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file Beijing

November 14, 1995

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

Although it has been over a month since we returned from the once-in-a-lifetime trip to Beijing for the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, the memories remain in my daily thoughts.

On behalf of Hadassah's delegation, and our 385,000 members in the United States, I want to convey my deepest respects for the important role you played in the Conference. Not only did you bring a kind of exposure to this event that prior women's conferences did not receive, but your stirring words provided inspiration to millions of women around the world.

Hadassah looks forward to assisting the United States government in honoring the important commitments made at the Conference, to properly ensure that "Women's rights are human rights and human rights are women's rights."

With admiration,

Marlene Edith Post
National President

MEP/gm

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China

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First Lady Steps Back in Time in Land of Genghis Khan

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By TERENCE HUNT= AP White House Correspondent=

ULAN BATOR, Mongolia (AP) In the land once ruled by Genghis Khan, Hillary Rodham Clinton stepped back in time Thursday, gamely sipping fermented mare's milk in a nomad's tent on a remote hillside and nibbling boiled cheese curds.

"It tastes like what we call yogurt," Mrs. Clinton said with a diplomatic smile. Most Westerners hate the taste of the traditional mare's drink, sometimes comparing it to a mix of warm beer and buttermilk.

It was a foreign-policy mission that brought the first lady to the rolling, green fields roamed by nomads for hundreds if not thousands of years in search of water and pastures for their livestock.

Mrs. Clinton's assignment was to show U.S. support for the first communist country in Asia to break toward freedom. Wedged between Russia and China, Mongolia has embarked on a bold but painful path of economic reform and democracy.

Stripped of economic help from Moscow, Mongolia's economy went into a free fall. Inflation reached 400 percent a year, but now is on the downturn.

The first lady praised the country's courage in a speech at the National University of Mongolia.

"There are those who claim that freedom and democracy are Western concepts and that Asians prefer authoritarian rule," Mrs. Clinton told 200 students and faculty. "I say: Let them come to Mongolia."

Calling Mongolia an inspiration to the world, she said, "I am here to tell you, on behalf of the president of the United States and the American people, that the United States will stand by you as you continue your democratic journey."

Wearing a shawl and suede cowboy boots, Mrs. Clinton went to the nomadic countryside on the first stop of her overnight visit here. She arrived in Mongolia from China where she spoke out on human rights at an international women's conference. On Friday, she will return to Washington after visiting a center for homeless children.

The first lady sat in a domed, canvas tent, known as a "ger," with three generations of a nomadic family, including eight pink-cheeked children.

An autographed picture of the Dalai Lama, Tibet's spiritual leader, hung on the north side of the ger, the traditional place of honor. In the center of the small room was the fireplace, the central feature of the ger and an object of respect.

"Have you had a good summer here?" the first lady asked the family. Told through a translator that the summer went well, she said, "So, the cattle are fat." Following a time-honored ritual, she was passed a snuff bottle and raised it to her nose before passing it back.

Members of Mrs. Clinton's entourage got two pages of tips about proper etiquette in a ger. If you have to go to the bathroom, for example, you tell the host you're going to take a look at the horses.

Usually, the only sign of life at the settlement are the horses, yaks, goats and other livestock. The tranquil scene was transformed by an invasion of 20 cars and trucks and a horde of cameramen and reporters accompanying Mrs. Clinton.

Few tourists ever visit this vast, sparsely populated nation of desert wastelands and pastures. The warrior Genghis Khan ruled here nearly 800 years ago. He and his immediate successors conquered nearly all of Asia and European Russia.

Lashed by fierce Siberian winds, Ulan Bator prides itself as the coldest capital city in the world, with temperatures plummeting to 40 degrees below zero in the winter.

White House officials said the first lady was the highest ranking American to visit Mongolia since Vice President Henry Wallace in 1944. Then Secretary of State James A. Baker III visited twice during the Bush administration, but

1 Whitewater Indictment of Tucker Dismissed

Federal Judge Rules Independent Counsel Starr Exceeded His Authority in Tax Case

By Susan Schmidt
Washington Post Staff Writer

A federal judge yesterday dismissed one of two indictments against Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker on grounds that the prosecutor, Whitewater independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr, exceeded his authority in bringing the case.

U.S. District Judge Henry Woods threw out a June tax fraud and conspiracy indictment of Tucker and two other men involved with him in a cable television venture, saying the case "bears no relation whatsoever" to the questions Starr was charged with investigating. A second bank fraud indictment of Tucker, handed up last month, still stands.

