siberian winds of up to 50 mph, the huts, called *gers*, can be dismantled easily and moved to another location.

The first lady's briefing book for this leg of the trip had some useful advice such as: When you enter a ger, it is polite to walk clockwise around the fireplace and if you have to leave to go to the bathroom during a meal, just tell your host that you're "going to take a look at the horses" and everyone will understand.

After her mare's milk aperitif, Clinton strolled outside the nomadic bungalow to really look over the horses as well as the yaks grazing in this stunning valley. A local man pushed a reluctant mare forward for milking. The Zanabaatar children raced on horseback, and the first lady rewarded them with M&Ms. She also presented the family with a new saddle and a red, white and blue saddle blanket. And then the 30-car mo-

torcade lumbered back across the valley for the 45-minute drive to Ulan Bator, the capital.

There she lunched with the president and watched a musical performance that included a man who sang a single note with different, slightly buzzing, string-like variations, some tunes on the horse fiddle and a 13-year-old contortionist who was able to bend over backward and put her head between her legs from behind and balance herself on her chin.

Clinton also had tea with some of Mongolia's most prominent women, including a doctor, a lawyer, teachers and wives of government ministers.

Afterward, she went on to the University of Mongolia for the most substantive part of this stop, which senior administration officials said was intended to give a boost to a place trying to do the right things. Other than James A. Baker III, who visited in 1991 when he was secretary of state, Clinton is the highest-ranking American to visit Mongolia since Vice President Henry Wallace in 1944. Upon arrival, she announced a new \$4.5 million U.S. aid package for Mongolia.

"This country has transformed itself from a one-party communist dictatorship into a pluralistic political system," she said in a speech. "The Mongolian people yearned so strongly for democracy that a movement began with demonstrations in sub-zero temperatures and culminated with the resignation of the Politburo, the legalization of other parties and the writing of a new constitution."

Mongolia, she said, should be a model for all Asia. "There are some who claim that freedom and democracy are Western concepts and that Asians prefer authoritarian rule," she said in a speech here. "I say: Let them come to Mongolia."

Was that one last parting shot for the Chinese Communist regime in Beijing? No, said a senior administration official here. Mongolia is a "remarkable story" in its own right, and the first lady only wanted to lend U.S. support to Mongolian democracy.

Beijing Meeting Signals Women's Solidarity

To the Editor:

Contrary to the headline over Camille Paglia's Sept. 1 Op-Ed article, the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing is not "A White Liberal Women's Conference."

In a phone call I had with Bella Abzug, who is in Beijing representing the Women's Environment and Development Organization, she reported that from 60 percent to 70 percent of the women participating in the parallel Non-Governmental Organizations Forum are from the developing world, including the several thousand N.G.O.'s accredited as observers at the official United Nations conference.

In comparison with other United Nations events, the official government delegations as a whole have a majority of women, also from the third world.

Ms. Paglia, who has carved a niche for herself as a pseudo-feminist critic, outdoes herself in again bashing Western feminists and misrepresenting their views. It is presumptuous and insulting to imply that third world women have to be told by outsiders what their problems and needs are.

Her description of the official Platform for Action as "a maelstrom" of clashing ideologies overlooks that the document, like all United Nations documents, reflects the consensus views of its 185 member nations as well as women N.G.O.'s from every region. The broad range of recommendations indicates the diversity of life experiences and needs that are addressed and the multicultural sensitivity of the platform.

It is also a tribute to the mutual support and growing solidarity among women's movements around the world.

It is true that the document does not single out for praise men who wash dishes, change diapers and help around the house, which is pret-

ty much a Western phenomenon and not even prevalent there. The theme running throughout the Platform for Action is not female dominance, but partnership and equal sharing of rights and responsibilities between the two sexes. A parallel theme is that as half the world's population, women must have an equal say in policy making.

Ms. Paglia does hit a sympathetic chord with me when she deplores the lack of references to male suffering and deprivations. I have long advocated that the equation of masculinity and manhood with war-making, aggressiveness, violence, wife-beating, rape, sexual abuse and all the other horrors that dominate the world's cultures should be challenged by the men (probably a majority) who do not commit these acts.

It's time for the many men around the world, both public figures and private citizens, who are peace-loving, caring, responsible and socially concerned to organize their own con-



David Suter

ferences to reject the popular stereotypes of how "real men" are supposed to behave and to provide, in cooperation with women, new definitions and positive models of manhood.

One question they might discuss is why are men, whether in repressive China, in our country or the other United Nations member countries, so angry and fearful at the concept of sharing power equally with women?

MIM KELBER

New York, Sept. 5, 1995

The writer is co-founder of the Women's Environment and Development Organization.

Will Repression Win?

To the Editor:

"Meeting of Women Says Surveillance by China Must End" (front page, Sept. 3), although excellent, ignores the substance of the Non-Governmental Organizations Forum and of the official United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.

This includes the struggle at the forum to adopt a credible Platform for Action for the improvement of women's lives that the world's countries will follow; Muslim women's uniting at the conference to oppose the oppression of women in Islamic countries; the lack of access to capital by the world's women; the struggle to force the United Nations to treat rape as a war crime and a crime against humanity; the rape of East Timorese women by Indonesian military forces, and the problem of domestic violence in China.

The repressive Chinese authorities will have accomplished more than they dreamed possible if the only stories to emerge from Huairou and Beijing in the next two weeks are about the efforts of the Chinese to suppress the free flow of information. The world awaits news of the information the Chinese seek to repress, not just the fact that the Chinese have sought to repress it.

ANN MARIE NOEL

San Francisco, Sept. 3, 1995

Navy's Arsenal Ship Is a Sop to Congress

To the Editor:

Re "Aircraft Carrier May Give Way to Missile Ship" (front page, Sept. 3):

On the eve of Congress's return from recess, Adm. Jeremy M. Boorda, the Chief of Naval Operations, described the Navy's plan for an "arsenal ship" to replace battleships and eventually aircraft carriers. This appears to be a sop to Congress, which has criticized the Navy for its neglect of naval surface fire support and for attempting to eliminate its battleships, which proved indispensable in the Persian Gulf war, as they will in future conflicts.

On June 29, 17 of the 20 Senate Armed Services Committee members voted to retain at least two battleships because they are the Navy's "only remaining potential source of around-the-clock, accurate high-volume, heavy fire support." Their performance received the highest praise in the Pentagon's April 1992 report to Congress on the gulf war.

Don't Blame Nafta for U.S. Job Losses

To the Editor:

Pat Buchanan (Op-Ed, Aug. 25) offers no new reasons to conclude that the North American Free Trade Agreement was a mistake.

During 1994 United States exports to Mexico surged, averaging \$1 billion per week, up 21.7 percent over the previous year. This was true across every sector, leading to thousands of new jobs. This is what proponents of Nafta predicted, and this is just what happened.

The Mexican economy collapsed at the end of 1994, and with it United States exports to Mexico. This was not a result of Nafta, but of mistakes relating to management of the peso. And the devaluation of the peso accounts for the disappearance of the United States trade surplus with Mexico. To argue, as Mr. Buchanan does, that 340,000 United States jobs have been lost because of Nafta is without foundation. Blame for mistakes in the way the peso was devalued cannot be laid to a fundamentally sound trade agreement.

Mr. Buchanan argues that Nafta

has not produced an end to illegal immigration. I know of no friend of Nafta who thought that illegal immigration would disappear within 18 months of its implementation.

Many problems Mexico confronts are serious, and no course of action will fix them immediately. But whether Mexico recovers or enters into a graver crisis, it will remain on our southern border and we will feel the effects of its decisions. This is true in spite of any fence Mr. Buchanan imagines will insulate the U.S.

During the Reagan Administration, Latin America underwent a transformation toward democratic rule and market economics. This transformation represents a real advantage for American security and for the American economy. There will be setbacks along the way, but they are not reason to veer off a course that will strengthen the hemisphere.

RICHARD G. LUGAR

Washington, Sept. 5, 1995

The writer, U.S. Senator from Indiana, is a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination.

First lady's words speak for thousands

By Charles Hutzler
The Associated Press

HUAIROU, China — The rain fell steadily, and the tent city housing a global women's gathering was a sea of mud. But that wasn't going to stop the women who came to hear first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Thousands of activists from around the world, clad in ponchos or clutching umbrellas, waited outside a crumbling cinema-turned-conference hall Wednesday, hoping to hear the first lady speak, or just catch a glimpse of her.

"Give 'em hell, Hillary!" a group of about 20 shouted.

Clinton had done just that the previous day, using her speech to the U.N. women's conference in Beijing to issue a ringing call for respecting human rights and to indirectly rebuke the Chinese for heavy-handed treatment of activists at the private forum here.

White House officials said Wednesday that President Clinton had helped polish the first lady's speech and that the text had been reviewed by pertinent foreign policy agencies, giving even further weight to the first lady's remarks.

But the president denied



By Doug Mills, AP

EMOTION: Crowds broke into song in honor of the first lady.

that the speech was specifically targeted at Beijing.

"What she said was what we have both said many, many times on the issues that effect China, and much of her speech pertained to conditions in other countries, not China," Clinton said. "Some of it related to conditions in our country as well."

The gathering of non-governmental organizations, which activists say the Chinese have tried to muzzle by staging



By Greg Baker, AP

NEVER MIND THE RAIN: Supporters wait for Hillary Rodham Clinton to arrive at the women's forum Wednesday at Huairou, China. Hundreds were turned away from the crowded hall.

It in a remote locale 30 miles away from the U.N. conference site in Beijing, has been plagued by logistical problems. Wednesday was no exception.

Clinton's scheduled speech began more than an hour and a half late. Hundreds were turned away despite waiting for hours in the rain. Even Betty Friedan, godmother of the U.S. women's movement, couldn't get in.

Even so, the conference hall designed to hold 1,500 people was packed with a crowd of more than 3,000, nearly all women, who sat in the aisles, packed a small balcony and jammed into doorways.

Outside the building, Chi-

nese security broadcast announcements blaming the United States for the crowd-control problems by moving the speech indoors.

The crowd waiting to get inside passed through metal detectors, creating a huge backup. The tight security initially prevented Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord and Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala from entering, though they entered, soaked, through a side door.

Shalala later said China "will never get another international event again."

Inside, the expectant crowd broke into gospel songs, including ope tune with a refrain un-

fortunate under the circumstances: "People pushing forward, never turning back!"

They were still singing when Hillary Clinton finally stepped to the stage after having been brought in by a back entrance. A roar went up.

Before she was introduced, the singing started up again. She clapped her hands in time, then plunged into a spirited speech praising the private activists for doing the real work to change women's lives.

Afterward, before leaving China to fly to Mongolia for a visit, she walked off the stage and shook hands with women in the front row. The crowd broke into song again.

France's nuclear test unleashes worldwide protest

By William J. Kole
The Associated Press

PARIS — Half a world from the island lagoon that heaved and frothed from the force of an underground nuclear test, France's president is feeling the heat.

Protesters marched, burned French flags and chained themselves to French embassies around the world Wednesday as anger flared over Tuesday's test blast in the South Pacific, ordered by President Jacques Chirac.

He was scorned at home, too, where more than 60% of the public opposes the tests. The front page of the leftist newspaper *Liberation* ran a large photograph of the conservative president altered to make half of his face appear melted or mutated.

About 5,000 Greenpeace activists rallied Wednesday at a symbolic site in Paris: the Place de la Bastille, where the French Revolution began. One demonstrator styled her hair in the shape of a nuclear mushroom cloud.

That protest drew a sharp reaction from Defense Minister Charles Millon, who noted that 86 nuclear tests were conducted under the 14-year presidency of Chirac's Socialist predecessor, Francois Mitterrand.

Despite the opposition, Chirac could still ride out the backlash. The neo-Gaullist, who has won respect for asserting France's role in Bosnia since being elected in May, drew relatively mild reaction from Germany, Britain and the United States.

Prime Minister Alain Juppe said Chirac faces "temporary unpopularity to preserve, in the medium and long term, the essential interests of the country."

France has set off 205 nuclear blasts in the South Pacific and in Algeria since 1960, when then-President Charles de Gaulle brought the country into the Atomic Age. France stopped atmospheric testing in 1974.

In the wake of protests, France said it may not conduct all eight tests, as originally contemplated.



CHIRAC: Says he'll sign test ban treaty after current tests

Equal Rights for Women Everywhere

F. Lawler's diatribe about the World Conference on Women ("The Benevolent Despots," editorial, Aug. 22) is inaccurate on two levels. First, Mr. Lawler hauls out the overworked, and baseless, charge that the conference seeks to recognize five "genders": men, women, lesbians, homosexuals and bisexuals. In an attempt to put this rumor to rest, a U.N. committee issued a statement in May declaring that the word "gender" as used in the conference document is consistent with common usage, with no new meanings or connotations implied. But despite the U.N.'s efforts, right-wing critics of the women's conference have managed to keep this spurious allegation alive and well.

Mr. Lawler's second error is more subtle, and more dangerous. He lambastes proponents of "the gender perspective" for their belief that "women's and men's roles are socially constructed and subject to change." Does he really think those roles are *not* socially constructed? No one disputes that there are innate biological differences between males and females, but every culture has its own definition of what it means to be a man or woman. Remember, medieval theologians believed that women, like animals, lacked souls. Until 1920, American women were thought to be mentally unfit for the rigors of voting. And in some parts of the world today, being a woman means that one is not considered capable of driving, owning property, or traveling without one's husband. The striking diversity of gender roles is proof of their mutability.

The draft document for the women's conference uses the word "gender" to refer to all of the meanings that are attached to biological sex. This is because the problems faced by girls and women are largely rooted in culture, not biology. For example, in many countries, girls are more likely to be victims of infanticide, are given less food and medical care than boys, and are more likely to be taken out of school and pressed into labor at an early age. And women, who perform two-thirds of the world's work, are paid just 10% of the world's income and comprise the majority of those living in poverty. These inequities are not God-given; they result from persistent gender-based discrimination.

The Fourth World Conference on Women will not impose a radical reordering of gender roles on unwilling nations, as Mr. Lawler suggests. Rather, the conference seeks consensus among delegates from some 185 nations concerning ways to improve the lives of girls and women worldwide by promoting equal access to education, health care and economic opportunity. The conference document also acknowledges that gender roles are already changing. Notably, women everywhere are combining motherhood with paid work to help support their families. Most do not have the option of assuming the traditional homemaker role of conservative myth: It is the imperative of survival in today's economy, not radical feminist doctrine, that has sent women into the workplace. The draft document for the women's conference takes a clear-headed look at these realities, and suggests compassionate policy to help women and families. For example, the doc-

ument recommends generous leave policies that allow parents to combine work and family responsibilities.

Is this a radical agenda? Only to those who believe that a woman's place is, innately and unalterably, in the home. The draft document for the women's conference recognizes the rich context of women's lives, and offers practical help, not pious rhetoric. It also offers a truth that is still unsettling to some: that women are human beings, with all the rights and responsibilities that entails. Would Mr. Lawler want anything less for his mother, sister, wife or daughter?

SUSAN E. SECHLER
Executive Director

Pew Global Stewardship Initiative
Washington

* * *

As a woman who proudly works for Dr. James Dobson's Focus on the Family, I would like to respond to Al Hunt's mischaracterization of those of us who oppose the Beijing feminist conference agenda as "religious-right zealots" whose charges amount to "sophistry" ("The Assault on the Women's Conference is Specious," Aug. 24).

Mr. Hunt should put aside the name-calling, look beyond the semantics of "women's rights," and read the "Platform for Action" document that the conference delegates will consider before he attacks those of us who have. He will discover that there is plenty in the document that most women—who don't identify with gender-feminists—reject.

Document provisions such as promoting abortion as "health," redefining equality and democracy into government-imposed quotas for achieving 50/50 male/female participation in every public and private sphere, "gender sensitivity" training from the classroom to the workplace, condoms for children and lesbian "rights" will do nothing to help women obtain clean water or better living conditions.

It is questionable whether this document can speak to women's needs when there is nothing in it that affirms the choices women make, such as marriage and motherhood. Viewing family relationships in terms of power, not love and responsibility, and ignoring the real cause of the feminization of poverty—fatherless families—shows how out of touch this document is with most women.

CAIA MOCKAITIS
Public Policy Information Manager
Focus On The Family
Colorado Springs, Colo.

Legalized Drugs Will Never Work

Libertarian David Boaz correctly states that the war against drugs will never be "won" in the sense that drugs will never be entirely eliminated from society (Letters, Aug. 29). Similarly, there will always be homicide. Shall we therefore legalize Murder Inc.?

Mr. Boaz supports legalization, because it will make drugs cheaper. Should we then combat teenage smoking by selling cigarettes at five cents a pack?

Could it be that the anything-for-a-buck libertarians want to increase drug usage in society to the high levels of alcohol and tobacco use so that prohibition is not an option? Then the death-dealing drug pushers can achieve the respectability of legitimate businessmen, like the bootleggers who acquired lucrative whiskey franchises when prohibition ended.

JANET D. LAPEY M.D.
Executive Director
Concerned Citizens for Drug Prevention
Hanover, Mass.

How Public School Rescued My Child

In general I agree with your Aug. 23 editorial, "Dates to Remember," criticizing some of the excesses of public school teachers unions. However you write your editorials as if every child in school were normal. Many children need "special services," and the public school system delivers these services very well. Much to my surprise, these services, at least in Elizabeth, N.J., are unavailable in private schools.

My child cannot control his aggression. He is six and going into first grade. He was asked to leave camp this summer. We then went looking for a school to help him and educate him simultaneously. Last year he was in a private (Jewish) day school. He was evaluated in the spring. The conclusion was that he had a problem. The school also concluded that it could not institute any programs to help him. This summer we investigated as many private (Jewish) day schools as possible and called the Elizabeth Board of Education.

Much to my surprise, he is currently scheduled to attend public school this fall. The reason is that the school will offer a) standard first grade curriculum comparable to that offered in any private school; b) an additional person in the classroom who will monitor his behavior and institute appropriate behavioral modification when necessary, and c) the services of a psychologist twice a week.

I am a strong supporter of vouchers and other methods for choosing a child's education. However, you have not addressed this program of "special services." Many "normal" children are taking advantage of the services for "hyperactivity," "aggressive behavior" and similar problems, offered by trained professional educators who want to make a positive difference in the lives of children.

ALBERT MARTIN
Elizabeth, N.J.

A Fearsome Judge Broke Open Watergate

Even Mr. Gigot (Potomac Watch, Aug. 11) seems to have forgotten the critical difference between Watergate and Whitewater. It is not Bernie Nussbaum; it is not even Bob Woodward. The battering ram that broke open the Watergate was Judge Sirica. But for the 20-year sentences passed out by Maximum John (for breaking and entering without theft!), Watergate might have terminated at the stonewall, just as Whitewater appears destined to do. The only holdout was Gordon Liddy, who was remanded to the most violent prison in the D.C. area. John Dean did not need to be made of bone china to break at the prospect of facing this jurist or his like.

In my view, it is to the credit of Republicans that, unlike the Democrats vis a vis Nixon, they show no passion to "get" the president—at whatever cost to the nation—but appear to seek only a modest gain of a few talking points for '96.

RALPH M. REYNOLDS
Venice, Calif.

Correction

In yesterday's editorial page article by Gary McDougal on welfare reform, the poverty level of the Grand Boulevard community was misstated. Of its 35,000 residents, 28,000 are poor.

Only Mrs. Clinton can give a good speech in China

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's speech this week at the United Nations Fourth World Congress on Women in Beijing didn't mince words. Though she did not mention the host country by name, she did speak out eloquently against the violent abuses of women that are commonplace in China.

"It is," said Mrs. Clinton, "a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls. . . . It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will."

There was no doubt in anyone's mind that the first lady was talking about China. Incidents of female infanticide take place elsewhere on the planet, but only in China is it so marked an official problem. It is this dictatorship's oppressive and aggressively enforced one-family/one-child population control plan that has created the problem. The sad truth is that faced with the prospect of having only one child, many Chinese are determined enough (not to mention ruthless and evil enough) to commit such despicable acts against their daughters as Mrs. Clinton describes. Though Mrs. Clinton did not mention it — perhaps wishing to avoid giving ammunition to pro-life activists at the conference — abortion is also used in many instances in China to eliminate unwanted baby girls before birth. And, of course, it was very clear indeed that the first lady had China on her mind when she talked about forced abortion and sterilization — both used widely by Beijing against women who dare to violate the one-child edict.

Nor did Mrs. Clinton limit herself to decrying abuses against women. "Let me be clear," she went on to say. "Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize and debate openly. . . . It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them or denying them their freedom and dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions."

Once again, this is China. Indeed, Mrs. Clinton almost lost her opportunity to participate in the conference because Beijing had jailed Harry Wu, an

American citizen arrested this summer on his latest return to his native country to document slave labor practices and other abuses in China's labor camps — where Mr. Wu had spent 19 years of his life for criticizing Mao. His release came in the nick of time for Mrs. Clinton's attendance to be politically possible.

Mr. Wu himself, who had publicly voiced his opposition to Mrs. Clinton's trip to Beijing, was clearly moved and heartened by her speech. "Over the past two months, I have had many reasons to be proud to be an American citizen. Today all Americans should be proud that their first lady spoke out directly and forcefully in Beijing about human rights." Her tough rhetoric caused Mr. Wu to muse, "her Chinese Communist hosts had to wonder if it was such a good idea to hold the conference in Beijing after all."

Indeed, the Chinese government imposed a total news blackout on Mrs. Clinton's speech — just as it had controlled the Chinese people's access to information about the meeting of Non-Governmental Organizations running in Huairou concurrently with the U.N. conference. Beijing also has employed some serious control over the delegates themselves, something about which they have been complaining vocally since they arrived. Even the U.S. assistant secretary of state for the Far East and the secretary of Health and Human Services were not immune. Winston Lord and Donna Shalala, trying to attend another speech Mrs. Clinton was giving in Huairou, encountered "grim-faced security forces, posted at entrances with their arms locked," the Associated Press reported. Mr. Lord and Miss Shalala finally made it in to hear the speech, after half an hour in the pouring rain. Mrs. Clinton's press secretary, Lisa Caputo, did not.

All of which serves as a very sharp reminder of just what kind of country China is — and of how inappropriate it is, in the end, for so many free and relatively affluent women to be carrying on ferocious debates about gender, sex and sexuality in a place where their sisters endure daily tortures. Clearly, China sought this conference as a boost to its international prestige. Mrs. Clinton's speech served as a spotlight on why China so little deserves such a boost. It would have been even more effective if she had given it here, since it so persuasively lays out why the United States shouldn't have gone.

AID fund to help women in politics around the world

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BEIJING — The U.S. delegation yesterday announced the Clinton administration will spearhead a new training and legal services program to advance women's political "empowerment" around the world.

The proposal would use money from the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) to encourage more women in foreign countries to join political parties and support female candidates, officials said.

"We want to get more women elected," Sally Shelton-Colby, assistant AID administrator and member of the delegation, said at a press briefing yesterday.

Mrs. Shelton-Colby said AID would give the "highest priority" to funding projects in foreign lands and to provide "legal rights" to women in their dealings with governments and private institutions. The U.S.-funded legal services operation would include "programmatic interventions" with foreign government agencies, legislatures and development organizations, she said.

The AID program is part of a six-point agenda unveiled yesterday by Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright to demonstrate U.S. commitment to the Platform of Action of the U.N. Fourth Conference on Women.

Mrs. Albright said the program would promote more political involvement by women in foreign countries and "promote the enforcement of women's legal rights."

While Mrs. Albright and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton staged several public announcements of administration commitments to the conference, other U.S. negotiators lost their first effort to adopt a homosexual rights measure into the U.N. platform.

Geraldine Ferraro, U.S. negotiator for the platform's human

rights section, failed to convince delegates from Jordan, the Sudan and the Vatican that "sexual orientation" is a human right that should be guaranteed as part of a U.N. effort to break down cultural and religious barriers to homosexuality and other sexual practices.

Mrs. Ferraro told delegates of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that "there's not a real favorable environment" for expanding the U.N.'s Universal Declaration of Human Rights to prohibit all forms of discrimination against people on the grounds of sexual orientation. She said the other delegates did not view homosexuality as "a human right."

Mary Ann Glendon, the Vatican's representative at the conference, said it was important to establish a definition of sexual orientation before agreeing on a platform.

Mrs. Glendon said she saw no need to include a special provision guaranteeing human rights for homosexuals.

Other initiatives in the U.S. plan offered yesterday include:

- A \$1.6 billion, six-year Justice Department anti-crime program focusing on violence against women. The plan would fund "special police and prosecution units" at the state and local level, Mrs. Albright said.

- "A healthy, comprehensive assault" by the Department of Health and Human Services to promote healthy behavior of women, including an anti-smoking campaign, increased AIDS awareness and efforts to cure breast cancer.

- A "grass-roots campaign" led by the Department of Labor for more equitable pay for women and to "promote the twin responsibilities of family and work."

- A Treasury Department campaign to promote financial credit for women.

- A new White House Council on Women to coordinate federal actions and work with NGOs.

Travels with Shalala

HUAIROU, CHINA

Nights of rain, days of mud. Security checks, long boring bus and taxi rides to reach the forum on women in Huairou. Donna Shalala, the secretary of Health and Human Services, invites me and Josette Shiner, my managing editor at The Washington Times, to join her on a trip out to the tents.

"Schlep with Shalala," she says. Her staff is less enthusiastic, but here at a woman's conference on women's rights, the boss gets her way.



**Suzanne
Fields**

Ms. Shalala wears practical, sensible (you might say) running shoes and a stylish silky pants suit that rise three inches above the ankle.

No flies or mud on the secretarial ankles. She wants to see first hand the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) without the hindrance of official appointments. The omnipresent guards stop her to question the identity cards she wears around her neck, and a translator in our entourage yells (in Chinese) "Minister, minister." Persuaded that she's important, albeit female, the soldiers guarding the entrances to the tents let us through.

Security is considerably lighter than during the early days of the forum. We still go through "safety" doors, whose buzzers and bells continually sound alarms, but the guards no longer pay much attention. In fact, Ms. Shalala can't imagine why so many delegates and reporters had fussed about Chinese official harassment. This is fun, like walking through a crowded college campus with the dean.

We tell her that it was slightly more difficult when we didn't have a translator and a bona fide minister from America with us. Luckily, we aren't from Tibet or Taiwan.

On a stroll, Secretary Shalala confronts a wide spectrum of attitudes. She talks with African women in brightly colored robes with matching headdresses who look like tribal queens, Muslim women hidden dramatically in chodors. Indian women are draped in graceful silk saris, with a flash of flesh at the belly line.

Suzanne Fields, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated. Her column appears here Monday and Thursday.

Many of these women earned money for their trip to China by selling crafts and posters. They have some left to sell in booths in the tents.

These are earnest women, touching in their determination, who represent grass roots organizations from villages, towns and cities in scattered parts of the world, trying against many obstacles to elevate themselves (and their families). Other women here, typically Western and white, hold workshops to celebrate the lesbian lifestyle. Their cottage industry is bashing men, whether husbands or heads of state. Their rhetoric is lost on the ears of the women of the global underclass.

The most inspiring women are in wheelchairs, who tell Madam Secretary they want her to make sure they're perceived as "healthy" women so their lives and accomplishments are honored in the final version of the "U.N. Platform for Action." Disabled women worry that they are twice threatened when women choose to abort female fetuses, fearing the slide down a slippery slope; devaluing life, one of them says, "makes babies 'like us' with birth defects especially vulnerable."

At their best, these conferences are about women getting together to enjoy friendships, exchange information and set up networks to make better lives for themselves (and their families). They also focus the world's attention on the oppression of women in certain countries, the government forcing abortions and sterilization, the culture forcing genital mutilation.

But many of these women, especially white Western women in a minority, have a hidden agenda of eliminating the influence of traditional families, religion and morality. One of their catch — all terrors, as presented in the program book, is "the rise of conservatism in its various forms — religious, nationalist, racial/ethnic and homophobic." They seek a global affirmative action program, to create an "equality of results" rather than an "equality of opportunity." This in turn frightens the rest of us.

Critics of the first lady's appearance here — I'm one of them — think her visit sets a bad precedent, casting her as a pawn of her husband's foreign policy. But once her husband sent her on her way, she delivered a powerful and passionate speech, linking women's rights with human rights, bravely saying these things in the belly of the beast. Or rather the belly of the boar.

Before Secretary Shalala leaves the village of Huairou, she stops to visit with Maureen Reagan, who headed the U.S. delegation to the first women's conference in Nairobi when her father was the president. The secretary and Miss Reagan speculated, this being on the eve of the first lady's arrival, about what she should say.

Maureen Reagan said it should be a speech for the folks back home. Donna Shalala said she should speak to — and for — women of the world. To the first lady's credit, she did both.

Embassy Row

By James Morrison

America first

Now we know why Ambassador Martin Indyk stayed away from Monday's celebration of 3,000 years of Jewish history in Jerusalem.

He had "prior commitments."

What could keep America's first Jewish ambassador to Israel away from the commemoration of King David's conquest of Jerusalem?

A Labor Day barbecue at the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv.

He also attended the opening of an Israeli women's shelter.

That's the official State Department explanation.

Spokesman Nick Burns said the embassy was represented by a cultural attache.

"Yesterday was an American national holiday, Labor Day, and there was ... a barbecue for the American community in Israel. ... He also had another commitment about a women's shelter," he said Tuesday.

"So he had very good and appropriate things to do, one event of importance to Israelis, another event of importance to Americans, and he is the American ambassador."

The Israeli government considered his absence — along with 70 other invited ambassadors — an insult.

Wu at White House?

Harry Wu, the human-rights advocate expelled from China just before first lady Hillary Clinton decided to go to Beijing, speaks today at the National Press Club at 3 p. m.

Mr. Wu yesterday stopped by the Washington office of Amnesty International to thank the organization for its support while he was imprisoned in China.

Amnesty International, meanwhile, asked President Clinton to meet Mr. Wu.

Executive Director William Schulz, in a letter, urged Mr. Clinton to "send a strong political message to China" by inviting Mr. Wu to the White House.

"A meeting with Mr. Wu will offer you the opportunity to spell out your personal commitment to help end human rights abuses in China," he wrote.

The party's still on

For those invited to today's celebration at the Brazilian Embassy, the party is still on, even though the ambassador is still recovering from brain surgery.

Ambassador Paulo-Tarso Flecha de Lima "personally instructed us" to hold the National Day celebration as planned, said embassy spokesman Pedro Borio.

Mr. Flecha de Lima, who had a tumor removed from his brain in late August, has been recovering with a little help from friends.

First, Princess Diana, a friend from his days as ambassador to Britain, dropped by to see him at Georgetown University Hospital.

Then, President Clinton sent him a "get well" letter.

"Hillary and I were very sorry to hear of your illness but relieved to learn of your rapid improvement. You and your family are very much in our thoughts and prayers during this difficult time," the president wrote.

"I was deeply touched by your message and thank you with all my heart," the ambassador replied.

In Holbrooke's defense

Many readers who know Richard Holbrooke were shocked by what they saw as a hatchet job on the assistant secretary of state by a British newspaper.

Embassy Row published excerpts from the London Daily Telegraph news service story on Tuesday, but that did not mean that this column agreed with its observations.

This column has never found Mr. Holbrooke to be "arrogant, pushy, self-serving and obscenely ambitious," as he was described by the Telegraph.

But the story was intriguing, especially because it came from the respected London daily.

Just who was saying all those nasty things about Mr. Holbrooke?

Many Embassy Row readers, being seasoned Washington hands, suspected the long knives were after Mr. Holbrooke as his star was rising quickly on the international stage.

With responsibility for European affairs, he is at the center of issues from Bosnia to the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The Telegraph hinted broadly at the root of his troubles.

"Mr. Holbrooke is privately critical of the way Warren Christopher, secretary of state, attempts to oversee U.S. foreign policy," the Telegraph said.

"His contempt is returned in spades ... from rivals at the State Department ... the Pentagon and the White House ..."

• If you have a tip, suggestion or question, call Embassy Row at 202/636-3297.

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

By John McCaslin

Murphy's Law

No train wrecks in Tom Daschle's Senate office.

That was Mr. Daschle's ruling yesterday, when the minority leader told reporters the cliché was used too often to describe the oncoming budget battle with the White House.

"We ought to ban the word 'train wreck' from this room," the South Dakota Democrat said during his morning news conference. "It conjures up notions of total chaos."

Reporters suggested "bumper cars," or the Beltway-favorite "truck wreck" referred to recently by Sen. Phil Gramm, Texas Republican.

But Mr. Daschle rejected those phrases, saying "we can do better than that." He promised to get back to us with a better cliché.

In the meantime, no such ban is in effect at the White House. During a brief encounter with reporters yesterday, President Clinton said: "We should not have a train wreck; there's no reason to have a train wreck."

At least one vote

We found GOP presidential hopeful Lamar Alexander's campaign spokesman, Dan McLagen, in New Hampshire yesterday. What's the good news?

Well, Dan didn't hesitate. "Jefferson County, Florida, held its convention over the weekend and selected delegates to the Republican convention — four delegates total, three of which were elected officials who get in automatically. The one remaining delegate was drawn out of a hat."

"And wouldn't you know they happened to draw the name of Lamar's cousin, Duncan Rose. They just picked him out the hat."

Beijing bust

Lost in the pomp and ceremony of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing is the fact that the United States — even with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in attendance — has no pull in the proceedings.

And the Clinton administration has no one to blame but itself.

As John R. Bolton, a Washington lawyer who was assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs in the Bush administration, pointed out last year, the United States at the start of this year was denied reelection to the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women (CSW).

"A stunning and nearly unprecedented development," Mr. Bolton observed, for not only that, "the United States actually came in last in the voting" — behind Greece, Germany and Belgium, which all won seats.

"So bad were things for the United States," Mr. Bolton noted, "that Turkey, realizing it could not win a seat, actually withdrew in favor of Greece."

CSW was created in 1946 to monitor women's rights in political, economic, social and educational matters. Its working group also considers allegations of discrimination against women and responses from accused govern-



Sen. Tom Daschle is working on replacing the "train wreck" cliché.

ments. In addition, the commission was the preparatory body for the Beijing conference, responsible for its agenda, budget and rules of procedure.

"Although the U.S. can participate as an observer — as can every other member of the United Nations not on the CSW — it will clearly be hampered in its efforts to defend itself," Mr. Bolton said. "Offensive resolutions will be harder to block or tone down, including not only those on core women's issues, but on more political ones as well."

"It is a fine irony," he added, "that the Clinton administration, so publicly and politically committed to its own gender-based personnel selections, lost this election. One might have thought that Madeleine Albright, the U.S. permanent representative in New York with Cabinet-level status, would have had this election prominently displayed on her radar screens."

Thompson in '96

The Bradley Foundation wouldn't mind seeing William Bennett as vice president on the Lamar Alexander ticket. But don't read that as an endorsement.

Michael Joyce, president of the philanthropic organization that supports conservative causes, shared the spotlight with both Mr. Bennett and Mr. Alexander on Tuesday when the two former secretaries of education visited Milwaukee to wave the flag for school choice.

"When Lamar Alexander and Bill Bennett were in town, many people were remarking what an excellent slate they'd make, either way," Mr. Joyce told this column yesterday. "But the issue was confused when suddenly [Wisconsin] Governor Tommy Thompson showed up, and then there were too many excellent candidates!"

Greener Gorby

Former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is coming to town Oct. 10, kicking off the Greater Washington Society of Association Executive Foundation's Nation's Capital Distinguished Speakers Series at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

One of the 20th century's most influential leaders, Mr. Gorbachev continues to exercise his vision on behalf of Russia, but now mostly through his commitment to environmental issues.

The Washington Times
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1995

WASHINGTON INSIGHT: Speculation Rampant on Blinder's Fed Plans (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=

WASHINGTON Speculation is rampant within the Federal Reserve these days about the future plans of Fed Vice Chairman Alan Blinder. Many Fed observers are convinced that Blinder is planning to leave the Fed when his term ends Jan. 31 and return to Princeton University, where he was an economics professor before joining the Clinton administration as a member of the Council of Economic Advisers in 1993. They believe that Blinder will leave the Fed because he is convinced that President Clinton will reappoint Alan Greenspan to a third term as Fed chairman next March, shutting Blinder out of the chance to take the helm of the nation's central bank. Some also note that Blinder may not feel that he fits in at the conservative Fed. Unlike other members of the Fed board of governors, he doesn't believe that Congress should change the law that now requires the Fed to pursue two basic objectives: price stability and full employment. Greenspan and others believe that the law should be changed to make price stability the Fed's only legal objective. Despite the gossip, Blinder issued a statement saying that he has not made a decision about his plans. But Clinton would probably reappoint him if he wants to stay.

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LOSING STREAK: For the first time in the memory of veteran Supreme Court observers, the U.S. solicitor general, the administration's top courtroom lawyer, actually lost more cases than he won before the court in the last term. The government can choose which cases to appeal, so it usually wins at least three-fourths of them. But in the last year, the solicitor general's office took part in 25 cases and lost 13. One reason may be that Solicitor General Drew S. Days III, a Yale University law professor on leave, has the unenviable task of defending liberal causes before a conservative court. This term may prove better, or at least safer. Days elected to stay out of the highest profile case in the fall, the challenge to Colorado's anti-gay-rights initiative.

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SEA STORY: Top Navy admirals are busting their buttons over the fact that the aircraft carrier Theodore Roosevelt is playing a key role in the latest series of NATO air strikes in Bosnia. Navy officials were demoralized when carrier pilots took a back seat to the Air Force during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Not only did the sea service get cut out of much of the action, but its bombing raids often missed their targets because Navy attack planes did not have the precision-guided munitions (PGM) that enabled the Air Force to shoot missiles down chimneys. Since then, however, the Navy has upgraded its PGM capability, and the admirals are quick to point out that the deployment of the carrier showed the value of maintaining "a naval presence" in key hot spots around the globe.

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COURT LOBBYING: State court officials nationwide, including California Chief Justice Malcolm Lucas, are engaged in a heavy lobbying campaign to persuade the Senate to kill a House measure that would eliminate funding for the State Justice Institute. Lucas, a Republican and former chairman of the institute's board of directors, declared it was "inconceivable" that the GOP-dominated Congress would dismantle the "only item in the federal budget designed to help state courts manage an overwhelming number of criminal cases with greater speed, efficiency and justice." Sen. Phil

Gramm, R-Texas, chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee that will decide the fate of the \$13.5 million measure, heard about it last weekend when he campaigned for the GOP presidential nomination in New Hampshire. That state's chief justice, David A. Brock, vice chairman of the institute's board, spent about 45 minutes with Gramm. Later, an institute source said Gramm told Brock that he had made some important points in arguing for salvaging the institute.

America's Religious Right Takes Fight to Women's Conference By Larry B. Stammer= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=

Marking a major turning point in its political activism around the issues of abortion, homosexuality and family values, America's religious right is striding onto the international stage by taking its fight to the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.

Major radio ministries such as James Dobson's Focus on the Family and Beverly LaHaye's Concerned Women for America have dispatched delegations to China to challenge what they charge is the conference's "anti-family" agenda.

The largest gathering ever of women in the world, the conference opened Monday with 4,750 official delegates from 181 countries. An unofficial but affiliated conference opened a week ago in a nearby Beijing suburb, drawing 23,000 representatives of non-governmental organizations.

Until now, the Roman Catholic Church and some Muslim countries have provided the central opposition at these international conferences, questioning what they see as moral failings in the conferences' attempts to expand the availability of birth control and abortion.

Last year, for example, Vatican diplomats acting on orders from Pope John Paul II contested efforts at the U.N. Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, Egypt to make contraception and abortion more accessible to women.

But Protestants aligned with the religious right's anti-abortion agenda stayed away.

"I thank God that Pope John Paul really blocked some of those objectives in Cairo," said Dobson. "Evangelicals slept through the whole thing."

Not any more. Evangelical Protestants have joined the Vatican and such leading Islamic clerics as Saudi Arabia's Abdul-Aziz Bin Baz in sounding new alarms over the Beijing agenda.

Because the U.N. proposal touches so directly on religious issues, the Beijing conference has become the latest proving ground and bully pulpit for the religious right in its drive to establish a unifying moral hegemony in an increasingly diverse and pluralistic world.

It remains to be seen what impact religious conservatives will have in Beijing. They admit they will be in the minority.

Practically speaking, the religious right has two immediate aims. First, to keep up pressure on the Republican party to take a conservative line in next year's U.S. presidential campaign. Second, to oppose any effort to encourage other countries to adopt liberalized abortion policies similar to those in the West.

The proposed U.N. action plan, when adopted, would not be binding on any country. But it would represent an important international consensus on a wide range of women's issues from education to abortion and serve as a model for developing countries.

For weeks Dobson, LaHaye and others such as former Pennsylvania Gov. Robert P. Casey's Campaign for the American Family have carried out an intensive campaign on

So talking
JTS

Christian radio stations and in the press assailing the conference as anti-family.

Dobson has called the conference "the biggest threat to the family that's ever occurred in the history of the world" and characterized its proposed action plan as "Satan's trump card."

He has urged his listeners to register protests by calling radio talk shows, writing letters to the editor, bringing up the issue in private conversations, and writing members of Congress. In China, his four-member delegation put on a workshop for delegates on the importance of a two-parent family.

Friday, Dobson plans to go on his nationwide radio show to assail first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's speech, which she delivered Tuesday in Beijing. Dobson office said while she talked about the importance of motherhood and the family, the Clinton administration continues to support a U.N. proposal that undermines the family.

"There is nothing in the conference document that reflects her rhetoric," Dobson associate Caia Mockaitis said Wednesday in Colorado Springs, Colo. "This document is really hostile to marriage, to motherhood and the family. We feel that the first lady is trying to put a pretty face on a radical agenda."

LaHaye told her listeners before the conference opened that the word "family" is mentioned nowhere in the document except to refer to abuse of women and children.

"Motherhood is belittled and the family is seen as the foundation of abuse," she said. "Why does the U.S. delegation support these ideas when, in reality, these concepts are extremely dangerous to the celebration of womanhood?"

LaHaye's delegation took anti-abortion and other conservative literature to Beijing in a move to influence the thinking of other delegates, particularly those from developing countries.

In appealing for donations from her 750,000 listeners to finance a five-member delegation's trip to China, LaHaye warned of the conference's "radical feminist agenda."

One elderly couple was so moved by her alarm, she said that they attached a note to their check saying they were buying fewer groceries and watering their lawn less to scrape together a donation.

"That really touches my heart," LaHaye said.

It also touched a nerve in Washington.

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine K. Albright complained Monday, while en route to Beijing with Mrs. Clinton, that conservatives in the United States are distorting the conference's purposes.

A day earlier, Mrs. Clinton, honorary head of the U.S. delegation, wrote in a newspaper column that she was saddened that "a small but vocal band of critics (is) trying to spread the notion that the U.N. gathering is really the work of radicals and atheists bent on destroying our families."

And the United States' official government delegation to Beijing has mounted its own public relations campaign to discredit charges from the religious right that the U.N. action plan followed a radical feminist agenda and was anti-family.

"It drives me slightly crazy when I hear people going off on a rampage about the silliness that they think that is in this U.N. document," said Geraldine A. Ferraro, ambassador to the U.N. Human Rights Commission and vice chair of the U.S. delegation to Beijing.

Far from being anti-family, she and others said the action plan seeks to strengthen families by advocating equal education for women and girls, condemning violence against women and the "feminization of poverty," and to demanding adequate health care for all of women's needs, not just issues of birth control and abortion.