Tucker has not sought dismissal of that indictment, which relates more directly to the Whitewater investigation. That case is being handled by a different judge.

The 21-page ruling, issued after 1½ hours of oral arguments, touches on the controversial question of how broad a special prosecutor's authority should be in pursuing evidence not directly connected to the central theme of an investigation.

Objections to broad inquiries have been raised in other independent counsel investigations, including the probe of former agriculture secretary Mike Espy.

Woods agreed with Tucker's lawyers that the allegations had nothing to do with the independent counsel's mandate to investigate the interrelationships between two defunct Arkansas lending institutions and the two couples who owned the Whitewater Development Corp.—Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton and James B. and Susan McDougal.

It was not enough, the judge said, that Starr "fortuitously stumbled across the defendants' alleged violation of law." The authority to bring charges against Tucker rested with the Justice Department, he said.

The issues raised in the tax fraud indictment "were not related in any way to the investigation

of Whitewater," said Tucker's lawyer, William H. Sutton. "We felt the independent counsel legislation was very special, applicable to a defined set of people, primarily high officials in the federal government."

Starr said his office will seek an expedited appeal of Woods's ruling before the 8th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals and then the Supreme Court, if necessary.

Appearing before Woods in Little Rock yesterday morning, Starr argued that his evidence against Tucker was sufficiently related to the main areas of his investigation to justify his bringing an indictment.

Even if Woods did not agree, Starr said, the judge did not have the authority to limit the powers of an independent counsel's activity.

The scope of such a probe has never been successfully challenged "since Watergate, since the scandals that gave rise to the Ethics in Government Act" under which he was appointed, he said. Attorney General Janet Reno filed a court brief in support of Starr's position.

But Woods disagreed. "I cannot accept the proposition that a citizen can be put on trial in my court for a loss of his liberty, and that no court has the power to determine whether there is jurisdiction to proceed in the matter," he wrote. "Surely the independent counsel and attorney general do not suggest that there can be no judicial review of prosecutorial jurisdiction of an independent counsel. . . . Such a precedent would be both novel and dangerous."

Starr had argued that one of the elements of the June indictment stemmed from a business deal between Tucker and David Hale, owner of Capital Management Services, which Starr is investigating along with McDougal's savings and loan association, Madison Guaranty.

Starr said the second Tucker indictment shows that the crimes alleged in the June indictment were directly tied to Capital Management and to Madison.

Tucker was accused in the dismissed indictment of falsifying a loan application to Capital

Management, a company funded by the federal Small Business Administration to make loans to disadvantaged businesses.

He allegedly used the money he borrowed from Capital Management to help purchase a cable television company, then sold the company and allegedly conspired to avoid paying several million dollars in federal taxes.

Tucker has not sought a dismissal of the second 21-count indictment, in which James and Susan McDougal are also named as defendants. The three are accused of engineering financing for millions of dollars in allegedly phony real estate transactions through Madison and Capital Management.

Tucker, a Democrat, has complained that he is being made a scapegoat in a politically motivated investigation, and he has made much of Starr's Republican background.

Even if Woods's ruling is overturned, it will delay by many months Tucker's trial on the first set of charges, pushing it well into next year. If Tucker prevails on appeal, Starr would turn the case over to the attorney general for prosecution.

Woods, appointed to the federal bench by President Jimmy Carter, has had a long-standing professional relationship with Hillary Clinton, who practiced law in Arkansas until her husband was elected president.

Woods wrote to late deputy White House counsel Vincent W. Foster Jr. in June 1993 to ask whether he should grant an interview to a reporter from Mother Jones magazine who was preparing an article on Hillary Clinton.

In a written inquiry to Woods, the reporter said she wanted to interview him because he had appointed Hillary Clinton to a trial advocacy panel early in her career and later to the committee on the Little Rock school desegregation case.

"Would you take this up with Hillary or her press secretary and give me instructions as to whether this interview should be granted?" Woods asked Foster.

Woods's letter to Foster was turned over to congressional investigators by the White House.

THE WASHINGTON POST
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1995

Head start
skill grants
→ column

First lady rips Chinese policies on rights

But blunt speech fails to name target

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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BEIJING. — Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday scorched China — but not by name — and other nations for abusing women and children.

"Our goals ... cannot be fully achieved unless all governments — here and around the world — accept their responsibility to protect and promote internationally

recognized human rights," Mrs. Clinton said, in a clear but indirect reference to the country hosting the delegates at the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women.

With a pointed reference to China's one-child-per-family policy — enforced through forced abortions, sterilizations and the reported killing of female babies — Mrs. Clinton told the conference:

"It is 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.