(Optional add end)

One of the most prominent charges made by religious right leaders is the claim that the proposed U.N. action plan redefines the term gender to not only mean male and female, but "homosexual, lesbian and transgender."

But defenders of the action plan say those complaints are drawn not from the document itself, but from discussions that took place among conference delegates during preliminary discussions in New York.

Indeed, Dobson and others cite as their source not the U.N. draft itself, but a paper by conservative writer and lecturer Dale O'Leary entitled, "Gender: The Deconstruction of Women." In it, O'Leary reports on wide ranging discussions at so-called prep-com meetings, gatherings held in advance of the Beijing conference, in which participants offered input into what they hoped the final U.N. document would say.

O'Leary concluded that the "gender feminists" seek to blame religion as a major cause of the oppression of women, and the use of the term gender really denotes "a hidden/unacceptable agenda" that includes "tolerance of non-heterosexual identities and orientation."

NATO Airstrikes Slow to Move Recalcitrant Serbs By Tracy Wilkinson and Dean E. Murphy= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina NATO bombers again soared into action Wednesday against Bosnian Serb targets, but it was becoming clear that forcing the rebel separatists to ease the siege of this battered capital is going to take a long time.

Soupy skies and low fog curtailed the NATO air campaign for a second day, giving the Serbs a reprieve they used to further dig in their heels.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said his forces cannot withdraw additional weapons from the Sarajevo area because Serb civilians would be left defenseless.

"We are under terrible attack by NATO," Karadzic said in an interview with CNN conducted in his headquarters in nearby Pale. "They are bombarding us so terribly that it hasn't been seen since second World War in Europe, and it can't be justified by any reasons."

Karadzic, an indicted war criminal because of his army's use of murder, rape and intimidation to build an ethnically "pure" state, has refused to comply with U.N. and NATO demands that the Serbs' big guns be removed 12 miles from Sarajevo.

In fact, U.N. monitors detected only one of the Serbs' estimated 300 heavy weapons being moved on Tuesday, and even then, not very far. Most of the guns, which have been used routinely to shell the capital, have been hidden in the forests surrounding Sarajevo, making them tough to locate.

In Washington, State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns labeled Karadzic's CNN interview "a cynical charade."

"They said they were complying, when in fact they weren't complying," he said. "It is cynicism and it is a charade, and we were certainly not fooled by it. ... They moved a few weapons around inside the 20-kilometer zone around Sarajevo. They didn't move any weapons outside of that zone. And the West in this case the U.N. and NATO had every right and indeed an obligation to resume the air campaign."

He said the Bosnian Serbs "ought to learn the lesson this is not temporary, this is not illusory, it's not something that can be waited out, because there's a collective expression of international will here that the time has come to move to the peace table."

States has done enough yet to rein in the Bosnian and Croatian governments.

"Bombing can contribute to peace only if a delicate balance is maintained among all parties," said Alexander Nenadovic, former editor of the leading newspaper Politika. "I'm not sure this American government can do that."

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

One issue of prime concern will be the future of eastern Slavonia, captured by Serbia from Croatia during their war three years ago. Politicians and diplomats said they think Milosevic will be prepared to yield control of this area, if some formula can be devised to leave the issue for future discussion.

They said he probably would be agreeable to letting it be administered by the United Nations for a transition period of about five years. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has said it intends to get eastern Slavonia back in the coming year, either peacefully or by military means.

The sources said Milosevic is guided above all by a wish to get international sanctions on Serbia removed. That is not likely to happen soon, diplomats said, because first a peace plan must be negotiated and put into effect.

Nenadovic said that once sanctions are removed, Milosevic's real problems will begin. It will then become apparent to Serbs, he said, just how much their economy has been wrecked by the war and how far behind the rest of Eastern Europe it has fallen.

While reforming the economy, he said, Milosevic will also have to loosen some of his authoritarian controls over society and allow greater personal freedom.

"In a sense, Milosevic will have to defeat himself to survive," he said.

China government snubs Hillary Clinton with news blackout of her presence in China By Uli Schmetzer Chicago Tribune

BEIJING China's government, peeved by Hillary Rodham Clinton's rebukes on human rights, has snubbed America's first lady with a news blackout of her presence in China and her fiery speech to the United Nations Conference on Women here.

As Clinton flew off to Mongolia Thursday morning after a whirlwind two-day visit to a conference where she was hailed as a champion of women's rights, she left behind a host nation that felt it had lost face before the world. She also left a big question mark over already strained Sino-U.S. relations.

"There are places for her type of criticism, but this was not one of them. You don't insult your hosts," snapped a Chinese foreign ministry official.

In Washington Wednesday, President Clinton sought to minimize the impact of the speech on U.S.-China relations, saying, "There was no attempt to single any country out" for criticism by Clinton.

In the part of her speech Tuesday aimed most directly at China, the first lady said it was "indefensible" that many women had been denied visas to travel to China for the conference.

"What she said is what we've both said many, many times on issues that affect China," the president said. "Much of her speech pertained to conditions in other countries, not China, and some of it pertained to conditions in our country as well. So I thought it was a balanced speech."

Though her hosts were peeved, Clinton's fellow delegates hailed her as "the voice of women" and applauded her remarks Wednesday when she pleaded for bankers and financial institutions to increase lending to poor women and give them a chance for economic independence.

"It takes just a few dollars to take a woman out of poverty," she told a panel of the U.N. Development Fund for Women.

"Give a woman a seed and she will plant it. She will water it, nurture it, then reap it, share its fruit and finally she will replant it."

Meanwhile, most of China's 1.2 billion people were unaware that Hillary Clinton was even in town. No Chinese newspaper, radio or TV station had made any reference to her. Officials pulled the plug on closed-circuit television to hotel rooms, blacking out Hillary Clinton's speech.

Chinese officials said privately the blackout order came from the ruling Politburo.

U.S. diplomats believed Beijing's silence over Hillary Clinton's visit might be a positive sign. Rather than further sour bilateral relations with the United States, which is China's most important export market, the government may have decided to simply ignore her criticism.

The first lady's visit Wednesday to Huairou, site of the nongovernmental Women's Forum, was turned into chaos by China's formidable security apparatus. Bogus Chinese delegates tried to interrupt women's seminars and workshops to complain about "American lies."

"They'll never get another international event again," snapped Donna Shalala, the U.S. Health Secretary.

Shalala and Winston Lord, the assistant secretary of state for the Far East, stood in the rain for 45 minutes trying to persuade Chinese security to let them into a Huairou hall where Hillary Clinton was about to speak.

Standing nearby, also being denied entry into the hall, was Madam Chirac, wife of French President Jacques Chirac, actress Jane Fonda and author Betty Friedan, one of the founders of the women's movement in the United States. Of the small group, only Friedan was unable to eventually squeeze inside amid shoves and shouts.

"Give 'em hell, Hillary," hollered some of the women waiting outside.

In her remarks, Clinton repeated her criticism of Chinese treatment of the thousands of women activists who have flooded into the country for a meeting held only once every 10 years.

Many women said that, besides having trouble getting visas, they were harassed and put under police surveillance on arriving.

"I know that you have had to endure severe frustrations here as you do your work," Hillary Clinton said to cheers.

Clinton's bluntness in her speeches encouraged others to follow her lead.

On Wednesday, delegates from the tiny Pacific island of Nauru circulated a petition to the 30,000 women delegates demanding an apology from the United Nations for allowing China to move the Women's Forum of non-governmental organizations to the farming town of Huairou, more than an hour's drive from the capital.

"The U.N. was fully aware the town's facilities and conditions were inadequate," the petition said, referring to the tent city now covered in a sea of mud where workshops and seminars are being held.

Madeleine Albright, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations added more fuel to the fire when she told the conference plenary session Wednesday: "The right to free expression has been called into question right here at a conference conducted under the auspices of the U.N. and whose very purpose is the free and open discussion of women's rights."

Chinese Jostle Thousands Of Women At Forum

By SETH FAISON

HUAIROU, China, Sept. 6 — In a scene that verged on pandemonium, hundreds of Chinese security officers jostled thousands of women eager to see Hillary Rodham Clinton at the temporary center of worldwide women's activism here today, but did not stop Mrs. Clinton from speaking forcefully on human rights for a second day in a row.

Frustrated by a driving rain, more than 1,500 women had to fight their way past security officers to get into a converted movie theater where Mrs. Clinton spoke. Yet thousands more were left outside soaking in the rain, angry and complaining that China had demeaned their forum of nongovernmental groups by setting it in a small town ill-equipped to handle the meeting.

The Chinese authorities said the Americans made a last-minute demand to move the speech from an outdoor parade ground because of the rain and were thus to blame for the confusion.

An American official agreed that the switch had been made at 8 A.M., less than two hours before Mrs. Clinton was to speak. But he added that the problem arose because the authorities had insisted on Huairou as the forum site, apparently to keep the 30,000 participants far from Beijing, 35 miles away, the site of the official United Nations conference. He also said that the rain was no justification for the chaos.

Donna Shalala, Secretary of Health and Human Services, and Winston Lord, Assistant Secretary of State, were each gruffly shoved aside by a crush of security officers before making their way inside.

"What's going on here?" shouted Betty Freidan, one of the founders of the modern women's movement, who was slammed against a wall by Chinese police. She was left in the rain, unable to enter.

It was not clear how much the rough manner of the police had to do with official irritation over a speech Mrs. Clinton gave in Beijing Tuesday that criticized China for its heavy handed security at the forum here and forcefully defended human rights, and how much was simply a result of poor accommodations and inadequate planning.

The Tuesday speech was made to the Fourth World Conference on Women, a United Nations-sponsored event. The meeting in Huairou is a parallel gathering whose participants come not from Government delegations but from independent groups.

Beyond the recriminations over today's events, deeper differences between the United States and China were evident in Mrs. Clinton's criticisms of China's human rights record and in a biting speech by Madeleine K. Albright, the United States representative to the United Nations and the head of the American delegation to the Beijing conference.

"Freedom to participate in the political process of our countries is the inalienable right of every woman and man. Deny that, and you deny everything," said Ms. Albright, referring to the universality of human rights but not sparing China. Ms. Albright met with Foreign Minister Qian Qichen shortly before she spoke and informed him of what she would discuss. She said she was deeply troubled by forced abortions, which often occur as a result of China's one-child family policy, and urged China to treat its women with respect.

Mr. Qian did not raise the issue of Mrs. Clinton's criticism of Beijing, an American official said. But the Chinese delegation apparently boycotted Ms. Albright's speech.

A senior administration official said the Americans were still waiting for a formal response to Mrs. Clinton's speech, which some feared could derail the recent progress made in repairing strained relations between the two countries.

In a 15-minute address, Mrs. Clinton expressed her sympathy for the troubles that forum participants had experienced in meeting in Huairou and urged the private groups to continue their work toward the goals being discussed at the Beijing conference.

"You will be the key players in determining whether this conference goes beyond rhetoric and actually does something to improve the lives of women," Mrs. Clinton said. "What will be important is that you hold Governments to the commitments that they make."

Despite the widespread frustration when they couldn't get in, some women tried a generous approach.

Seeing many of the young security officers shivering in the cold rain without coats or hats, an elderly woman in a pink floral skirt and sandals walked over and stood next to one, holding her umbrella over his head. Her example encouraged several other women to follow suit.

"I am a mother and I have a heart for them," said the woman, Harrieta Jack from Papua New Guinea. "There is always time to help."

Police Block U.S. Entourage at China Forum

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Foreign Service

HUAIROU, China, Sept. 6—Cordons of Chinese soldiers and police locked arm in arm kept some U.S. officials and other delegates stranded in the rain today as they tried to get into a theater to hear Hillary Rodham Clinton address a forum of nongovernmental organizations dealing with women's rights and problems.

"I want to pay tribute to your perseverance," Clinton said, referring both to those who braved the driving rain this morning and to those who have braved harassment and surveillance from Chinese security officials over the past week in this partially completed conference site.

Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala pushed through like a fullback going for short yardage on fourth down before gaining entry as U.S. Secret Service agents shoved against Chinese security men.

"The women's movement has been through tougher things than this," Shalala said as the rain ran down her face. Around her walked drenched and badly jostled members of the first lady's entourage, including Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord, former New Jersey governor Thomas Kean and former congresswoman Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky.

Clinton's press secretary, Lisa Caputo, missed the speech because she was unable to push her way through.

Women started lining up at 4:30 this morning to get into a renovated movie theater and hear the first lady speak. Later more than 2,000 of them crammed into the theater and sang songs as they waited, swaying

with hands held aloft. When Clinton finally arrived at mid-morning, the crowd rose to its feet to applaud her.

For members of the Clinton Cabinet, as well as hundreds of angry women who wanted to get inside, it took some doing to get through the Chinese soldiers and police lined up outside the hall.

It was the second day of Clinton's visit to China. On Tuesday, she addressed formal government delegations to the U.N. Fourth World Conference of Women in the well-appointed Beijing convention

See CHINA, A29, Col. 1

CHINA, From A27

center; today she made the more than one-hour drive to this small town to address a boisterous crowd of women who came from around the world to the Nongovernmental Organizations Forum on Women, which is running in parallel with the official U.N. gathering. On Thursday, the first lady will leave China for an overnight visit to Mongolia before returning to Washington.

In her speech Tuesday, Clinton condemned the Chinese handling of the NGO Forum meeting in Huairou as "indefensible." So when rain forced Clinton indoors and created a crush of people trying to get in, the Chinese immediately started using a public address system to blame the chaos on the first lady's decision to abandon the outdoor site. A U.S. official later said that if China had provided an adequate facility as it first pledged to do as forum host, there would have been enough room.

It was only the latest of a string of controversies here at the NGO Forum for women's groups that have chafed against Chinese attempts to limit rallies and demonstrations, newspapers and leaflets.

The government was silent about Clinton's speech Tuesday, in which she chastised Beijing for its treatment of women in Huairou and said it was time to stop the silence about human rights abuses of women.

Clinton's appearance here sent a welcome message to the women who have struggled with conditions in Huairou where the main meeting hall is small, a central building is only partly finished and tents have been used as meeting places at sites that rainy weather has turned into fields of mud.

"You will be the key players who

determine whether this conference goes beyond rhetoric and actually does something," Clinton said.

While government delegations in Beijing ponder the language of a "Platform for Action," the most energetic portion of this world conference on women has been in Huairou, where for the past week a vast array of grass-roots groups have overcome obstacles and gathered to network, argue, hug and exchange views and business cards.

"I've been making a lot of amazing connections that I think will last a lifetime," said Rita Valent, a Seattle woman who teaches in Beijing.

The groups have ranged from women's banking groups to lesbian groups, from Sudanese women in exile seeking to promote a more liberal version of Islam to Tibetan exiles struggling for independence from China, from family planning groups to a political circus troupe from Australia, from the Boston Tradeswomen's Network to the Society of Azerbaijani Oil-

ers. The conference subject matter also covered the gamut, from health care reform and economic empowerment to "O.J. Simpson: Black Women Speak on Black Men, Violence and Interracial Relationships," from a workshop on women's rights and international law to one on flirting techniques for lesbians.

"It's like a bargain basement," said Jill Martin, a young American. "You've got to sift through a lot of crummy clothes to find something nice."

Many of the browsers felt they found something worthwhile and that it's been worth the search.

A woman from British Columbia who uses a wheelchair recounted how she has been assigned a room on the sixth floor of a building with no eleva-

tor. But the young Chinese people assisting foreign guests take her up and down by piggyback. And she met, among other people, someone from the same Lapland village of reindeer herders where she lived for 10 years.

"When you travel, things never go as one expects," she said. "There are always bumps and potholes. You deal with them and go on."

After the U.N. meeting, it will be these NGOs that will help carry out the platform and lobby governments to make needed legal and funding changes.

"The meeting itself is the message—the large number of women who came to Huairou, though pushed out of Beijing by the Chinese government," said Betty Friedan. The veteran of the women's movement seemed to be everywhere and people from around the world stopped to listen and have their photos taken with her.

When Clinton attended a health care workshop, Jane Fonda was sitting in the first row. Other luminaries ranged from Sally Field to Bernadette Chirac, the wife of the French president.

Many of the participants have been complaining that the news articles about the women's conference have been dominated by headlines about logistics, distracting from the substance of the conference.

Now that the U.N. conference has started, many of the key NGOs have moved people to the spiffier conference site in Beijing to lobby government delegates. For many it is a rare opportunity.

Amnesty International has been able to get people into China for the first time. Pierre Sane, an Amnesty official, can be seen moving around the convention center with plainclothes Chinese security men following at a respectful distance. The secu-

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rity men were wearing passes that said "Liaison Committee Local Staff."

The NGOs' perseverance has been striking. As the crowd in the cinema waited today for Clinton, American singer Shirley Mae Stringer-Stratton of the group Sweet Honey in the Rock entertained people with song and monologue.

"I'm going to run for mayor of Huairou," said Stringer-Stratton, who has been working for the NGO Forum committee here since July. A black woman, she said that people have stared at her as she walked down the street. "I decided then and there the I'd run for mayor of this fair town," she said.

When people shouted approval, she said: "I have really moved up. I'm from the cotton fields of Georgia, and look where I am."

FOR MORE INFORMATION

For updates throughout the day on what is happening at the conference, see *Digital Ink*, The Post's on-line service. To learn about *Digital Ink*, call 1-800-510-5104, ext. 9000.

For the Record

From a CNN television news interview from Pale yesterday with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic:

Karadzic: We ... decided to withdraw heavy weaponry according to the [U.N. and NATO] demands, and we ... started to do it by night, because by the daylight there was a possibility of attacks by the Muslim side.

Suddenly, the next [Monday] morning, we got bombarded as if we didn't make any move. In fact, [Sunday] night we [had] withdrawn as much weaponry as we possibly could, considering the safety and security of the Serbian people. ...

Finally, I realized that NATO would like to make us so weak that the Muslims could secure Sarajevo ... but we can't leave Sarajevo, which was once entirely Serbian. ...

Q: Now you have a standoff ... What are you proposing be done now?

A: ... What we say is that Sarajevo is not blocked any longer. We have allowed United Nations to open road routes. ... Then we are ready to open routes from Kiseljak to Sarajevo. Then we are ready to normalize utilities, water, electricity and gas, and to discuss the reopening of the Sarajevo airport for the humanitarian flights. ... We have withdrawn as much weaponry as we could. ...

Q: ... How much punishment can you take? ...

A: ... We have to suffer even more and more destruction. We can't withdraw more weaponry than we did already because civilians do not allow us. ...

Q: ... Last week a French warplane was shot down. ... What happened to those two pilots? They seem to have parachuted to safety. Do you have them?

A: This is really classified. I am not ready to comment [on] it.

Q: But even though it has been reported that you do have them?

A: I can't comment.

Vatican Will Not Contest Language on Abortion

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIJING, Sept. 7 (Thursday)—The Vatican said Wednesday that it would not fight over language on reproductive rights at the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women, a move that surprised delegations here that expected a renewed fight about abortion in negotiations over a women's rights manifesto.

A senior Vatican negotiator, Janne Halland Matlary, said that an all-out fight over reproductive issues could "sidetrack this conference—and this will be very unfortunate indeed."

She and the head of the Vatican delegation, American law professor Mary Ann Glendon, reiterated the church's adamant opposition to abortion and artificial contraception—but made it clear the Vatican would not use the Beijing conference to contest language agreed to in a document drawn up during a U.N.-sponsored population conference last year in Cairo.

Many other delegations had expected the Vatican to be a major obstacle to reaching agreement on a "Platform for Action," a roughly 120-page document that must be approved by consensus by the more than 180 nations represented at this conference.

Most groups expected the Vatican to reopen and try to retreat from language agreed to in Cairo.

But on Wednesday Glendon said: "Our position has been to stick to Cairo and fight against any going back on the Cairo language. We want to make a constructive and positive effort."

She said the Holy See was determined to focus on the themes of the conference—equality, development and peace.

In other developments at the conference, Madeleine K. Albright, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, took aim at the Chinese government for its human rights record and its heavy-handed police tactics at the parallel conference of non-governmental women's organizations taking place in the Huairou suburb of Beijing.

Echoing Hillary Rodham Clinton's speech to the conference Tuesday, Albright listed a variety of human rights abuses without naming countries where they are practiced.

"No woman—whether in Birmingham, Bombay, Beirut or Beijing—should be forcibly sterilized or forced to have an abortion," Albright said in a speech to the conference.

Albright also put rhetorical emphasis on the family. "We are here because we want to strengthen families, the heart and soul of any society," Albright said. Where Hillary Clinton had called the official tactics at Huairou "indefensible," Albright called them "unconscionable."

President Clinton said Wednesday that the first lady was not singling out China for criticism when she spoke about human rights. "What she said is what we've both said many, many times on issues that affect China. Much of her speech pertained to conditions in other countries, not China, and some of it pertained to conditions in our country as well," he said.

Women as Chattel: In China, Slavery Rises

By SETH FAISON

A1

XIAN, China — In the shadow of the ancient wall that still surrounds this city, several hundred people gather each day along a muddy street to offer themselves to employers at an unofficial labor market.

Many are young women from the countryside, and for them the market holds a special danger: it may be the first stop on a journey that begins with the promise of a job, sees rape and violent beatings along the way and ends in a life of domestic slavery.

Countless women have been kidnapped from this market in Xian, from similar markets in other cities and from bus stops and train stations in towns all over China. Typically, a woman is lured into the custody of one or more criminal middlemen, beaten into submission and delivered to a stranger who will call her his wife.

The Chinese call it "the abducting and selling of women." The practice, mixing an age-old disregard for the rights of women with a modern passion for profit, seems to be rising at an alarming rate, Chinese advocates of women's rights and official Chinese newspapers say.

The causes are many. Young women are more and more eager

to venture outside the safety of a home village; unmarried farmers can increasingly afford the \$250 to \$500 that it costs to buy them; middlemen more easily roam from city to country to conduct their business.

At the Fourth World Conference on Women, Chinese officials are expected to join a chorus of calls for better protection of the rights

of women. Yet when it comes to the selling of women, the authorities show a tragic indifference to what women's rights advocates now consider the most pernicious violation of human rights in their nation.

"This is the most horrific problem facing women in China to-

Continued on Page A10, Column 3

Continued From Page A1

day," said Wang Xingjuan, president of the Women's Research Institute at the Chinese Academy of Management Science in Beijing. "We have to do more to stop it."

Although statistics are incomplete and many cases go unreported, women's advocates say that at least tens of thousands of women are now sold into slavery in China each year.

Many escape, but many more, ashamed to return to their families, are believed to eventually accept their predicament.

"I know it's dangerous, but I don't have any other choice," said Fu Litong, 20, a ruddy-faced woman in a dull, peach-colored dress who traveled about 200 miles from her rural village to come to the labor market here. "I'm not going back to the village. Life is too hard there."

Ms. Fu and several other women standing around at the market one recent afternoon said they had heard about cases in which a woman was approached at the market by a man saying he would pay her well for an office job, only to drive her away, rape her and sell her.

"Every week you hear about an-

other one," Ms. Fu said. "It's unavoidable. But I don't think it will happen to me."

The police have little incentive to stop the trade, for when they are not bribed to look the other way, they often meet resistance from local villagers who, intent on protecting a neighbor, often argue that he has paid a fair price for a woman and thus has a right to own her.

Chinese newspaper reports on the selling of women are generally limited to success stories in which the police have rescued a woman and caught her abductors, cases that the advocates say are statistically rare.

In a notable exception, The Legal Daily reported a particularly shocking case and in telling it could only conclude: "Each attempt to fight the crime of abducting and selling of women seems to end in failure."

In that case, Zhao Meimei, 32, a married woman, was abducted in a labor market like the one in Xian, then kidnapped and delivered to a farmer named Wang in Tianzhuang village about 400 miles north of here.

Mr. Wang kept her in a cave and frequently beat and raped her. After more than a year of living in the cave, Ms. Zhao showed signs of mental illness, which grew worse after she gave birth to a daughter, who was taken from her while she was left in the cave.

No neighbors seem to have complained; a police chief in the county seat of Yulin heard about the case only after a town official's wife visiting a relative in the village learned of it.

The police went to the village and freed Ms. Zhao from the cave. But when they tracked down her home village in neighboring Sichuan Province, officials there informed them that her husband, after hearing about her baby daughter and her mental illness, did not want her back.

The police were unable to find a home for Ms. Zhao, who was by that time unable to care for herself. No effort was made to prosecute Mr. Wang, who never legally married her, or to try to find the man who sold Ms. Zhao to him.

"With no other alternative, the police had no choice but to contact Wang of Tianzhuang village and entrust him to take responsibility, provided he could guarantee that from now on he would no longer mistreat Zhao," the Legal Daily reported. "Then they handed her over to him."

The selling of women is primarily a rural phenomenon. While many women are abducted in cities, they overwhelmingly come from, and are delivered to, small villages and towns in the countryside. Since the victims of these crimes are rural women, advocates argue, they rank low on most police priority lists.

Local women's organizations, set up in most city, town and county governments, often speak out

against the trade. But their calls are frequently muffled by the Communist Party officials who supervise them.

In some cases a relative trying to find a missing woman runs into gross indifference, or even opposition, from the authorities.

China Women's News, in another unusual report, told the story of a man whose wife had been abducted in Anhui Province in 1991. A provincial official said he was unable to help the husband and became irritat-

ed by the man's persistence, finally blurting out: "Your wife has already been abducted. You don't really want her back, do you?"

Pursuing the case to the county level, the same man was told by a local official: "There are more than 10,000 abducted women in this county. Some are teen-agers who have been sold to middle-aged men. Their problems are more serious than yours, so it will be difficult to solve your problem."

A later report in the same newspaper argued that a contributing factor to the spread of selling women was indifference by local officials and, in some cases, participation by officials in getting the "marriages" sanctioned.

"Not only do they not stop the villagers from abducting and selling or buying women, but they also act as go-betweens, put themselves forward as witnesses, provide relevant paperwork and go to the house to celebrate the 'wedding,'" the newspaper reported.

In recurring cycles of poverty and famine throughout Chinese history, women and children have been sold by families that are starving, and in ordinary times, marriages in the countryside usually involved a business transaction between families.

Even after involuntary marriage was legally banned by the Communists, who came to power in 1949, a strong emphasis on parental authority meant that few rural women had any real choice of a mate.

Yet only in recent years has the trade in women grown to include networks of middlemen, operating without the consent of families, and these middlemen seem to have relatively little fear of prosecution.

"The Chinese Government did not take sufficiently serious measures against the trade, and now the sophisticated and organized nature of this modern slave trade makes combating it very difficult," wrote Human Rights in China, a New York-based advocacy group, in a report issued in August.

Although the demand for buying women has surged in recent years as ordinary farmers make more money, it is usually those of middling affluence who want to purchase a "wife," because they cannot afford a wedding, which with a dowry and necessary wedding banquets typically costs more than \$1,000.

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11:1 AM NO. 1

THE SUNDAY OREGONIAN, SEPTEMBER 3, 1995

FORUM

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Readers campaign for Clinton's column, which will stay

A suggestion
that the
first lady's
opinions be
dropped by
the paper
shows she
was a big,
loyal, vocal
follower

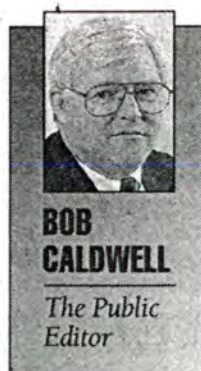
Maybe it was the call from Betty Ragsdale, my ninth-grade English teacher. Or maybe it was the call from the woman who did not leave her name but did leave a blunt message about my shortcomings, intellectual and otherwise.

In any case, I am persuaded that Hillary Rodham Clinton's column has a substantial, loyal and vocal following.

Last week I suggested that The Oregonian drop Clinton's column, and I asked for reader reaction to the suggestion. The responses — I counted 134 telephone calls and 75 letters, postcards, faxes and electronic-mail memos — persuaded me of a couple of other things, too.

One is that there can be real value in allowing people in leadership positions to speak directly to citizens, without the filters that reporters and editors customarily apply.

The other is that it is never a good idea to sell people short. The heart of my objection to the Clinton column, I suppose, is a concern that running it makes the newspaper seem too cozy



with the Clintons. I still think that. But in the long run, readers will make their own judgments about it based on what they read in the newspaper.

In any case, I am content to point out that The Oregonian does not plan to drop it, and to offer the last word here on the subject to those who responded to my request for reactions. The responses were about 9-to-1 in favor of keeping Clinton's column.

Here are some excerpts:

■ **Kathleen Laskowski, Portland:** "I found the topics of Mrs. Clinton's columns to be relevant and interesting. Her concerns for children, families and women are universal and certainly bipartisan. It was wonderful to see some recognition in your paper of the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage. . . .

Please keep Mrs. Clinton's column in The Oregonian. . . . It offers me one more reason to read your paper, bringing the total to two."

■ **David Wardell, Portland:** "Your suggestion that the first lady's column be discontinued is one that I very much disagree with. Silencing voices, especially those of thoughtful and interesting citizens . . . runs the risk of undermining the fabric of our democracy. I am frequently disgusted with some of the notions expressed by columnists. . . . Nevertheless, I would rush to their support if your newspaper attempted to silence them by denying them the opportunity to share their ideas with the public."

■ **Marian Ford, Beavercreek:** "I very much appreciate that The Oregonian carries Hillary Clinton's column and hope it continues to do so. All of them are engaging and interesting reading. That is reason enough."

■ **Dawne Howard, Eugene:** "I do not care where in the paper it is printed. I do care that you realize that Oregonians who read the paper are usually so-

phisticated enough to recognize 'electioneering' when they read it."

■ **Charlotte A. Rubin, Portland:** "It's practically impossible these days to get beyond the people who are creating the image, to find out who our leaders really are. . . . Those we get to hear more than sound bites of are few and far between. . . . And if the Republicans were in the White House? Sure, I'd like to see a column."

■ **Diane E. Hall, Salem:** "We so seldom hear the voices and the thoughts of people in the public which haven't been disseminated through the press or otherwise carefully edited. We are smart enough to make up our own minds as to whether or not we agree with her. . . . What are you trying to do, turn The Oregonian into pure vanilla?"

■ **John Schirr, Salem:** "Your objection to Hillary Clinton's weekly column . . . sounds like the usual tired example of male chauvinism. . . . Whether the first lady is a Republican or Democrat, her activities should be of interest . . . because of her position and contacts with the world."

■ **R.C. Van Deusen, Portland:** "She is sufficiently intelligent to ensure that the content of her column will reflect favorably upon herself . . . and gain votes for her husband. She has plenty of other opportunities to publicize herself. . . . Please keep your distance from the Clintons."

■ **Bill Daily, Portland:** "Her views are irrelevant. . . . If (she were) not related to the president, she would get no attention whatsoever."

■ **Bill Britt, Beavercreek:** "If the current speaker of the House wanted to do a column something like the Clinton one, do you think The Oregonian would publish it?"

Public editor Bob Caldwell's column appears Sundays. If you have a complaint or comment about The Oregonian's news coverage or commentary, you may contact him by phone at 221-8221, by mail at The Public Editor, The Oregonian, 1320 S.W. Broadway, Portland 97201; by fax at 294-5010 or by e-mail at OreEditors@aol.com.

After 7 Weeks, Detroit Newspaper Strike Takes a Violent Turn

By JAMES BENNET

DETROIT, Sept. 5 — With bargaining stalled, the seven-week standoff here between two newspapers and their striking unions has erupted into violence, as police battled pickets who were illegally blockading a printing plant late Saturday and again late Monday.

In Monday night's melee, police officers in riot gear fired pepper spray at pickets who pelted them with auto parts and swatted them with their signs. The demonstrators, on strike against The Detroit News

and The Detroit Free Press, dispersed about 2 A.M. today, permitting replacement workers to enter and leave the plant.

Eight pickets were arrested in the demonstration that began late Saturday and spilled into Sunday. Twenty-three were arrested Monday night and today. All were charged with unlawful assembly, inciting to riot, disorderly conduct or resisting arrest.

About 2,500 journalists, printers, truck drivers, maintenance workers, and others, represented by six different unions, struck the newspapers on July 13. The business operations of

the two newspapers are run under a joint venture, and since the strike began they have published a combined edition.

There is no sign of headway in the talks. Negotiators for one of the striking unions, the Newspaper Guild, met today with representatives of The Free Press but reported no progress. The Guild is battling an attempt by management to impose a merit raise system and to limit overtime, while the other unions are fighting over job security, control of the workplace and other issues.

The Free Press said last week that it would start permanently replacing

Guild members who did not return to work by today. "Our offer to bring everybody back is not possible anymore," said Heath J. Meriwether, the executive editor of The Free Press.

The 124 Guild members who had crossed the picket lines at The Free Press before the ultimatum were joined by only one other by today. But he was a significant one: Mitch Albom, a sports columnist who is probably the newspaper's best known and most popular writer.

Mr. Albom began his column about the strike today with one word: "Enough." He wrote that he

would remain a member of the Guild and "give much of what I earn to the people still on strike."

But, Mr. Albom said in an interview, "Newspapers are fire stations, they are police stations, and they should not be shut down."

Mr. Albom, who tried to broker an agreement that would return strikers to work during negotiations, said that he thought both sides in the dispute were wrong and that he did not want to be seen as supporting either. "I didn't want to be waved as a flag," he said.

The demonstration late Saturday and early Sunday, by about 3,000 strikers and their supporters, was planned by the unions. But Monday night's more violent disruption was

not, the unions said.

"You're dealing with forces that are very hard to control," said John Lippert, a striking Free Press labor reporter. "You've got people who are really on the brink of economic ruin."

Monday night and early this morning, about 300 demonstrators tried to block the gates of the plant, in Sterling Heights just north of here. When 50 to 60 police officers, carrying shields, marched forward to clear a path, the pickets pushed them back.

Chief Thomas Derocha of the Sterling Heights Police Department said demonstrators began throwing half-pound pieces of steel used to make automobile steering columns, apparently stolen from a nearby plant.

THE NEW YORK TIMES NATIONAL WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1995

A17

Newsweek Basks After Scoop Over Time on the Powell Memoirs

By DEIRDRE CARMODY

In the news business, there is still nothing that beats scooping the competition — particularly when it involves big time rivals.

Newsweek did just that to Time this week with its cover story on the memoirs of Gen. Colin L. Powell. Time had bought exclusive rights from Random House to excerpt the book, by outbidding Newsweek and U.S. News & World Report last year. Time planned to publish a 7,500-word cover story next week, coinciding with the Sept. 15 publication date of

General Powell's book, "My American Journey."

"This is part of the game," chuckled Mortimer B. Zuckerman, chairman and editor in chief of U.S. News, about Newsweek getting there first. "It's legitimate."

These were not exactly the feelings expressed by Random House and at Time. "Newsweek having failed in the auction simply stole a copy," fumed Harold Evans, executive vice president and publisher of the Random House Adult-trade Division. "They have just about broken every journalistic ethic you can think of."

But Mr. Evans was quick to point out that while Newsweek may have squeezed some of the juiciest news out of the book — for instance when General Powell reports that President George Bush wanted to name him Director of Intelligence and President Clinton sounded him out about being Secretary of State — it misses the flavor of the General's own words in describing his life.

"What Newsweek has done is like just coming out with the plot of *Madame Bovary*," Mr. Evans said.

At Time, spokesman Robert Pondiscio said, "The only people who will be satisfied by Newsweek's syn-

opsis are people who read Cliff Notes instead of actual literature."

In its coverage, Newsweek was careful not to quote from the book, to avoid raising copyright questions. Instead, it ran analyses of the book by its chief political correspondent, Howard Fineman, and its national security correspondent, John Barry. The Associated Press picked up the Newsweek articles and as a result it has run in many newspapers.

No one is claiming that Newsweek actually broke any contracts or copyright laws, although Mr. Evans said his lawyers would look into this. In late 1993, the three news maga-

zines were told about the book, which had not yet been written, and given the opportunity to submit bids for excerpt rights. People in the industry said no one was asked to sign confidentiality agreements.

Although Random House and Time declined to give figures, industry sources estimated that Time paid \$300,000 for the rights. It was not clear whether this included the price of taking out ads for the book in Time and the company's other publications, a common practice in these kinds of contracts, which often have added benefits for both parties. For instance, Time is throwing a book party Tuesday in Washington for Gen. Powell and plans to invite some big advertisers.

Mr. Pondiscio said Time was still planning to run the excerpts next week (dated Sept. 18) and that other news would dictate whether the Powell story made the cover.

Mr. Pondiscio also said Random House was responsible for security so that "it's possible that this does change Time's financial obligation" to Random House.

Maynard Parker, editor of Newsweek, declined to say how Newsweek had acquired a copy of the book.

"We ran a news story about a newsworthy individual and reported facts and ideas that I think were important to our readers," he said. "We managed to find a copy of the book, so we went ahead with the story."

Before He Was Front-Runner

By MARTIN MORSE WOOSTER

Whether Bob Dole wins or loses his third bid for the presidency, his current race for that post will be the capstone to his 35-year career as a politician. But as Mr. Dole pounds the campaign trail, the public has the right to know: What, if anything, does the senior senator from Kansas stand for?

Stanley G. Hilton and Richard Ben Cramer give quite different answers to these questions. In "Senator for Sale" (St. Martin's, 308 pages, \$22.95), Mr. Hilton, a former Dole aide who's now a San Francisco trial attorney, produces the now-common book in which a disgruntled former employee of a famous politician paints a supposedly scandalous portrait of his ex-boss. Mr. Cramer's portrait of Mr. Dole emerges from his 1993 book, "What It

selling high-fructose corn syrup at levels slightly below artificially high sugar prices. (Because of Mr. Dole's efforts to keep sugar prices high—it should be noted—consumers pay far more for sweetened products than they would in a free market.) ADM, its president, Dwayne Andreas, and his family have contributed at least \$80,000 to PACs controlled by Mr. Dole; and the ADM Foundation has contributed at least \$150,000 to the Dole Foundation, which aids the disabled. Mr. Andreas helped Mr. Dole obtain an apartment in a posh Bal Harbour, Fla., co-op at below-market prices.

But such entanglements are not the only measure of the man. It's clear that to understand Mr. Dole you have to study the political soil from which he sprang—something Mr. Hilton has done carefully.

For example, is Bob Dole really a conservative? Though he has certainly appeared so at times, he far too often appears eager to show that he has a liberal side, as he did with his support of food stamps and his enthusiastic endorsement of tax increases. After Mr. Dole led the effort to pass the massive 1982 tax increase, Newt Gingrich branded him "the chief tax collector for the liberal welfare state."

Longtime home-state observers of Mr. Dole say that they have no idea what Mr. Dole stands for. According to John Woelk, who recruited Mr. Dole to run for the Kansas state legislature 45 years ago, Mr. Dole "still doesn't know if he is a liberal or a conservative, as he didn't know in 1950." Norbert Dreiling, who has watched Mr. Dole since he entered politics, compared him to Lyndon Johnson as a politician who "always accurately reflects the views of the constituency he happens to represent."

But who would a President Dole's constituents be? It's certainly possible that Mr. Dole's indecisiveness, like Bill Clinton's, could cause his administration to drift rudderless, shifting according to the prevailing political winds. But Mr. Dole is well-known for his dark streak, which manifested itself in his statement during the 1976 vice-presidential debate that America's military conflicts during the 20th century were "Democrat wars" and once led Sen. William Saxbe (R., Ohio) to declare that Mr. Dole was so unpopular among his peers that he "couldn't sell beer on a troop ship." To some, this sardonic side of Mr. Dole's nature might cause him to lead the nation in a more divisive direction.

The chief question "Senator for Sale" raises is this: Would a President Dole be as weak and ineffectual as President Clinton? Or would he resemble Richard Nixon and impale his party and the nation on the sword of a second Watergate? The other possibility—that Mr. Dole may actually make a good president—is left for others to consider.

Mr. Wooster is an associate editor of The American Enterprise, a bimonthly magazine published by AEI in Washington.



Bookshelf

"Senator for Sale"
By Stanley G. Hilton

"Bob Dole"
By Richard Ben Cramer

Takes," a mammoth account of the principal figures in the 1988 presidential campaign. Vintage has extracted the Dole sections of "What It Takes" for separate publication, now out as a short paperback titled simply "Bob Dole" (165 pages, \$11).

In several short chapters, Mr. Cramer produces snapshots of Mr. Dole's life, from his childhood in rural Kansas to his war service and subsequent political career. To describe Mr. Dole's life, Mr. Cramer copies the breathless style of Tom Wolfe, complete with ellipses and exclamation points. Unfortunately, the reader will learn very little from Mr. Cramer about Mr. Dole's political accomplishments or his political philosophy.

By contrast, Mr. Hilton, though a more pedantic writer than Mr. Cramer, has produced a book that has a great deal of interesting information. Mr. Hilton's method is to collect every piece of mud he can find, throw it at Mr. Dole and see if it sticks.

In several chapters, Mr. Hilton describes various deeds performed by Mr. Dole as rewards to corporations or individuals who made hefty campaign contributions. Many of these deeds appear to be the routine responses that most politicians make to special interests that favor them—they are neither illegal nor scandalous.

But the relationship between Mr. Dole and Archer-Daniels-Midland, the troubled agribusiness firm, is disturbing. According to Mr. Hilton, Mr. Dole lobbied hard for massive tax credits for ethanol, a corn-based alternative to gasoline chiefly produced by ADM. In addition, Mr. Hilton charges, Mr. Dole has backed at least five bills strengthening sugar price supports, in part because ADM can make profits by

ENTERPRISE

World's Poorest Women Advance by Entrepreneurship

By CAROL HYMOWITZ

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

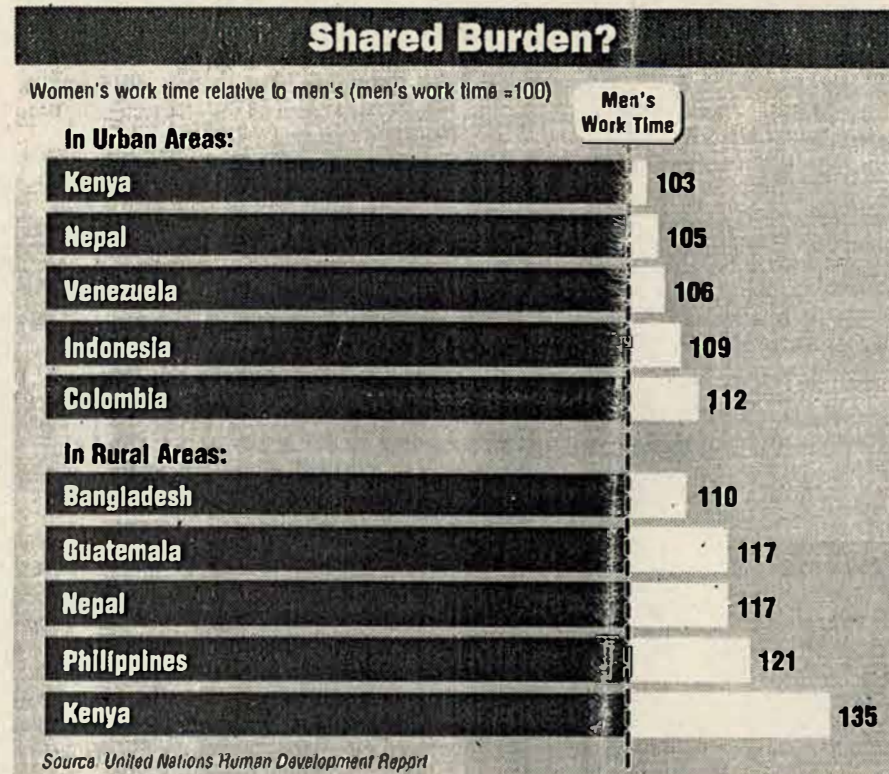
Kamala Lamichhane knows nothing about dressing for success, has never attended a business seminar and can't write much beyond her name. Yet the energetic 26-year-old from Nagarkot, Nepal, is discovering her talents as an entrepreneur.