"It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights."

In another remark directed at the Chinese, the first lady called "indefensible" the tight security

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that has prevented nongovernmental representatives and organizations at a conference in nearby Huairou from meeting freely and holding political demonstrations and religious activities.

"Let me be clear: Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize and debate openly," she told the delegates. "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, or denying them their freedom and dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions."

The Chinese government issued no response to Mrs. Clinton's address. Her visit has received little mention in the government-controlled media, even though Chinese officials had lobbied hard for her to come here.

Mrs. Clinton lashed out at a number of other human rights abuses involving women. They include:

- The sale of women and girls into the slavery of prostitution in many countries.

- The rape of women "as a tactic or prize of war," a reference to the fighting in the former Yugoslavia.

- The brutalization of young girls by genital mutilation, a practice that takes place in many parts of Asia and Africa.

Mrs. Clinton's blunt remarks both surprised and pleased conference delegates.

U.S. Rep. Constance A. Morella, Maryland Republican, called the speech "superlative."

"I think there was total agreement," Mrs. Morella said.

Although Mrs. Clinton didn't mention China by name, "it's pretty obvious," Mrs. Morella said.

Madeleine K. Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and U.S. delegation chairman, called the first lady's speech a "clarion call to the people of the world" and said she does not believe that Mrs. Clinton's strong remarks will worsen delicate Sino-American relations.

"The United States, as the beacon of freedom and democracy, has a policy of pursuing human rights," Mrs. Albright said. "Our policy is to engage with China across the board and have an open dialogue."

U.S. Rep. Christopher H. Smith of New Jersey, Republican chairman of the House International Relations subcommittee on human rights, brought a congressional delegation to Beijing Sunday and called on the first lady to denounce China's coercive family-planning policies and religious repression.

He said Mrs. Clinton did not go far enough yesterday.

"She raised some of the egregious abuses women suffer throughout the world, but she still left it to the ears and the mind of the hearer to decipher who she was talking about," he said.

"Hundreds of millions of Chinese women suffer brutality, forced abortion, incarceration for their religious beliefs, forced incarceration on a horrendous scale, and yet a human rights conference dedicated to candor has yet to mention them by name by anyone except men, and that's unfortunate

because it is a missed opportunity," Mr. Smith said.

Mrs. Clinton, in her 30-minute address, also spoke of women's needs for more affordable health care, better education for themselves and their children, more anti-poverty initiatives, and equality with men in obtaining economic advancement and decision-making roles in business and government.

Those messages were also well received by many delegates.

"I thought it was objective, elegant and well-crafted," said U.S. Rep. Jane Harman, California Democrat. "It delivered the right message, and the audience appreciated it."

"Many of the other problems are taken care of when women are empowered through education and the ability to earn a living," said U.S. Rep. Carolyn B. Maloney, New York Democrat. "It was a very strong, focused speech."

Conference honors Abzug as global feminism leader

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BEIJING. — Feminist leader Bella Abzug basked in the limelight yesterday as she was honored for her role in leading the global women's movement in its efforts to achieve full equality with men.

"Our goal is to ... make women be the future in their leadership," Mrs. Abzug said in a lecture at the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women, where she outlined her recipe for "power feminism."

Speaking immediately before first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Mrs. Abzug said the U.N. Development Program, which funds her Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO), "has helped liberate women from the tyranny and complete economic and political control over their lives."

"We will not have freedom, justice, liberty or equality unless we can eradicate sexism, racism, homophobia, poverty and institutional violence worldwide," she said.

"Our unfinished agenda has been for so long denied because

Mrs. Abzug said 388 of the world's richest men own more wealth than 2.5 million people.

those who control the economics and politics of the sex roles traditionally have resisted social change because it would weaken their power."

Mrs. Abzug said 388 of the world's richest men — "I couldn't find any women among them" — own more wealth than 2.5 million people. "They, their corporations, their governments, continue to plunder the economy for the benefit of the few," she said.

"Power feminists" are not seeking "power for power's sake," she said.

"It's not that at all. It's not about simply mainstreaming women [into all occupations, professions, and government positions]."

HILLARY CLINTON, IN CHINA, DETAILS ABUSE OF WOMEN

BLUNT SPEECH ON RIGHTS

She Attacks Beijing for Trying to Limit the Free Flow of Ideas at U.N. Forum

By PATRICK E. TYLER **A1**

BEIJING, Sept. 5 — Speaking more forcefully on human rights than any American dignitary has on Chinese soil, Hillary Rodham Clinton catalogued a devastating litany of abuse that has afflicted women around the world today and criticized China for seeking to limit free and open discussion of women's issues here.