With help from the United Nations Development Program, which encourages women in developing nations to launch small businesses, Ms. Lamichhane recently opened a restaurant in Nagarkot, a mountainous tourist town an hour's drive east of Katmandu. Catering to a steady flow of customers on a steep hillside that offers panoramic views of the Himalayas, she earns about \$40 to \$60 a month to supplement her family's farm income.

"Farming is ordinary, but now I have something to grow," says Ms. Lamichhane, who grins broadly as she shows off her kitchen filled with the scent of curry and other spices.

Her tale, if not typical, is becoming more common in Nepal and other developing nations, where the poorest of women are discovering that entrepreneurship can provide a measure of economic and personal autonomy. Big development agencies and banks increasingly are funding women-led small businesses and farming projects because they realize that women are the mainstays of local economies—and the foot soldiers in the fight against poverty.

The economic status of women everywhere is at the top of the agenda at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing this week. Women work longer hours than men in nearly every country but much of their work remains "unpaid, unrecognized and undervalued," notes the U.N.'s Human Development Report. Since 1970, women's participation in the paid labor force has risen by just four percentage points to 40%. What's more, while more than 300



million low-income women run microbusinesses, only about five million have access to credit from sources other than money lenders.

But while the conference will highlight the feminization of poverty — some 70% of the world's 1.3 billion poor people are women — it will also celebrate women's economic contribution, especially in the developing world. In rural sub-Saharan Africa, women head half the households. In Kenya, women work an average 56 hours a week, compared with 42 hours for men. And women are more likely to use their earnings to improve the health and education of the next generation. "Their work has long-term benefits because they

use the income they earn to feed their children and send them to school," says Catherine Gwin of the Overseas Development Council.

In the poor, isolated country of Nepal, the burden of women's lives is visible everywhere. Nepal is one of just three countries in the world, along with Bangladesh and Bhutan, where the average life expectancy of women — currently 54 years in Nepal — is lower than that of men. Women face especially high mortality risks during childbirth, because of limited access to health facilities.

Malnutrition and lack of safe drinking water compound the problems. Some 85% of Nepalese women are anemic — often,

they feed their husbands and children first, saving little food for themselves — while their working day is typically arduous. Many women spend several hours each day carrying water and firewood long distances over steep, muddy roads.

Moreover, Nepalese women still lack basic legal rights. They can own property only if they remain unmarried and their father dies. Securing a conventional bank loan is all but impossible.

In Nepal, "women are seen as reproducers, not producers," says Carroll Long, head of the UNDP in that country. "But with a little help, some have become very talented small-business owners."

Harimaya Khatri-Chetri was one of the first in Nagarkot to sign up for a UNDP-financed program that teaches business skills to women in tourist areas. Over a two-week period, she learned how to keep records and do basic accounting. And she became confident enough to envision herself as a business owner. With a small loan from the Women Entrepreneurs Association of Nepal, she started a poultry-rearing operation.

She nets about \$20 a month from 200 chickens — almost as much as her unemployed husband gets from an army pension. Unlike her spouse, Ms. Khatri-Chetri uses her earnings to send three of her five children to school. And she hopes to save enough money to open a grocery store that will include a refrigerator, a luxury in a town where few homes have electricity.

Her neighbor Ms. Lamichhane has gained a new sense of personal freedom since she launched her restaurant. Married at 14 to a man she says didn't want her, she dutifully followed her mother-in-law's orders — tending the family farm, doing domestic chores and raising two sons mostly on her own. Her husband worked as a cook in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, and for six years she saw him

Please Turn to Page B2, Column 6

ENTERPRISE

Poor Women Make Progress by Starting Their Own Businesses

Continued From Page B1

only on his brief, biannual visits home.

She was encouraged to join the business training program last year because a score of other local women were participating. Moreover, her husband had been seriously injured in an automobile accident, leaving her the primary breadwinner.

After long days spent nursing her husband in the hospital, Ms. Lamichhane rushed home each night to attend the training sessions. She used family savings and a loan from the Women Entrepreneurs Association to open her Corner Coffee Shop, which seats about 20 customers.

The business has increased her workload. She rises at 4 a.m. now to work in the fields before opening the restaurant. And she has few people to whom she can turn for support. "Other women are sometimes jealous" of her new venture, she says.

But for the first time in her married life, she has won some equality with her husband, who does much of the restaurant's cooking. She manages the money, gives him instructions and even asks him for household help.

"He has no way out now," she says. "If I'm really hard pressed, he'll see that the children are fed. He respects me now."

the Alaska regional director for the National Marine Fisheries Service, said the halibut season has been extended by several months under the new system, and that prices fishermen are given by processors have been stable.

But opponents of quotas say they are unfairly allotted. They also say the system does not, in fact, conserve fish because, by removing the pressures of a short fishing season, fishermen can sort through their catch and throw back smaller ones, which often die.

(Optional add end)

Some fishermen want Congress to ban quota systems, while others are pushing for a moratorium on quotas until existing systems can be studied.

National Marine Fishery Service officials all say quota systems would not work in all fisheries. Congress is expected to vote on the Magnuson Act renewal this month.

Feds Eye New Formula for Assessing Environmental Damages By Marla Cone= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=

A thousand or so sea birds die a slow death. Miles of popular beaches are closed to surfers and swimmers for weeks. Tiny shimmering grunion are killed en masse as they spawn.

This oil-slicked wasteland was long ago cleaned up, but the aftermath of the 1990 Huntington Beach, Calif., spill as well as the Exxon Valdez disaster in Alaska and other oil mishaps from Santa Barbara, Calif., to New Jersey still resonates as officials mold a new policy guiding how the American people will be compensated for oil spills.

How should oil companies make amends for inflicting such intangible pain as a missed morning of surf or the death of a sea otter?

Federal officials have wrestled with formulating a fair compensation policy since 1990, and the latest twist comes in a controversial Clinton administration proposal. The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, which is seeking comments on its proposal at a San Francisco public meeting Wednesday and Thursday, faces a court-ordered Dec. 31 deadline to adopt a final rule.

Because of concerns voiced largely by the oil industry, the administration has scrapped its original policy that put a price tag on each animal, acre of wetland or day of recreation.

Under the earlier strategy, the government performed some unusual calculations based on public opinion polls: What is a day of swimming in the ocean or walking on the beach worth? What would people pay to save an otter or a pelican from dying in an oil slick?

The new damage assessment formula has a far different thrust: Don't affix a value, just fix it.

For instance, if 20,000 beachgoers were turned away, the oil company responsible for the spill would boost access by that same number of people, perhaps by building a parking lot or walkway or widening a beach. If 10 sea otters died, the company would restore kelp or take some other step to increase surviving otters by 10.

"This approach is so vastly different from the way we've done it before," said Linda Burlington, chief of NOAA's damage assessment team.

Federal economists and attorneys say the public would be more equitably and expeditiously compensated. And the oil industry generally prefers the new technique as a less arbitrary way to pay the American people what they are due.

But environmentalists and some California oil spill experts worry that it may lower damage settlements and insufficiently reimburse the public. They also say that the policy seems so rigid it could limit options for replacing the losses and bog down already lengthy legal battles.

(Optional add end)

Millions of dollars in damage assessment settlements a record \$1 billion in the case of the Exxon Valdez are at stake in a major spill.

The philosophy behind the policies is that companies responsible for a spill shouldn't just clean up the mess and pay emergency response bills. They also are liable for injury to wildlife and temporary loss of recreation when beaches and marinas are shut down.

Under the new strategy, state and federal agencies acting as trustees would team with the oil company to measure the losses, and then seek damages to provide services or resources of "the same type and quality" as those injured.

Only if no direct replacement is available can the trustees try to seek a comparable solution.

First Lady Galvanizes U.N. Forum on Women By Maggie Farley= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=

BEIJING First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton answered criticism of her trip to the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women here with a rousing speech Tuesday that indirectly condemned China's population control policies while emphasizing the importance of family.

Appearing before 1,500 delegates from around the world despite objections from both human rights advocates who urged a boycott because of China's coercive birth control measures, among other issues and American conservatives who called the U.N. meeting radical and anti-family, Mrs. Clinton cut to the basic issue of the international gathering.

"If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference," she declared, "let it be that human rights are women's rights. And women's rights are human rights, once and for all."

In her second public address here she spoke earlier at a forum on women's health Mrs. Clinton listed crimes against women that have not been considered human rights violations because of persistent cultural legacies, from bride burning and genital mutilation to wartime rape and female infanticide.

Although the first lady did not mention China or any other country by name, her references to China's strictly enforced one-child policy were clear as she again sounded themes she had raised at the women's health forum.

"It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will," she said to applause.

She did, however, name China directly in her criticism of the treatment of participants in both the U.N.-sponsored meeting and the gathering of 23,000 members of non-governmental organizations tied to it.

"It is indefensible that many women in non-governmental organizations who wished to participate in this conference have not been able to attend or have been prohibited from fully taking part," she said, speaking slowly and forcefully to the international audience.

Her blunt remarks surprised some observers, who expected her to take a low-key stance in a time of precarious U.S.-China relations.

"I thought she would have to take a more politically correct position, since she is a politician," said Phuntsok Dolma, an exiled Tibetan living in Massachusetts who has been a target of police surveillance and intimidation while at the conference. "But what she said was very courageous, and meant a lot to our people."

Human Rights Watch/Asia, one of the groups that had urged Mrs. Clinton to stay away from Beijing, applauded her "powerful defense of human rights" but expressed reservations about their effect.



file chen's
United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Rule of Law

INFORMATION MEMORANDUM
S/S

UNCLASSIFIED

TO: The Secretary

FROM: EAP - Stanley Roth *SR*
DRL - John Shattuck *JS*

SUBJECT: China Rule of Law Initiative/Calls to House Members

As you requested at this week's review of EAP's Bureau Performance Plan, we are providing the background and talking points required for your telephone call to various House members concerning FY 99 funding for President Clinton's China Rule of Law Initiative.

Background

At the recent U.S.-China Summit, Presidents Clinton and Jiang announced a number of specific activities under the Rule of Law Initiative established at last October's Summit. However, in spite of this progress, the Administration's request for FY 99 funds to launch this initiative continues to face serious opposition on the Hill. While the Administration may be able to organize private funding for the proposed activities, we believe that the absence of significant USG funding will result in our inability to fulfill both our commitment to the Chinese and the public expectations created on the President's trip. That is why we are now urging you to personally intervene on the Hill.

We have been seeking to fund the China Rule of Law Initiative in FY 99 through an increase in the Asia Foundation's ~~line-item~~ within the Commerce-Justice-State appropriations bill. We have chosen this path because of the Foundation's established expertise in this area and because of the many legal obstacles pertaining to the use of ESF monies in China. The Foundation's FY 98 appropriation was \$8 million. We have requested a \$7 million increase in FY 99, \$5 million of which would fund the China Rule of Law Initiative.

Two weeks ago, neither the House nor the Senate CJS Subcommittees included any of our requested increase in their

marked-up bills. (The House set TAF's appropriation at last year's figure of \$8 million, and the Senate zeroed out TAF altogether.) Although a House-Senate conference will not take place until September, we believe that our best hope lies in your attempting to persuade the House Appropriations Committee to accommodate our full request when it meets on July 15. To do so, you would need to call Chairman Bob Livingston, CJS Subcommittee Chairman Hal Rogers, and HIRC/Asia-Pacific Subcommittee Chairman Doug Bereuter by Monday (July 13) at the latest.

Attachment: Talking Points

Talking Points on the China Rule of Law Initiative

- At the recent U.S.-China Summit, Presidents Clinton and Jiang agreed to start a number of specific activities to promote the rule of law in China. This agreement fleshed out a more general agreement on rule-of-law cooperation that was made at the first summit last October.
- This initiative represents the Administration's effort to back up our continuing human rights diplomacy with on-the-ground assistance devoted to improving the daily lives of Chinese citizens.
- While the Chinese government is of course still authoritarian, the development of China's legal system provides the short-term prospect that the Chinese government's laws will be more in accordance with international standards, that the implementation of these laws will be less arbitrary, and that individual citizens can better defend their legal rights in court. And strengthened rule of law provides the long-term prospect that when fundamental political reform does take place in China, there will be an adequate legal foundation upon which democracy can quickly evolve.
- The initiative comprises six major areas:
 - Exchanges of Legal Experts
 - Training of Judges and Lawyers
 - Strengthening Legal Information Systems and the Exchange of Legal Materials
 - Legal Assistance to the Poor
 - Administrative Procedures
 - Commercial Law and Arbitration
- The Chinese government's agreement to participate in this initiative is a rare opportunity that we must seize. Increased rule of law in China would serve America's human rights and economic interests alike.
- In support of this initiative, the Administration's FY 1999 Budget request includes a \$5 million increase for the Asia Foundation. This accounts for the bulk of the Foundation's requested increase to \$15 million. I am calling to ask your support for this funding.
- I appreciate many of the arguments against government-to-government assistance to China. However, I also believe that we should seek cooperation in specific areas of direct benefit to the Chinese people. Assistance for the rule of law would be just such an area.
- The Asia Foundation brings a proven track record of facilitating legal reform in China. Moreover, the conduct of part of this Presidential initiative through the Asia Foundation will help reassure those opposed to direct government-to-government assistance. We also expect significant private funding—from U.S.-based foundations and the ABA for example—to be available for the initiative.

File: DRL\Front Office\DWYang\China ROL to Secretary.doc

Drafted: DRL:DYang x71180 7/9/98

Cleared: S:JO'Brien (info)
S/RPP:CJohnstone }
S/P:ARomberg } *dy for all.*
EAP:SShirk }
H:Blarkin (info)

TALKING POINTS FOR HILL CONSULTATIONS
ON
CHINA RULE OF LAW INITIATIVE - FY98 AND FY99 FUNDING

[Talking points are for briefings conducted by State/DRL (PGewirtz), State/EAP (SShirk), possibly NSC (ESchwartz) and others before the CJS, For. Ops. and authorization committees of both houses. These points provide an overview of the Rule of Law Initiative and emphasize the need for supporting the Administration's FY 99 funding request of \$1 million in ESF from the EAP Regional Democracy Fund and a \$5 million plus-up of The Asia Foundation. They do not go into detail about FY 98 funding (i.e. the need for a 451 waiver) but do make reference to ongoing efforts to identify such funds and authority.]

Summary

- The China Rule of Law (ROL) Initiative grew out of the October Summit meeting between Presidents Clinton and Jiang.
- This initiative will improve basic legal institutions in China --the judiciary, the administrative process, the legal profession, law schools, legal information systems-- in measurable ways that will provide more predictability and protections both for economic interactions and for other civil and criminal legal activity involving ordinary citizens.
- The ROL Initiative with China will better protect economic investments, ordinary commercial functioning, and it will promote human rights in ways that better protect the rights and interests of ordinary people in a multitude of ways.
- The initiative comes at a time when significant legal reform is moving ahead in China and there are real targets of opportunity for cooperation between our two countries.

Background on Initiative - Presidential Summit and Follow Up with Chinese

- At the Summit, the two Presidents set forth six specific areas for cooperative activity:
 - (1) exchanges of legal experts;
 - (2) judicial and lawyer training;
 - (3) strengthening legal information systems and the exchange of legal materials;
 - (4) administrative law reform;
 - (5) developing legal assistance for the poor; and
 - (6) commercial law and arbitration.

- Shortly after the Summit, the visit of China's Minister of Justice to the United States helped the Chinese shape their vision for implementing this new Initiative.
- Since the Summit, we have met with senior Chinese government officials, Chinese legal academics and lawyers, American lawyers and business people, foundation representatives, and representatives of other countries and multilateral institutions interested in legal reform in China.
- - ⇒ During these discussions it was clear that the Chinese were very eager to start implementing a variety of projects under the Initiative.
- We have also been meeting with a broad range of US government and judicial officials (including Supreme Court Justices Breyer and Kennedy, who have an active interest in China and in this initiative); with law school deans and legal academics; with lawyers and the leadership of the American Bar Association; with representatives of foundations and a wide variety of NGOs, including the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights, the International Human Rights Law Group and the International Republican Institute; and with business groups.
 - ⇒ There is great enthusiasm among both government and non-government entities to get involved.
 - ⇒ For example, the President of the American Bar Association has committed to launching a major rule of law project in China analogous to the ABA's extraordinary work in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union, and an exploratory group from the ABA will be going to China shortly.
- It is hoped that funding for these activities will be available from both government and non-government sources. But at least in the early stages of the Initiative, the USG will need to play a leading role.

Justification of Initiative - Benefit for U.S. Interests and Chinese Democratic Development

- The initiative will improve basic legal institutions in China --the judiciary, the administrative process, the legal profession, law schools, legal information systems-- in measurable ways that will provide more predictability and protections both for economic interactions and for other civil and criminal legal activity involving ordinary citizens.
- Important precedents in the rule of law field in China have laid the groundwork for this Initiative, and give us confidence that a commitment of U.S. resources will make a difference on the ground.

- ⇒ The Ford Foundation, The Asia Foundation, and the International Republican Institute have been pioneers in developing legal reform projects in China.
- ⇒ legal reform projects organized by Canada, the World Bank, and the EU, among others, have had a significant positive impact in China.
- President Clinton has singled the Initiative out as one of the main accomplishments of the October Summit. This interest can serve to open new, additional areas for cooperation – if we move quickly and back it with resources.
- Significant progress has occurred in China's legal system over the last 20 years.
 - ⇒ Since 1979, hundreds of new laws have been passed, the population of lawyers has grown from around 2,000 to nearly 100,000, and the number of law schools has mushroomed from 2 to over 100.
 - ⇒ In 1996, China amended its criminal procedure laws to provide significantly enhanced protections for criminal defendants.
 - ⇒ It has launched a program to provide legal aid to the poor and it continues rapid development of the commercial law area.
 - ⇒ Increase in litigation in China, not just in commercial law areas, but in cases that where citizens are using the law to hold government officials accountable.
 - ⇒ President Jiang Zemin's report to the 15th Party Congress in September gave distinctive attention to further improving China's legal system.
 - ⇒ Taking all these events together, we feel that this an opportune time to work with the Chinese to reform and help them build a modern legal system.
- The ROL Initiative with China will further a broad range of American interests and values.
 - ⇒ For example, rule of law activities will better protect economic investments and contribute to ordinary commercial functioning.
 - ⇒ Rule of law activities also promote human rights and will better protect the rights and interests of ordinary people in a multitude of ways.
 - ⇒ I must emphasize, however, that the ROL initiative is NOT a replacement for our continuing human rights policy towards China. We will continue to pursue vigorously our human rights objectives in China through existing diplomatic and policy tools.
 - ⇒ That said, we feel that the ROL initiative can make a significant contribution to the improvement of Chinese legal institutions in a way that, over time, is likely to have a significant impact in improving the protections enjoyed by all Chinese citizens.

- By framing the initiative in terms of legal system reform, we have been able to elicit a remarkable degree of Chinese receptivity—and by no means limited to commercial law.

FY 99 Funding Needs and Program Management

- In order to fulfill this far-reaching agenda and to successfully implement Presidents Clinton and Jiang's agreement, we will need funds for Fiscal Year 1999.
 - ⇒ \$1 million in ESF out of the EAP Regional Democracy Fund, and
 - ⇒ \$5 million from The Asia Foundation's \$15 million FY 99 budget request.
- The Asia Foundation will provide **significant** specific benefits:
 - ⇒ ensures the ROL Initiative builds on and complements previous work.
 - ⇒ because of its early groundwork (including a person on the ground in Beijing to administer their programs), and its contacts, ensures the projects under the Initiative will "hit the ground running" and maintain momentum from the Presidential Summit.
 - ⇒ Promote our goal of having NGOs manage and run as many of these projects as possible.
- Since 1979, The Asia Foundation has given priority to the development of the rule of law in China. Through its programs, the Foundation has provided key support for legal and judicial reform, assisted initiatives to develop substantive law, including human rights, promoted exchanges for legal professionals and law faculty, provided legal materials, and helped to develop the capacity of a number of legal institutions.
 - ⇒ With its network of contacts and vast experience in China, the Foundation is uniquely positioned to advance programs under the rule of law initiative, both through its current programs and in the future under this important initiative.
- While we plan and expect a large part of the ROL Initiative to be carried out by the NGO community, it is important, particularly in the early stages, for there to be direct USG support for a portion of the activities under the Initiative. This not only insures that the Presidential Initiative receives government direction, but also provides the valuable symbol of governmental interest to open doors for the NGO sector.
- First, the ESF money would be used to fund both U.S. government and non-governmental participation in the programs.
 - ⇒ For example, these funds could be passed by USAID to the Federal Judicial Center to cover the costs of judicial training programs or to the SEC to cover assistance on securities regulation.
 - ⇒ We are proposing to use the EAP Regional Democracy Fund in response to Congressional language in last year's appropriations conference report.
 - ⇒ For FY 99 we would hope to receive a positive authorization from Congress to pursue the implementation of the Presidents' ROL Initiative for China.

We have given up on this - No longer seeking to use ESF Funds

- We would like to begin some of the projects under the Initiative this fiscal year. We are presently working to identify resources and the necessary authority to do so.

⇒ As we move forward on funding specifics for this year, we will consult with this and other interested committees of the Congress.

Tentative Initiative Projects

- Exchange of Legal Experts
 - 1) Cooperative program between China's recently established Commission on the Future of Legal Education and American law deans and professors involved with issues concerning the future of legal education.
 - 2) Expanding existing exchanges of legal scholars and law students analogous to the CLEEC program that the Ford Foundation once funded for a number of years.
- Judicial and Lawyer Training
 - 1) Training projects with the recently established National Judicial College administered by the Supreme People's Court in Beijing and the about-to-be-established Training Institute at the High Court in Shanghai. This training will focus on issues of due process, criminal procedure, civil procedure, judicial ethics, economic rights litigation, and judicial opinion-writing.
 - 2) Pilot projects on continuing legal education for lawyers. The ABA is interested in assisting with this effort.
- Strengthening Legal Information Systems and the Exchange of Legal Materials
 - 1) Feasibility study on establishing a comprehensive electronic legal database of Chinese law. in conjunction with the World Bank.
 - 2) Translation of important American law books.
- Administrative Law Reform
 - 1) Conference on administrative law reform in China with key Chinese decisionmakers and scholars
 - 2) Multi-stage project of drafting assistance, training and exchanges related to improvement of administrative law and administrative procedure in China.
- Legal Assistance to the Poor
 - 1) Conference on alternative models of delivering legal services for the poor involving Chinese decisionmakers and legal aid policy and Chinese legal aid lawyers. This conference is tentatively scheduled for later in the year in Beijing.

- 2) Program of 6-month exchanges of American and Chinese legal aid lawyers including training of Chinese legal aid lawyers.
- Commercial Law and Arbitration
 - 1) Conference on judicial enforcement of arbitration awards.
 - 2) Multi-stage project involving drafting assistance, training and exchanges in the fields of securities and capital markets regulation.

Responses to Specific Questions

1. Why would you use USG resources in FY 98 and then switch the bulk of the program to TAF for FY 99 - where is the continuity in this?
 - We would expect there to be an initial period where U.S. government activism and resources are necessary to get this initiative going. Once that has happened it is our hope that the non-governmental sector can pick up much of the implementation (and funding) of the initiative. Shifting more USG funding to The Asia Foundation in FY 1999 is consistent with this.
 - Furthermore, there will in fact be close coordination of FY 98 and FY 99 expenditures. The Asia Foundation and the State Department have agreed that if the Asia Foundation receives its proposed FY 1999 allocation, it will work very closely with the State Department to assure that USG priorities are advanced and that projects launched in FY 1998 will be carried forward when appropriate.
2. What are the other potential uses of these FY 98 funds? Other than the Burma earmark, what potential programs will have to compete with the China ROL Initiative?
 - we will meet the \$5 million Burma earmark with a combination of Development Assistance from USAID and ESF funds administered by DRL, which has administered the FY 97 earmark.
 - ⇒ (If asked) AID has agreed to provide \$1.7 million in DA for Burma and the remainder would come out of the EAP Regional Democracy Fund.
 - After the Burma earmark we are exploring a variety of uses for the remaining funds in the EAP Regional Democracy fund in addition to the China ROL Initiative. While no final decisions have been made on any of these, prospective programs include:
 - 1) Continued funding for the Yale Cambodia Genocide project
 - 2) Potential funding for Indonesia and Thailand in response to the financial crisis

- 3) Project focused on trafficking in women and children
 - 4) A labor program focused on child labor
4. How can we be sure that this assistance won't just go to strengthen the "thugocracy" that controls China and these legal institutions?
- We believe that, over time, the ROL Initiative will have a positive effect on China. We feel that an improved legal system will provide more protections for the Chinese people.
 - As WE noted before, the U.S. human rights community agrees with this view and is supportive of the Initiative.
 - Most of the USG funds will go directly to U.S. entities, governmental and non-governmental, who will manage and run projects both in the U.S. and China.
 - However, even though a considerable portion of the money will be focused on entities in China such as law schools, law students, and legal clinics, we acknowledge that ROL Initiative projects will generally be focused on Chinese government institutions, particularly projects like those involving judicial training—the effort here, after all, is designed to improve China's legal system, which necessarily involves the Chinese government.
5. What authority will you use to spend the \$1 million in FY 99 ESF that you are requesting? Will you be looking to use some sort of waiver?
- For FY 99 we would hope to receive a positive authorization from Congress to pursue the implementation of the Presidents' ROL Initiative for China.
 - (For example, we feel that the following language would provide us with the necessary authority:
"The Secretary of State shall use funds available in the East Asia-Pacific Regional Democracy Fund to provide grants and transfers to promote the development of the rule of law in China, notwithstanding any other provision of law."
6. Isn't this program just like the Civil Society Program which the Congress rejected last year?
- This program we are proposing is substantially different from the "Civil Society" Program which we had earlier considered for China. This program is not directed toward developing non-governmental organizations. Rather, it is designed to strengthen the capabilities of China's legal system in ways which serve both China's interests and our own.
 - In addition, the fact that Chinese President Jiang has now "blessed" cooperation with the U.S. entities on legal issues means that there are many new opportunities to make a difference on the ground in China.

Drafted: S/P/DRL - Paul Gewirtz; DRL/P - David Bernstein; EAP/RSP - D.Keegan
H:/Bernstein/China ROL General Hill Talkers(EAP) 3/17/98

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	Legal Restrictions Applicable to Rule of Law Programs in China - Options (4 pages)	11/04/1997	P1/b(1)

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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]



S. O. Sullivan
United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 19, 1997

MEMORANDUM

TO: DRL - John Shattuck
DRL & S/P - Paul Gewirtz

FROM: DRL - David Yang *DY*

SUBJECT: Outstanding Issues regarding the China Rule of Law Program

As you requested, I have researched two outstanding issues regarding the China rule of law program: (1) the Asia Foundation option and (2) other claimants to the EAP regional democracy fund. I also discuss a third issue regarding the future of the original civil society program.

1. The Asia Foundation (TAF)

- Question: Would DRL have to compete the "replenishment" grant to the Asia Foundation?

There is no clear answer to this question, because the Office of the Procurement Executive's regulations governing non-competitive grants are very vague. After having read the regulations and discussed them with L and A, I am less certain of my original position that the grant would have to be competed. On the one hand, one of the stated criteria for not holding a competition is that the recipient would be uniquely capable of providing the services. In the case of TAF's bread-and-butter democracy programming in Asia (say, legislative strengthening in Mongolia), we could not easily argue that TAF is a unique provider. On the other hand, another of the criteria is interpreted by L and A to mean that we would not have to run a competition if it meant endangering an NGO's proprietary interests. That is, if TAF submitted what we believed to be a highly original proposal, we would not have to compete the grant despite the fact that another NGO might possibly conduct a generically similar program. The bottom line, however, is that the Inspector General's office as well as the NGO community will be monitoring our grants-making closely. Therefore, given DRL's being still new to the world of democracy programming, I would recommend that we be very cautious and accordingly feel obligated to running an open competition, which would void the TAF option for FY 98.

- Question: How can we use the TAF option in FY 99 and beyond?

In FY 99 and beyond, if TAF receives a larger line-item in the USG international affairs account (e.g., \$15 million in FY 99), it will be willing to sign a memorandum of understanding with the State Department saying that it would use \$x million for rule of law activities in China. Moreover, the memorandum could lay out general guidelines for the provision of this assistance. (This answer is based on a phone conversation that I had with Bill Fuller on Wednesday.) In essence, assuming a larger line-item, the TAF option in the out years would provide us with icing on the \$10 million ESF cake that we are now planning.

2. EAP Regional Democracy Fund

- Question: What existing or prospective programs might be endangered if we used all of the remaining \$3.75 million in the FY 98 EAP Regional Democracy Fund for China?

These are the major claimants to the remaining \$3.75 million:

- A regional program for women's political participation (FY 97: \$1 million);
- a commercial rule of law program in Vietnam (FY 97: \$0.5 million);
- Yale's Cambodia Genocide Program (FY 97: \$1 million); and
- a regional labor program by the AFL-CIO's Solidarity Center (Prospective: \$1 million).

All of these are worthy programs. Of course, they need not be funded at the FY 97 levels. And Yale University has not yet asked for additional funds. Therefore, we might safely assume that we could adequately albeit stringently accommodate these programs with a total of \$2 million, leaving \$1.75 million for China from this fund.

- Question: Would USAID assume any of the \$5 million burden of the Burma earmark, thus freeing up more money for China?

Probably not. The report language appended to the FY 98 Appropriations Bill states that the Burma earmark can be made up of either ESF or DA funds. Today I proposed to USAID that DRL spend \$3 million of ESF and USAID spend \$2 million of DA. The initial response of USAID's Asia/Near Bureau was that they unfortunately did not have any spare DA for this purpose. But this option might bear further exploration. For example, we might argue to Brian Atwood's office the following: "We're all in the same boat. We want to do serious democracy programming in both China and Burma. Therefore, let's share the funding burden. The State Department is coming up with the money for China. Why don't you help us with Burma? Because if you don't, our China program will be smaller." If John made this argument to Brian, it might fly. It's worth a try.

3. Civil Society

- What should we do with our original civil society program for China?

Many of those in DRL and USAID who worked hard developing the China civil society program do not want to see it become a victim to the Summit's focus on the rule of law program. There are three options. The first is to put the civil society program aside for now and proceed first with the rule of law program. The second is to proceed with both together, assuming that a Section 451 waiver could be stretched to fit both programs. The third, contrarily assuming that a Section 451 waiver is not so elastic, is to house major elements of the civil society program within the new rule of law program.

Without having yet consulted with L, my non-expert opinion is that a Section 451 waiver could be applied only to the new rule of law program. Therefore, in my view, the third option is preferable. Conceptually and practically, we could easily integrate a civil society component to the currently-envisioned rule of law program. On the one hand, we would be assisting the government to develop its legal system; while, on the other hand, we would be assisting NGOs both to lobby for legal reform (within the limits of Chinese politics) and to actually test the government's expanding legal capacity. For an excellent example of a USG rule of law program that deftly combines the so-called "demand" and "supply" sides of legal reform, I commend you to the current program in Indonesia.

In my view, the first option—dropping altogether the civil society program for now—would not be desirable, if only because the Hill will want to see the Administration carry out a balanced (government/NGO) rule of law program. We may face insurmountable opposition if our program consists solely of technical assistance to the Chinese government.

cc: EAP - Susan Shirk
 S/RPP - Eric Lief
 H - David Killion
 DRL - Clark, Bernstein, Schwering & O'Sullivan

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The Ford Foundation's Program in Law, Rights and Governance in China

Phyllis L. Chang, April 1997

The Foundation's Law, Rights and Governance Program in China (the "Law Program") incorporates grantmaking in two major areas that have distinct programming contexts and goals, yet clearly overlap: legal reform and governance. To date, most of the Law Program's grants have concentrated on development of China's legal system; however, during the past several years, a growing percentage of the Program's budget has been devoted to Chinese efforts to explore new means of governing a radically transformed society. While governance programming originated in the Law Program and most governance grants continue to be made out of the Law Program, other Beijing Office programs have also begun to support governance projects.

During the 1998-99 biennium, the Law Program will continue programming that addresses two of China's most pressing challenges for the 21st century: 1) establishing the rule of law; and 2) developing new means of governing an increasingly complex, differentiated society. The Foundation is currently the most active foreign donor in both of these fields and the Law Program Officer chairs the Law and Governance Donors Forum, which meets semi-annually to exchange ideas and information on law and governance projects. Over the next biennium, the Law Program will deepen work that is underway rather than launching major new program directions.

Law and Rights

The fundamental aim of the Foundation's law and rights programming in China is to promote the emergence of the rule of law. In the 18 years since Deng Xiaoping initiated the current era of "reform and opening up" in 1978, China has established an impressive new framework of laws, revived legal education and rebuilt its courts, procuracies and other legal institutions. China's next task must be to transform these formal laws and structures into the rule of law. The rule of law is critical to continued growth of China's socialist market economy, social stability, greater government accountability, and the curbing of corruption, probably the most serious problem faced by the Chinese Communist Party. The development of the rule of law is also mandated by Chinese citizens' budding sense of rights and belief that their legal system should effect justice and uphold laws impartially.

Since late 1994, the Foundation's law and rights programming in China has centered on two initiatives: 1) strengthening of the Chinese judiciary and judicial reform; and 2) "law-in-action" projects emphasizing the development of legal consciousness among the citizenry and practical efforts to use the legal system to protect individual rights. These initiatives address two of the greatest obstacles impeding the emergence of the rule of law: 1) the weakness of the judicial system; and 2) the gap between law on the books and actual practice.

Judicial Reform Initiative

No society can realize the rule of law unless it has a competent, professional and respected judiciary whose judges reach decisions solely on the basis of the law. Yet the judiciary remains the weakest and least developed link of the Chinese legal system; despite significant improvement since 1978, it is widely regarded (by Chinese as well as foreigners) as unreliable, subject to manipulation by powerful interests and highly unprofessional.

The objective of the Law Program's judicial initiative is to catalyze consideration of changes that would make the Chinese judiciary a stronger, more professional institution. The initiative is built on four elements, each of which is critical to change: 1) exploration of ideas for reform and experimentation with such reforms in courts; 2) training of judges that emphasizes critical thinking and skills-building; 3) the emergence of judges as a professional class; and 4) research to understand better how Chinese courts and their judges actually function.

The following is a list of major projects and grantees currently supported under the judicial reform initiative:

experiments in new types of judges' training programs

- South Central University of Political Science and Law in collaboration with the High Court of Hubei Province—China's first training program for basic-level judges, targeted at judges of Hubei Province
- Senior Judges Training Center of the Supreme People's Court, in collaboration with the Law School of Peking University—training of administrative law judges, training of minority judges, training of newly-appointed judges

development of innovative, reform-oriented training materials for judges

- Center for Judicial Studies of Law School of Peking University
- Law School of People's University
- Department of Adult Education, China University of Political Science and Law

strengthening of judges' associations

- Shanghai Judges Association—trial procedure reform in Shanghai court system, seminars with foreign judges on judicial systems and processes, judicial administration

- China Women Judges Association—development of network of women judges and courts to work on women's rights protection; development of judicial measures to improve implementation of rights granted under law

trial procedure reform

- High Court of Shandong Province, in collaboration with China University of Political Science and Law—reform of how civil trials are conducted in Shandong Province courts and development of materials to teach new approaches
- Shanghai Judges Association—comparative study of selected foreign models of trial procedure and judicial administration
- Senior Judges Training Center of the Supreme People's Court—analysis of trial procedure reforms introduced by various Chinese courts, seminars with US, Korean and German judges, and US-German-Chinese demonstration trial project

research and writing on judicial reform and study of foreign judicial systems and procedural law

- Center for Judicial Studies of the Law Dept. of Peking University—translation series on foreign judicial systems and processes, seminars on judicial issues; topical reports for judges
- New York University, School of Law—"Distinguished Lecturers Series" under which a series of eminent US and German jurists will lecture in China on judicial systems and processes

Law-in-Action Initiative

Since 1978, China has promulgated a huge amount of laws and regulations, in many cases establishing entire new frameworks for state and private behavior. It has also re-established and built up a full array of legal institutions. But the rights of citizens under those laws—as well as their obligations—remain often merely paper rights and obligations, with little impact on daily lives. On the one hand, the state's enforcement of law—whether tax obligations or environmental regulations—is often lax. On the other hand, when individuals seek to assert their legal rights, legal organs and other authorities frequently do not give the assistance sought, or allow other factors to influence their decisions.

The law-in-action initiative begins from the premise that the transformation of formal, state-bestowed rights into concrete benefits that enhance the dignity, equality and well-being of citizens will occur only if citizens take their rights seriously, and actively use the legal system to realize those rights. Thus, the initiative attempts to build legal consciousness. It also seeks to give Chinese lawyers, students and ordinary citizens practical experience in using their laws and legal processes to protect individual rights as well as to further social justice. Finally, it seeks to demonstrate that though law is presently only a very weak force in Chinese society, it can make a difference.

The law-in-action initiative combines this imperative to strengthen the implementation of law with the Foundation's commitment to assist vulnerable sectors of society. To deepen the impact of Foundation funding, law-in-action projects are concentrated on two fields: women's rights and legal aid (both civil legal services as well as criminal defense).

The following is a list of major projects and grantees currently supported under the law-in-action initiative:

Women's Rights

- Qianxi County Women's Legal Services Center—China's first rural legal services organization for women
- Women's Legal Services and Law Center of Peking University—provides legal counseling and representation and also conducts policy-oriented research into women's issues
- Maple Women's Counseling Center and Women's Hotline—primarily funded by the Foundation's Human Development and Reproductive Health Program, the Center is a recognized leader in counseling for women in need; has recently added legal hotline and limited legal counseling

Legal Services/Public Interest Law

In addition to women's rights organizations, the Foundation is supporting a number of other groups/organizations that are pioneering the provision of legal services to certain sectors of Chinese society:

- Center for the Protection of the Rights of the Socially Vulnerable—China's first non-governmental legal services/public interest law organization. Work embraces legal assistance for women, the handicapped and children, as well as environmental protection and administrative litigation (suits brought by citizens against the government)

- Center for Criminal Law and Criminal Justice at the China University of Political Science and Law (the "Criminal Justice Center")—newly-established non-governmental center founded by some of China's leading criminal procedure law professors that specializes in criminal justice system reform; just beginning pilot project to establish a criminal defense clinic. Foundation support is also enabling the Criminal Justice Center to collaborate with an international partner, the Center for Criminal International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy at the University of British Columbia.
- China Center for Legal Aid of the Ministry of Justice/Criminal Justice Center—support for the newly-established China Center for Legal Aid, an organ of the central government responsible for guiding the development of legal aid in China, to study approaches to legal services outside of China, to train young Chinese legal aid lawyers and to publish materials on legal aid. [6/97: PROJECT ON HOLD DUE TO COMPLICATIONS ON CHINESE SIDE]

Governance

The fundamental aim of the Law Program's governance work is to help Chinese citizens and the state develop new methods of governing that serve the needs and demands of a profoundly changed society. Governance grantmaking is guided by three specific goals: 1) to introduce a wide range of thinking about governance to Chinese officials, scholars and citizens; 2) to give Chinese practical experience in new governance approaches and the opportunity to re-evaluate traditional post-1949 communist approaches; and 3) to assist China develop effective rural governance systems that can serve the changing needs and desires of Chinese farmers.

To date, the bulk of programming has concerned governance in the countryside, in which the need for new approaches are most acute due to sweeping economic reforms that have led to the dismantling of communes and the privatization of agricultural production, an explosion in private industrial enterprises, the exodus of male labor from villages, and accompanying social changes. In particular, the Program has been supporting projects to develop a system of self-governance in Chinese villages based on democratic, local elections, and research on the role and functioning of the elected bodies.

Other governance programming, which is best described as experimental, includes work to make government officials more accountable through the development of administrative law and practices such as public hearings, and to study legislative systems at various levels of government.

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Date: 26 May 1998
From: Lawrence Yanovitch, FINCA
To: Katy Button, Office of the First Lady
Subject: Status Report on Microfinance in China

Since our telephone conversation this morning, I have conferred with Michael Goldberg, a colleague at The Consultative Group to Assist the Poorest (CGAP) in the World Bank, about Mrs. Clinton's upcoming trip to China. What follows is their general reading of the situation for microfinance in China as well as some points Mrs. Clinton may wish to raise in her speech.

It is highly opportune for Mrs. Clinton to highlight microfinance issues during her trip to China.

The Government of China is embarking on a nationwide heavily subsidized, heavily targeted approach to microfinance that threatens the nascent development of the microfinance industry. This is an approach typical of government managed development finance institutions around the world. The difference between microfinance and traditional development finance is that the former places an emphasis on client demand driven financial products priced at full cost. The latter is often driven by a government agenda where the clientele are "targeted" and told what activities they should invest in. Also, such government efforts often subsidize program costs in a way that does not assure sustainability. These approaches are highly subject to political pressure.

The Government of China's policy is being driven by the Leading Group on Poverty Reduction (LGPR), a government agency, and the Agricultural Development Bank of China (ADB). The LGPR provides general services to large numbers of the poor in China. Since 1993, they have been tasked, however, with the impossible goal of eradicating poverty in China by the Year 2000.

Poverty is overwhelmingly a rural phenomenon, yet there are also ethnic biases at the root. The Government of China estimates that there are around 60 million poor. (These figures are very sensitive. Two years ago, the World Bank used a "dollar a day purchasing power parity approach." It estimated the number of poor in China to be over 200 million. The Chinese government is still talking about the Bank's conclusion with anger two years later).

In the face of such daunting poverty, the Government of China views microfinance as a potential tool for reducing the numbers of poor. They are reluctant for ideological reasons to institute, however, international best practices in microfinance. The international donor community and nascent NGO community in China are experimenting with microfinance, but are still very much in the action research mode, not reaching large scale. Some NGOs, particularly imitators of the Grameen Bank, are not always using best practices for assuring good repayment. The more formal financial institutions in China are not interested in microfinance, with one notable exception: the Rural Credit Cooperative (RCC). It is restructuring, but is currently housed inside the People's Bank of China, China's central bank. RCC has a visionary leader who wants to learn more about microfinance and develop a system to become sustainable and more poverty oriented.

CGAP is planning to work with them in August. RCC is CGAP's best potential counterpart institution for leveraging -- they have more than 50,000 branches and village posts. By August, they have guaranteed that they will get an interest rate waiver to do a small microfinance experiment with CGAP -- which could lead to a CGAP investment proposal by year's end.

Key messages that Mrs. Clinton could convey to advance the microfinance industry as a whole might include:

1. Subsidized interest rates do not allow financial institutions to cover all costs of reaching the rural productive poor with financial services. By subsidizing the interest rate, financial institutions are in the position of depending on the government and donors for funding, and they are unable to reach a large number of viable clients. Any subsidized approach used should have the seeds of long term financial sustainability built into it.
2. Microcredit should not be used as a panacea. Some of the poor who are destitute may not be ready to begin businesses and should have access to quality social services.
3. The development of rural infrastructure is vital to the growth of the businesses of the poor. Without adequate roads in rural areas, markets cannot prosper and the poor cannot have ready access to services such as microfinance.
4. Any microfinance effort in China should take into account the very specific challenges the country faces. The successes from abroad cannot be directly imported. This is an obvious point, but the Chinese are very sensitive to being told that they must learn about microfinance from experiences in Bangladesh, Bolivia and Indonesia. They believe that their cultural and political situation is very unique, and that in the end only they can decide what should be implemented and determine what is likely to be effective.