"It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights," Mrs. Clinton told the Fourth World Conference on Women assembled here.

"It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls," Mrs. Clinton said, or "when women and girls are sold into slavery or prostitution for human greed."

"It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small," she continued, or "when thousands of women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war."

While her comments concerned abuses that have taken place around the world — the burning of brides occurs in India for example, and rape has most recently been a tactic of war in Bosnia — her words took on a special resonance here in China, where the Administration has muted its public criticism of human rights abuses and is struggling to patch up frayed political relations.

China has been widely criticized for forcing women to be sterilized or have abortions as part of its one-child family policy, and there are wide reports of female infanticide by

She delivered her remarks after joining hundreds of delegates in a morning workshop on "women and health security."

Addressing the full conference in the afternoon, Mrs. Clinton expanded on a theme that Pakistan's Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, raised on Monday when she told the delegates that violence against women thrives when there is a "crisis of silence and acquiescence."

As Mrs. Clinton recited her litany from the podium, many delegates applauded, some cheered and others pounded the tables.

Continuing with references to domestic violence, genital mutilation, coercive abortions and sterilizations, Mrs. Clinton told the delegates from more than 180 countries, "If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, let it be that human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights, once and for all."

A senior Administration official traveling with Mrs. Clinton was at pains after the address to explain that it did not mark a return to a more vocal confrontation with China over its poor human rights record. In recent months, Washington has sought to tone down its public remarks on human rights abuses in favor of a more private dialogue that had few results.

"There is nothing in her speech that in any way deviates from our approach on China," the official said, "or on our desire to get the relationship stabilized and to get some momentum going. This is a United Nations conference and she was speaking out on a global problem."

One of the Democratic Congresswomen here, Carolyn B. Maloney of New York, said she believed Mrs. Clinton spoke from personal conviction after she became acquainted firsthand with some problems of women in the third world on a tour of Pakistan and India earlier this year.

"I don't think she cleared this speech with the State Department," Ms. Maloney said, "I think she spoke from the heart and she spoke with great power."

Representative Christopher H. Smith, Republican of New Jersey, who had called on Mrs. Clinton to speak out against "barbaric and egregious" human rights abuses in China during this trip, said he was satisfied to a great extent with her speech, but believed she could have been even more specific in criticizing China's abuses. He called her speech "eloquent" and praised her for "raising the issue" in China.

Still, the impact of the speech seemed to reverberate through the hall.

"She talked so eloquently about human rights, and I thought it was very effective, because all of the women here will know that the wife of the President of the United States also thinks about these things," said Maria Kamm, a delegate from Tanzania and member of Parliament there.

In the section of her speech aimed most directly at China, Mrs. Clinton seemed to betray frustration over

China's intolerance for dissenting views.

"It is indefensible," she said, "that many women" who had been promised visas to travel to China this week to take part in the conference "have not been able to attend" and others "have been prohibited from fully taking part."

A number of delegates, including exiles from Tibet and leaders from Taiwan, were denied visas to attend this meeting and a parallel gathering of private women's organizations.

"Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize, and debate openly," Mrs. Clinton admonished her Chinese hosts. "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 or dignity because of peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions."

Ordinary Chinese citizens did not see or hear Mrs. Clinton's speech, which was blacked out on official radio and television. There are 5,000 Chinese delegates, all selected by the Communist Party and all with strong ties to the party or the Government. Others were restricted from even coming near the conference site. Their news was limited to a carefully scripted menu, featuring a blizzard of enthusiastic propaganda on the enormous progress of Chinese women under the party's guidance.

The senior party official in attendance today, Chen Muhua, refused later to take any questions on the speech. "I'm sorry, I'm very busy," she said. The official Chinese press was under instructions to ignore Mrs. Clinton's remarks until an official reaction had been considered.

Afterward, Mrs. Clinton said she hoped the Chinese had gotten the message of her speech. "I think it is important that all governments which in any way infringe on human rights know that this conference takes a strong stand and that this conference is trying to move toward the realization of human rights," she told a news conference.

She said President Clinton's goal is to remain "engaged" with China in a broad and comprehensive relationship, but added, "we are trying to have an honest relationship."

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parents who want a son.

China's reaction was uncertain tonight. Beijing's relations with Washington have been strained by a summer of tumult over the visit to the United States in June by the president of Taiwan, Lee Teng-hui.