Please let me know if there is any other information I can help locate for you.

Warm Wishes.



Special Envoy of
His Holiness The Dalai Lama

June 9, 1998

Mrs. Hillary Clinton
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

I would like to express my appreciation to you for your continued interest in the issue of Tibet. I have been informed by several people that during Jiang Zemin's recent visit to Washington you raised the issue strongly and that your comments made an impression on the Chinese leadership.

It is my belief that the President's upcoming visit to China presents a unique opportunity to foster real progress on the issue of Tibet. Accordingly, His Holiness the Dalai Lama expressed public support for his visit when he was here last month, highlighting the fact that it is only through responsible engagement that the Chinese government can understand the depth of understanding and concern for Tibet held by the United States government and the American people.

I would greatly value the opportunity to meet with you privately prior to your trip so that I can share with you recent developments in Tibet. As we have discussed, it is my pleasure to keep you informed on the latest developments in Tibet. In addition, because of your expressed interest in Tibet the Chinese may reach out to you on the issue during your visit. I have asked my office to contact your staff to find a time when I might be able to brief you.

The commitment held by you and the President to universal human rights and the rule of law has been a source of great encouragement to the Tibetan people. I thank you for your personal interest in Tibet and hope to be able to meet with you in the next several weeks.

Sincerely,

Lodi Gyari
Special Envoy of
His Holiness the Dalai Lama

cc Melanne
ASAP

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TEL: 2026479519

P. 002

To: Theresa Loar
From: Susan O'Sullivan
Re: First Lady's Trip to Beijing

There are two well-regarded centers working on "women's issues" that I have heard of. One, the Women's Law Center, is in Beijing at Beijing University (Beida). It is supported by the Ford Foundation. According to Jonathan Hecht, it is pretty independent and is considered a "non-governmental" legal aid center. Hecht strongly recommended that the head of the center Beida graduate Guo Jianmei be included somehow in the First Lady's visit even if the Center is not one of the FL's stops. A second center is located approximately 200 km. east of Beijing near Tianjin. It is supported by the local women's federation. It was originally started in 1993 as a research project but, in 1995, became a legal aid center. As of 1997, it was providing legal advice to women, litigating cases, educating women on their legal rights. Typical cases involved domestic disputes, disputes over property, inheritance, and employment rights, violence against women. The All China Women's Federation also has a law section but I have no information about it.

Ford apparently funds some women's health projects and I was told that Joan Kaufman was the person to contact for more information. My notes are not clear about whether she is with Ford in New York or Beijing.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

REMARKS OF THE FIRST LADY
BRIEFING AND RECEPTION FOR FOUNDATION REPRESENTATIVES
ON PREPARING FOR THE
U.N. 4TH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN
MARCH 13, 1995

Q: Ladies and gentlemen, the First Lady of the United States, accompanied by Mrs. Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky.

MRS. CLINTON: Good afternoon. Thank you so much for joining us here this afternoon. We are delighted by the turnout. We had actually decided we were going to meet in a smaller room and then we had to move to a larger room because so many of you were able to come. And I am so glad that you are here because we want to talk to you about our plans for the United States' participation in the upcoming UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing and our hopes to include women across America in discussion of the issues. And also we want to make sure that the United States plays a leadership role, as it appropriately should, both in the preparation for this summit and for the summit itself.

We see the Women's Conference as really part of a continuum. It is linked to other conferences and certainly other activities both in the private sector, as well as the public, that have tried to move forward an agenda for women's advancement. It builds on conferences such as the UN Conference on Social Development where we were last week in Copenhagen. And I was pleased that the United States was able to announce a new USAID grant to promote girls education in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

And I want to thank Tim Wirth and the delegation that served in Copenhagen -- I see Madeline Kunin who was there as well -- because they really did represent our hopes that aid would not only be continued and that the United States would continue to do its part, but that the roles of NGO's would be enhanced and that the kind of work that many of you have done over the decades would be given more attention and support to ensure that development, and particularly development for women, was advanced.

I want to thank those of you in the Foundation community for your commitment to programs of importance to women. I have been a longtime member of organizations that received funds from

foundations. I've served on foundation boards and I know first hand the important role that many of you have played on your own and in partnership with governments around the world.

This is an important year for all women because of the International Women's conference, but especially important for American women. Seventy-five years ago we won the right to vote. Something that I hope will be adequately celebrated this year so women and girls today will better understand the achievement that others secured for them. Fifty years ago the Women's Bureau at the Department of Labor was established and we are looking forward to marking that celebration with programs this year that particularly highlight the needs of working women. And I hope that we will be able to continue to make sure that a lot of the gains that women have been able to mark in the United States will be preserved. With all of this in mind, both in terms of our world role and our domestic one, we want the Women's conference, from Sept. 4th to the 15th, to be a vehicle that really does help us to promote and advance a progressive agenda on behalf of women.

The issues to be addressed in Beijing are issues that women live with, talk about, worry over; and that they should be more active participants in helping their societies and their families address. I had the occasion just a few weeks ago to be visiting with some journalists and I was talking to them about my upcoming trip to India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, and they asked me what I was going to be doing. And I said I was particularly interested in visiting programs for women and particularly ones in which women themselves played leadership roles. And I went on to talk about some of the development programs I was going to be seeing, including some of the credit programs that many of you are familiar with and have helped to fund -- whether it's SEWA in India or the Grameen Bank and its offshoots in Bangladesh. And I went on to say that many people around the world have discovered that extending credit to very poor women is a very good investment. And you know once again their eyes rolled and they said, "There she goes again," and I said, "No it's true, the facts speak for themselves." Women invest in themselves and their families and in the future. And that is something that at least the group to which I was speaking had no knowledge. They had never been exposed to the development work that many of you have supported, that our government has helped to assist -- did not know even that this President has promoted the concept of community development banks here at home that we hope will have the same impact.

So there is a synergy here -- to use a much used term -- that I hope we can bring home some of the development work as a way of demonstrating to Americans and the broader American public what can be accomplished. Because we've made a lot of progress in seeing that different approaches toward assisting women, and particularly women in poverty, can work if they are given the kinds of resources they need.

Much of the debate about welfare reform in our country would be better informed if people knew more about what we were already doing in this country and what we were doing abroad. So I think that there is a great public education opportunity here that should be advanced.

Our overall priority at the Women's Conference and at the global preparatory meeting in New York which starts later this week, is to build on the commitments made at previous important UN conferences such as Nairobi and Rio and Cairo and now Copenhagen to guard against any backsliding, which is always a possibility, and to try to advance the agenda. On the most urgent goals for the United States we have to be sure that the conference reaffirms human rights for women. We will focus on two interrelated objectives -- preventing violence against women and legal literacy programs. We will also work toward a life cycle approach to health and education and focus on health concerns specific to women. This includes, of course, reproductive health, but we want the agenda to be broader than that. We want the agenda to start looking at the other health challenges women face, both as women and as mothers. Because we think that there are some very important health care issues that we need to address. Issues pertaining to cancer and its prevalence in certain populations and other illnesses predominately affecting women.

We also want to drive home the point that the most transforming investment we can make is in universal primary and secondary education, especially for girls. I remember in the work I did in education in Arkansas, and that I was privileged to work with many of you and the groups that you funded around the country, over and over again we came back down to noticing that one of the most important criterion to the academic achievements a child would make is the level of education the child's mother had received -- not the father -- but the mother. And I think that we have to continue to stress access to education opportunities.

As we talk to American women about this conference, we want to be listening as well. We had a remarkable report that was issued in 1994 called "Working Women Count." The Women's Bureau at the US Department of Labor, again with the help of some of you in this room, surveyed women and then analyzed over 250,000 responses from working women about the challenges and obstacles that they face in the workplace and in balancing families and work.

We learned a lot from that. We want to continue to listen as we try to understand how women can be helped to balance work and family and the opportunities they have available to them if they take advantage of those opportunities. We will, on behalf of the United States, promote women's equality with men in the governmental, political, and economic decision making structures of society. We will also highlight and try to involve as many

NGO's as possible. We believe strongly in participation by NGO's in all United Nation's activities. When I was in Copenhagen I stressed the role of NGO's, paid a visit to the Women's Caucus, and made clear that the United States would continue to press not only the United Nations but also any host country, such as China, about ensuring that the broad range of NGO's who wished to be able to attend, would be able to.

We will also make sure that young women are addressed. I walked into the Women's Caucus and there were a lot of familiar faces. (I kidded Bella Abzug who was chairing that I knew she was a rather remarkable person but I did not know that she had the power to have the Danes name a conference center -- the Bella Center -- before I actually got there.) The leadership of women who have been in the forefront of the struggle for women's rights and women's equality is something that is very important, but we need to bring in new women and younger women to serve as advocates. And we will be looking to make sure that we will be adequately addressing and understanding the special needs of women as they confront their own life circumstances.

Many of you in the foundation community have played critical roles in advancing a progressive women's agenda here in the United States and around the world for many many years. You're going to be looking, I know, how to translate rhetoric into action. And we want your help in creating an action plan that will take whatever the rhetorical goals are, whatever the concerns are of the people in this country and begin to put them into some kind of strategy for implementation.

We are putting together a strong leadership team to head our delegation to the Women's Conference. I am delighted to serve as the honorary chair. Ambassador Madeleine Albright will lead the delegation. Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky will be the deputy chair and the director of the delegation and I think we are very fortunate to have Marjorie doing that job. Veronica Biggins, who is here today, is a vice-chair and will be in a leadership position. Lynn Cutler and Arthenia Joyner and Dottie Lamm have been serving as permanent public members and have in that capacity traveled around the world to the regional preparatory meetings and we are grateful to them. They will be joined for this final preparatory meeting by Linda Tarr-Whelan and Maria Berriosabal.

We have selected some very good government representatives and are grateful that a number of experts from the private sector have agreed to join our New York delegation this week and next. And we are pleased to have many of them with us and I hope that when we break that you will have a chance to meet them.

Ambassador Albright could not be with us this afternoon but I am pleased to introduce to those of you who do not know her Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky, who has taken on the task of being the full time director of the delegation of this conference.

Marjorie, for those of you who may know her in her public capacity, was a very courageous and effective congresswomen, took a number of stands on behalf of economic opportunity and budgetary sensibility. She is also a person who in her own life has lived many of the roles that we're going to be exploring in the next month leading up to Beijing. She is the mother, not only of children from other countries she adopted as a single mother from other countries, but as the mother of her own children from her husband Ed Mezvinsky and as the mother with Ed of more adopted children. I kidded Marjorie and said she looked like she was the Beijing conference in her household. This is a woman, to give you some idea of her enormous courage, capacity, and just confidence, who in the midst of her campaign for Congress had her house burned down, so with a rather enormous and varied family moved into extremely tight quarters and continued to campaign and keep her family together.

We wanted to give everybody a chance to come and say hello to Marjorie and me and there are a number of women in the Administration here that I'd like to stand so that I can introduce them to the rest of you. I see Carol Bellamy who is in the back there. Many of you know Carol is the Director of the Peace Corps.

Melanne Verveer who is on the end there is my Deputy Chief of Staff and the woman who keeps track of a lot of these issues that I'm concerned about. I see Laura Tyson who is the very able former head of the Council of Economic Advisors and now the head of the National Economic Council. Carol Lancaster who is the Deputy Director of USAID and has done a terrific job in promoting a lot of these women's issues. Karen Nussbaum, who is the very able director of our Women's Bureau.

We've got many people from the Administration here doing the good work that needs to be done, and I want each one of you to meet each one of them. And if you have any questions, ask, and we'll start to work on them. call us, call Marjorie, she's there now. Call other people in the Administration, whatever, just so that we can be sure to know what your concerns are.

We cannot do this right if we don't have the kind of support from the foundation community that frankly was essential to our success in Cairo. We never could have done what we did in Cairo, we would not be prepared to maintain our achievements in Cairo, if it hadn't been for extensive in-depth work on behalf of foundations, working with NGO's, working with the delegation and other parts of the government. So, to help us make some good things happen for women here and women around the world, we really need your help. So thank you all for coming and please join us. (Applause)

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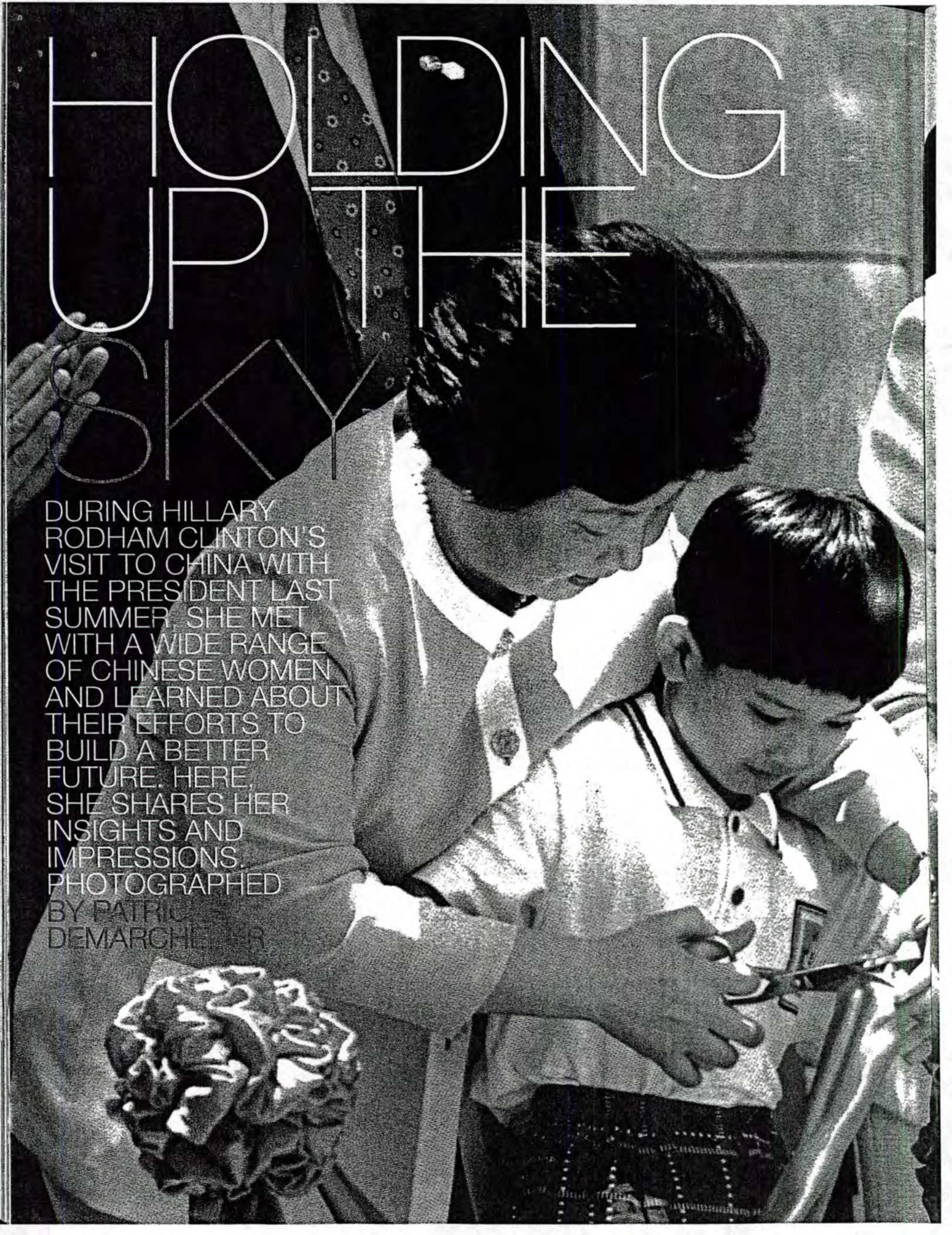
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AND LEARNED ABOUT
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FUTURE. HERE,
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INSIGHTS AND
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Scenes from the Clintons' history-making trip to China. Left: The First Lady is welcomed outside a girls' school in Shanghai. Below, clockwise from top left: Meeting her audience at the Shanghai Children's Medical Center; the First Family in Xian; the band at a Shanghai girls' school; Hillary Rodham Clinton with her daughter, Chelsea, and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright at the Beijing University Library; children greeting the First Lady at Beijing University; a young Chinese girl.

There's an expression in China that "women hold up half the sky." I thought of that powerful image often as I accompanied the president on his historic trip to China a few months ago and met with women who are struggling to improve their lives and expand their freedoms. Their achievements—some of which astonish even the women themselves—are helping to shape

that country's future as it undergoes a period of great change.

One of the women I met was Xie Lihua. She's in her 40s now, but as a teenager she was a passionate revolutionary and a member of her school's Red Guard committee. Today she's turned her energies to helping some of China's poorest women raise themselves and their families out of poverty. When banks refused to offer some of these women credit, Xie pooled money of her own—from an international prize she had received for her work with rural women—along with a donation from Bing Xin, one of China's most famous writers, and parceled out loans and advice about how to start up new businesses. To explain how microcredit is helping rural women gain greater economic independence, she says, "If I give you an apple, you will eat it once. If I give you a seed, you can grow your own tree."

Xie told me about how her microcredit program helped a disabled woman in a rural village open her own bean-curd shop. Her husband had always viewed her as a burden, but with the money she earned in her new business, she was able to help him with expenses for their small farm, gaining respect not only within her own family but also throughout the village. During our nine-day trip, I was to hear many such stories of the challenges facing women in China today—and of their efforts to overcome them.

The president went to China to strengthen the ties between China and the United States, and to address critical issues like human rights and the nonproliferation of missiles. To make significant progress on these and other complex problems, the president has said, "Our two nations will be far better off working together than apart." We also wanted to see for ourselves the dramatic changes sweeping this vast country, and to help the Chinese people learn more about who we are and about our hopes for an open and democratic future in China. Although I accompanied the president on many official and informal occasions, I also had my own schedule of events and meetings. And nowhere did I learn more about the challenges and the possibilities facing China today than in my conversations with Chinese women.



One of the most pleasurable parts of the trip for me was having the delightful company of both my mother and my daughter, Chelsea. There's a Chinese saying about the value of having "three generations under one roof," and being able to share some of these experiences with them made this an especially meaningful trip for me. During our lifetimes the three of us have witnessed such dramatic changes in our own country, notably in the area of expanded women's rights. So I treasured hearing their impressions of China as it begins to

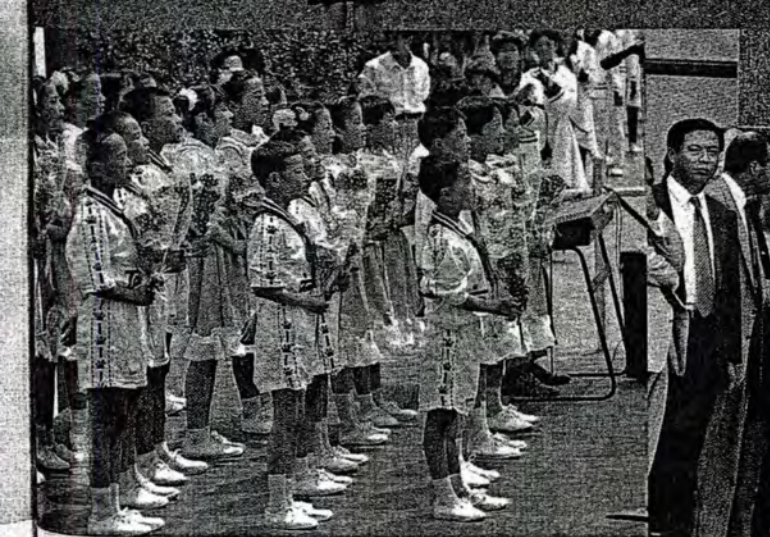
open up new opportunities for its citizens—including women.

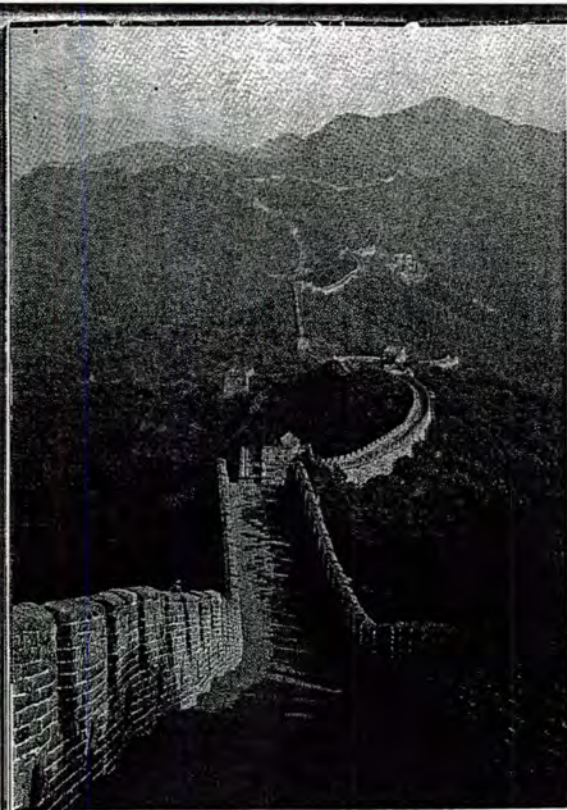
I had first visited China three years ago, as honorary chair of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, in Beijing. I remember how moved I was to look at that extraordinary gathering of women of different races, cultures and beliefs who had come together from every corner of the globe to discuss common concerns and to build a common future. In my address in Beijing, I said, "If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, it is that human rights are women's rights—and women's rights are human rights." The Platform for Action adopted by the conference emphasized that the progress of a country depends on women having equal access to life's basic tools of opportunity, like health care, education, credit and jobs.

Everywhere I went in China, I heard echoes of that UN conference as I met women from all walks of life determined to improve their own lives and the lives of their families—often against formidable odds. I met Xie Lihua at a forum of Chinese women leaders in Beijing, hosted by the All China Women's Federation, what we would call the government's women's bureau. It was an experience I will never forget. We were told that this kind of open dialogue had never occurred before, and we were concerned that the women who did come might feel intimidated and wouldn't speak out. How wrong we were. I don't think I have ever met advocates more excited about the progress that women are making or more vocal about the hard work that remains to be done to ensure women's basic human rights.

From these courageous women, I learned about the high rate of illiteracy among women in China, particularly those living in rural areas. Many can't even write their names. Xie and others now publish a magazine called *Rural Women Knowing All*, which is designed specifically to reach those who can't read. It uses colorful pictures to inform women about jobs, health-care services and basic legal rights. A university professor told me about programs she's involved in to keep girls in school, and to convince those who have dropped out to return to class.

I also learned at that forum—much to my surprise—that *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, one of the most popular self-help health books ever written in America, had just been translated and published in China. That such basic information about women's health has been so scarce until now underscored for me how far China still needs to go in educating its citizens. But that such a book is now available is also a sign of progress.





WE WERE TOLD THAT THIS KIND OF DIALOGUE HAD NEVER OCCURRED BEFORE, AND WE WERE CONCERNED THAT WOMEN WHO DID COME MIGHT FEEL INTIMIDATED AND WOULDN'T SPEAK OUT. HOW WRONG WE WERE.

No matter where I went, women spoke to me about the need to provide women and girls with greater educational opportunities. China is a country that has traditionally placed a premium on education, and it has set a goal to eliminate adult illiteracy by the year 2000. Yet even as educational reforms are under way to help students succeed in these more competitive times, girls are dropping out of school at a disturbing rate. Many parents, feeling the pressure of tough economic circumstances, are taking their children—especially their daughters—out of school to work in factories or on farms.

But the high dropout rate—and the shocking incidence of suicide among women—reflects another, more troubling reality in China: that girls and women traditionally have been less valued. As a result of a strict and intrusive family-planning policy, the goal of which has been to limit families to one child, there's a significant incidence of abandonment of girls and sex-selective abortions, and a resurgence of the practice of female infanticide. These brutal practices continue even though official government policy prohibits them. There is also an alarming rise in the number of girls and women being forcibly sold into marriage, explained at least in part by the skewed birth ratios that result in far fewer women than men living in some rural areas. China's own official news agency reported that between 1991 and 1996, police rescued 88,000 women and children from traffickers. The situation has spurred the government's All China Women's Federation to launch a campaign entitled "Girls Are Just As Valuable As Boys."

So I was especially pleased to visit an all-girls' school in Shanghai that has a rigorous academic curriculum and a highly competitive sports program, clearly challenging future female leaders to excel. These smart young women asked me all kinds of questions, from whether I had mastered the skill of eating with chopsticks (sort of) to what kind of music I like (provoking a symphonic response!). One student told me her mother had just finished reading my book *It Takes a Village*, and wanted to know what I thought were the most important lessons a mother could

teach her daughter. Once again, I was reminded that no matter what country we live in or what language we speak, we share a fierce determination to create a better world for our children.

These young women are growing up in a country undergoing a profound transition as it moves from a centrally controlled economy toward a free-market economy and as its citizens gain a level of freedom in their personal lives unimaginable even a few years ago. Today those citizens enjoy greater flexibility to travel within and outside of China, to buy their own homes, to choose a job or to attend a better school.

The president and I saw some of these changes firsthand on the initial stop of our trip. We were welcomed to Xian, China's ancient capital, in a beautiful ceremony at a fort on the outskirts of the old city. The next day we explored an excavation site where more than 2000 years ago, thousands of life-size terracotta warriors had been buried with the first emperor to rule a



From far left: The Great Wall of China; Hillary and Bill Clinton at one of many receptions during their visit; on the Li River; President Clinton giving a press conference in Hong Kong.

unified China. But we saw another kind of history being made when we visited the village of Xiahe just a few miles away. It's one of the half-million villages around China that now elects its own committee leaders. And many of those selected at this subgovernment level are nonparty candidates. This is the first tentative step—but a critical one—toward building a more democratic society from the bottom up.

However, the oppression of political freedoms and human rights persists. Our trip was marred by the arrest of Chinese citizens who used our arrival to test the political system by attempting to register a political party. Chinese dissidents have also been arrested and jailed since our return, and the issue of serious and widespread human-rights violations—including those in Tibet—continues to be a major impediment to the relationship between our two countries reaching its full potential.

Since 1978, China has experienced perhaps the fastest rate of economic growth in history. Millions of Chinese citizens have risen out of poverty, an extraordinary accomplishment. Yet others—particularly uneducated women—have been left behind. One reason for this disparity is that while the Chinese economy has been growing, the government's closing of inefficient and money-losing state enterprises has dramatically pushed up the unemployment rate. And all too often, women are bearing the brunt. They are more likely to lose their jobs and their benefits, to be forced



into early retirement or to be the victims of job discrimination, and less likely to benefit from retraining programs.

In a small building on a side street in Shanghai, I climbed up four flights of stairs to visit a women's job-retraining center, established to address some of these growing problems. There I watched women learning new trades, such as tailoring and flower arranging. This is also the site of a women's hotline, where volunteers field questions ranging from how to find a job to what to do to control unruly children to how to get out of an abusive marriage. I was impressed with the way these women were reaching out to one another. Their questions mirrored the concerns of women the world over.

One of the biggest surprises of the trip was discovering the extent to which women's rights have been written into Chinese law. In 1992, for example, the National People's Congress passed a law on the "Protection of Rights and Interests of Women," which prohibits discrimination against women in such areas as employment, property and education. Included in those rights is self-determination in marriage, equal pay for equal work and the equal allotment of housing and welfare benefits. I learned about some of these legal protections—as well as the difficulty of enforcing them—at the Center for Women's Law Studies and Legal Services, at Beijing University, which I visited with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. The center, supported by the Ford Foundation, is located in a simple build-

center," she said simply, "and I got justice." But she and her daughter are still living with her ex-husband because their apartment was assigned to him by his work unit, and she is unable to find housing of her own. I applauded with everyone else when she said she was raising her daughter to be a lawyer.

Another client spoke about how she and other women she worked with in a factory had been denied their pay. The center had launched a class-action suit against the factory's manager for back wages. They won the suit, but the manager still refuses to pay.

These stories and many others underscored for me that though laws protecting women's rights in China, as in many other countries, are often quite comprehensive on paper, they are frequently not enforced. And that without the rule of law, which includes open access to the legal system and judicial orders that individuals can enforce, laws can be a cruel hoax. But based on the kinds of legal reforms that are being carried out, and the legal precedents being set, I am hopeful that greater progress can be made toward implementation of these laws.

Women's rights were the main topic of an address I made in Shanghai. I spoke about how impressed I was with the progress that women were making in China today, in areas such as the rule of law, microcredit loans and literacy, with progress in the rural areas being most impressive. But I also spoke about the very tough work that remains ahead to ensure that women in

China are not left behind in the 21st century. "Women can't hold up half the sky," I said, "if they make up the vast majority of those who can't read or write; if they are still pulled out of school early; if they are denied the jobs, loans and credit they need to lift themselves and their families up from poverty; if they are denied the freedom to plan their own families." I emphasized how "no country can reach its full potential until all of its citizens—men and women, boys and girls—have the freedom and the resources to reach theirs."

One of the missions of the president's trip to China was to strengthen the ties between the people of the United States and the people of China. So I was pleased to attend the signing of an important joint medical collaboration between the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), in the United States, and the Beijing Medical University. For years our two countries have worked together to reduce the occurrence of neural tube birth defects—including spina bifida—in Chinese babies. Unfortunately, such defects occur more frequently in China than in any other country in the world. Yet we know that women who take folic acid before they become pregnant may reduce their chance of having a baby with those defects by at least 50 percent.

That day in Beijing, I met a woman who had lost her first child to the deadly ravages of spina bifida. In her arms she was holding her healthy, squirming daughter—thanks to the current program between CDC and Beijing Medical University aimed at giving thousands of women like her a regular dose of folic acid. The new agreement being signed will expand this already successful collaboration to prevent birth defects, disabilities and health defects resulting from environmental factors, including exposure to lead, radiation and water pollution.

Our countries are working together in other areas ► 301

"WOMEN CAN'T HOLD UP HALF THE SKY," I SAID, "IF THEY CAN'T READ OR WRITE; IF THEY ARE DENIED THE JOBS THEY NEED TO LIFT THEMSELVES UP FROM POVERTY; IF THEY ARE DENIED THE FREEDOM TO PLAN THEIR OWN FAMILIES."



ing on the outskirts of the university. The work of the center takes place in just a few cramped rooms, but the impact it's having on the lives of Chinese women reaches far beyond its walls. It takes on a wide range of cases, from family planning to job discrimination to rape, and has won more than half of them. But there are major hurdles to overcome. There's still rampant discrimination against women in China, and the justice system remains deeply flawed.

One woman told us about her efforts to get out of an abusive marriage. She was frail and soft-spoken, but her voice didn't waver as she spoke about how the center had helped her to obtain a divorce and an award for child support. "I came to the

a pitch she once reserved for "Little Red Corvette": "Three blind mice, three blind mice / See how they run, see how they run / They all ran after the farmer's wife...." "She's like me," says Bernhard. "She loves noise and excitement. When things get too quiet, she gets a little restless." ■

DIARY OF A COUTURE VIRGIN (continued from page 247)

dauphin at the end of the runway with Catherine Deneuve. Who better than today's enfant terrible of fashion to take over YSL's domain? Once Saint Laurent was the renegade; today he is the revered classicist. Gaultier leads the prolonged standing ovation at the end of the show.

At Balmain one editor notices that de la Renta's ladies are a sea of beige, ivory and light green. Not one speck of black. Though fashion editors may defend the merits of black to no end, these women actually look chic, in a '60s Babe Paley, Gloria Guinness sort of way. The clothes reflect the clean, "I'm wealthy, but I don't have to flaunt it" style that your average gilt-to-the-eyeballs moneyed woman just doesn't understand. But Oscar, would Babe Paley ever wear velvet knickers with mink trim?

Couture is a cabaret at Thierry Mulger, in the pool room of the Ritz. Cyd Charisse glides out in a full-length gown, which she rips open to expose one emerald-studded, shapely leg; Jerry Hall and her daughter Elizabeth Scarlett slither out in matching black horsehair ensembles; one model strolls out in a gorilla suit, which she strips off to reveal a sexy negligee. *Très bizarre*. These aren't the kinds of clothes you would wear to dinner, but as Ungaro puts it, "Couture is a dream, and what woman doesn't want to dream?" Each to her own fantasy. ■

HOLDING UP THE SKY (continued from page 263)

too. In Shanghai, I was pleased to announce five new exchange programs that will bring Chinese women to the United States next year to share ideas and experiences with their American counterparts. The programs will be sponsored by the United States Information Agency, and will embrace Chinese and American leaders at all levels, including lawyers, educators, environmentalists, business representatives, local government officials and youth leaders.

Secretary of State Albright joined me for a final roundtable discussion with women in Hong Kong on the last day of our trip. This was a high-powered group of women lawyers, doctors and political leaders who hold positions of authority still unknown in the rest of China. I felt the forum was, in a sense, a snapshot of what China would look like if it continues to open up—both economically and politically—in the years ahead. Anson Chan, Hong Kong's second-highest-ranking official, spoke about what it was like to be a woman in a position of such authority in Chinese society. Other women leaders discussed the challenges of providing housing for a growing population, and the steps that are being taken to secure fundamental human freedoms. I had to laugh when the conversation turned to a familiar topic: the need for women to find time to exercise as they struggle to balance the demands of work and family.

That night as the president and I joined Chelsea and my mother on the plane for the long 17-hour trip home, we shared a few stories before we drifted off to sleep: the stark beauty of Guilin, where rugged mountains dip dramatically into China's Li River; the sights and smells of Beijing's market, where we bought porcelain jars and Chinese scrolls; the wilting heat—but

also the awe—as we walked the Great Wall and saw it curve its way over the crests of China's hills as far as the eye could see.

We also talked about the many images of China as it begins, however cautiously, to push open the doors of opportunity for its people. The president and I had attended a church service Sunday morning in Beijing—filled to bursting with worshippers. Yet the government still supervises religious worship and requires each church to register. Some churches refuse to do so out of fear of government control. And while some are left alone, others have been closed down, their religious leaders arrested. But I was heartened by my visit with Secretary of State Albright to an old synagogue in Shanghai, now renovated as a museum. Judaism is not among the five religions recognized by the state, and there's no agreement by the authorities in Shanghai to let this beautiful old building be used again as a place of worship. But as I watched Rabbi Arthur Schneier from New York place a Torah in the synagogue's tabernacle for the first time in decades, I felt I was witnessing at least a symbolic step forward, not only for the small Jewish community that remains in that city but, hopefully, for other religious communities as well.

Perhaps the most dramatic example of China loosening up its restrictions on freedom of expression was the frank and open exchange that took place between the president and the students at Beijing University. The president spoke to them about how the right "to be treated with dignity; the right to express one's opinions, to choose one's own leaders, to associate freely with others and to worship or not, freely, however one chooses [are the] birthrights of people everywhere." That speech, and the subsequent freewheeling question-and-answer period, were broadcast live on Chinese television, an unprecedented event. And once again, I felt I was witnessing an historic moment, as China presses forward—however tentatively—toward a more open society.

As *Air Force One* returned to Andrews Air Force Base in the early morning of America's Independence Day, I thought about the courageous women I'd met in China and in countries around the world who are struggling, often against great odds, to expand the circle of human rights and to ensure that every citizen—women and men, girls and boys—can live in dignity and hope. Like citizens everywhere, the women of China seek to participate fully in the political, social and economic life of their country—and to say honestly that, yes, they do "hold up half the sky." They face formidable challenges ahead. But it is profoundly in our interest, and in the interest of all nations, to help them succeed. ■

HOTEL WARS (continued from page 274)

on his belief in a design-aware audience that is primed to move on from the high-energy buzz of the first boutique ventures to a less frenetic environment. "I'm concerned that boutique hotels have become synonymous with bad service," he says. "The doormen are young, handsome, dressed in black and off doing auditions instead of carrying your bags. When the boutique was new in New York, you could get away with it, but I don't think you can anymore. People are bored of that. I'm tempted to get a couple of middle-aged men on the door."

Another shift in focus of the new hotels is their emphasis on health, which means more than installing a sauna or an embryonic gym in the basement. McNally has wooed Manhattan's ultrachic pamper zone, Bliss spa, to his Miami ► 302

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* — indicates individuals whom are highly recommended for possible availability
 on either women's issues or domestic violence

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FACSIMILE TRANSMISSIONTotal number of pages inc. this cover sheet:

TO: Susan O'Sullivan, US Dept. of State

FAX: +1 202-647-1677

FR: Phyllis L. Chang *Ph*

TEL:

DATE: May 23, 1998

RE: Women's Issues Roundtable

Susan,

Glad we had a chance to catch up, even if only briefly. I am leaving tomorrow morning for a project visit and must attend part of the trial procedure seminar today, so I won't be able to get you as much information as I had hoped. But here are some suggestions for women activists—and great people—whom would be excellent for a roundtable. If a roundtable is to be held, which I think would be very interesting, my one very strong plea is **to include Chinese who do not speak English** (this problem can be reasonably overcome with the topnotch interpreters that the Presidential delegation will certainly have). At similar events in the past, only Chinese who speak good English have been chosen. As you can imagine, this distorts the pool of candidates and you really miss some of the best people.

I have sent by express mail a small package with a couple of misc. English articles on women's issues in China, as well as Chinese materials from some of the organizations we talked about.

Hope these are of some help or inspiration!

Best,

Phyllis

Phyllis

June 10, 1998

Melanne,

Three issues:

1) I'm not crazy about the President writing to Jiang Zemin seeking his support for the National Gallery exhibition. Presidential letters to the Chinese threaten already to be degraded in value by the frequency with which we have sent them. I'm afraid a letter on this subject would further the debasement.

We're very supportive of the National Gallery exhibition and want to help them. I've sent a suggestion down to the NSC speechwriters to include a reference to it in one of the President's public remarks during his China trip. I also think it would be appropriate for the President to write to Rusty Powell praising the exhibition. Maybe we could get the President to mention it to Jiang Zemin (e.g., at their private dinner). This combination should be more than enough I would think.

2) On the proposal the First Lady preside over the award ceremony at Tongji University as proposed by United Technologies, I'm slightly negative for two reasons. A) We've generally been avoiding company-specific events on the trip. B) United Technologies has an important and controversial piece of business before the USG, namely whether the President should waive the sanction on sale of engines and spare parts for Blackhawk helicopters sold to the PLA in the 1980's but prohibited since Tiananmen. I think it is not in our interest or UT's to have or be seen as having too close a relationship on China as we move to consider that decision. I don't see any ethical problem, just a public relations consideration. This one is not open-and-shut, however, since we certainly do support educational exchange programs.

3) I was told last night by another NSC office that some musical group performing next week at a concert sponsored by the International Campaign for Tibet and something called the Milarepa Fund supposedly had arranged for the musicians to see the President "through a contact in the First Lady's office." Don't know if it's true or what the circumstances would be, but I'm not sure this is something the President should do. We've been working very hard through diplomatic channels on Tibet issues, and as part of our strategy have not sought events with

DRAFT

My dear Mr. President,

Anticipating our very busy agenda during the next few days, I am delivering to you by hand a letter from Dr. Earl A. Powell III, the director of the National Gallery of Art, Washington. The letter details plans for a major exhibition of *The Golden Age of Archaeology: Celebrated Archaeological Finds from the People's Republic of China*, scheduled to mark the commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries, the People's Republic of China and the United States of America.

Recently, I had the pleasure of discussing the plans for the exhibition with Dr. Powell and am personally convinced that this exhibition will be of major cultural importance and will be significant in furthering understanding among the people of our two countries.

Given the magnitude of the project, I hope that you will be able to give to it your personal support in order to ensure that it is as successful as the organizers hope it will be. I am most grateful to you for your consideration of my personal request in this matter and hope to have time to discuss the exhibition with you further during our time together. With all best wishes,

Sincerely,

William Jefferson Clinton

President Jiang Zemin
President
People's Republic of China

DRAFT

My dear Mr. President,

In anticipation of your meeting in Beijing with President Clinton, I am taking the liberty of writing to you regarding the planned exhibition at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, *The Golden Age of Archaeology: Celebrated Archaeological Finds from the People's Republic of China*, an exhibition which I believe will be of great importance to both of our countries, and about which I have already spoken at length to President Clinton.

The Golden Age of Archaeology: Celebrated Archaeological Finds from the People's Republic of China will be the greatest survey of Chinese art and archaeology ever to be lent by the People's Republic of China and is being organized by the National Gallery of Art, Washington, and the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, in cooperation with the State Administrative Bureau for Museums and Archaeological Data of China. In presenting new perspectives on early Chinese civilization and art, documenting the most recent excavations and ideas in the field of Chinese archaeology, the exhibition will show that various ancient Chinese cultures flourished concurrently throughout the country and the origin of Chinese civilization and art was not solely from the valley of the Yellow River, as previously thought, but developed from the interaction and achievements of various remarkable cultures throughout China

As you know, in 1974, the National Gallery of Art, considered to be the nation's preeminent art museum, first introduced the American public to the splendors of ancient Chinese art in *The Exhibition of Archaeological Finds of the People's Republic of China*. While there have been several scholarly exhibitions focused on Chinese art and archaeology since that landmark exhibition, it is expected that *The Golden Age of Archaeology: Celebrated*

Archaeological Finds from the People's Republic of China will surpass all of them in historical breadth and will make a significant contribution to the western world's knowledge of ancient Chinese cultures.

This most important exhibition illustrating the achievements of Chinese culture through masterpieces dating from 6000 B.C. to A.D. 220 (from the Neolithic through the Han periods) will, in addition, mark the commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America. By bridging cultural and historical understanding, the exhibition will create a venue for an even greater appreciation of your ancient civilization while also providing a unique opportunity for insights into the 21st century and the next millennium.

The Golden Age of Archaeology: Celebrated Archaeological Finds from the People's Republic of China will open at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, on September 19, 1999, and will be on view through January 2, 2000. It will then travel to three other prominent institutions in the United States, representing major regions of our country--the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, from February 13 through May 7, 2000; the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco from June 21 through May 7, 2000, and the Detroit Institute of Arts from October 15, 2000, through January 7, 2001.

We are most fortunate to have as our project director, Dr. Xiaoneng Yang, curator of Chinese art at the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and formerly Vice-Director of the Exhibition and Conservation Department, Archaeological Overseas Exhibition Corporation, Ministry of Culture, the People's Republic of China. Dr. Yang has been working very closely with his colleagues at the Chinese State Administrative Bureau to select those objects which will be most representative of Chinese culture of this period. As there is, and will certainly continue to be, a great deal of interest on the part of American and international museums in exhibitions of

works from China, and understandably some competition for many of the same works, it is our hope that this particular exhibition, *The Golden Age of Archaeology: Celebrated Archaeological Finds from the People's Republic of China*, will include the most important works of art as it will set the standard for exhibitions yet to come in the new millennium.

In this regard, we would be most grateful if you could give to this particular exhibition your personal support and encourage our colleagues at the Chinese museums, from whose collections the works have been carefully selected, to agree to lend all of the works requested from them for the exhibition. Our curators are particularly hopeful that the stunning set of bronze bells from the Zenghouyi Tomb in Hubei Province and the silk paintings from the tombs at Mawangdui and Changsha will be approved for this exhibition. We remain confident that with your assistance the final checklist as submitted will be approved, in the very near future, and the success of this extraordinary collaboration between our two countries will be guaranteed.

I am most grateful to you for your consideration of my personal request in this matter and would be happy to answer any questions that you might have about our plans for the exhibition.

With all best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

Earl A. Powell III

President Jiang Zemin

President

People's Republic of China