Mrs. Clinton's gravity and directness seemed to please both Democratic and Republican members of the United States delegation here, and thus the speech may trump the political disputes that have plagued both Mrs. Clinton's decision to travel here and the Administration's approach to China.

Mrs. Clinton's Unwavering Words

Hillary Rodham Clinton proved to be just the tonic for the besieged meeting of women in Beijing. With their surly Chinese hosts trying to stifle debate and spontaneity, the women needed a leader prepared to challenge the constraints and defend the principle of women's rights. Mrs. Clinton delivered on both counts yesterday in an unflinching speech that may have been her finest moment in public life.

Many in Washington had argued that the First Lady should not attend this conference. Human rights advocates feared that her presence would be taken as an official American endorsement of Beijing's gross mishandling of the gathering and more general abuses of human rights. Some conservative Republicans caricatured the agenda of the conference as somehow offending mainstream American values. Diplomats worried about a chance incident that might damage already troubled Chinese-American relations.

Mrs. Clinton demonstrated that a clear and forthright speech makes a far more powerful point than staying home in sullen protest.

Making good use of her prestige and eloquence, she resoundingly affirmed the conference's main themes of protecting women against violence, improving their access to education and health care and giving them more control over their lives. Addressing those who imagine it is somehow possible to uphold "family values" without addressing women's rights, she reminded the conference that by helping to "bring new dignity and respect to women and girls all over the world," it can "bring

new strength and stability to families as well."

Mrs. Clinton spoke from America's own experience and invoked broadly shared American social and political values as well as universally recognized human rights. She did not mention her Chinese hosts by name, but unsparingly criticized their compulsory abortion and sterilization policies, their wholesale denial of political rights and their attempts to intimidate and censor free expression at this conference's non-governmental forum.

Then, in remarks that could have been aimed directly at the Chinese leadership but apply to others as well, she proclaimed that: "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 or dignity because of peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions."

Those attending the conference responded to Mrs. Clinton's points enthusiastically. Not surprisingly, the Chinese Government omitted her speech from official broadcast coverage of the conference. International shortwave transmissions will soon remedy that.

Mrs. Clinton's unapologetic affirmation of American values is a departure from the bland and euphemistic rhetoric of other recent United States diplomatic visitors to Beijing. The Clinton Administration should follow her good example.

First Lady Plays China On Rights

Clinton Defends Women At U.N. Conference

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Foreign Service

A1

BEIJING, Sept. 5—First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, declaring that it was "time to break the silence" about the abuse of women, condemned rights violations around the world and rebuked China for its "indefensible" treatment of women taking part here in a forum of nongovernmental organizations.

Speaking this afternoon before a plenary session of 1,500 delegates and observers at the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women, which opened here Monday, the first lady made a stirring call for an end to violations of women's rights.

"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 once and for all," she said to applause.

Despite concerns among many groups here that Clinton would shy away from criticizing China at a delicate time for strained Sino-U.S. relations, the first lady strongly denounced human rights violations here as well as elsewhere around the world.

Although she did not mention China by name, Clinton clearly was taking aim at the Beijing regime when she said: "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."

Clinton's criticism of Chinese policies fell on receptive ears. Approximately 20,000 women have been

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struggling for days with Chinese police harassment, searches and restrictions on meetings and demonstrations at the Nongovernmental Organizations Forum on Women taking place about an hour's drive from Beijing in the town of Huairou. These actions followed weeks of uncertainty and confusion over the granting of visas to those wishing to attend the meeting; some groups critical of Chinese policy have been barred from coming.

"It is indefensible that many women in nongovernmental organizations who wished to participate in this conference have not been able to attend or have been prohibited from fully taking part," Clinton said, to strong applause.

"Let me be clear," she added. "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 or dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions."

The official New China News Agency carried brief excerpts from speeches by N.K.A. Rawlings, the first lady of Ghana; Ivan Kuras, vice prime minister of Ukraine; and a Jordanian princess. Clinton's name was last on a list of other speakers who were not quoted.

The news agency devoted more space to the comments by Peng Peiyun, deputy head of China's delegation and head of China's family planning and one-child policy, lauding China's "achievements." And the agency described a demonstration it said took place in Huairou in which people allegedly carried a banner saying "Stop U.S. imperialism. Women of the toiling class unite."

The first lady's comments could further complicate Sino-U.S. relations. Those ties were frayed in May when the Clinton administration yielded to congressional pressure and granted a visa to Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui to attend a reunion at his alma mater, Cornell University. The two-month detention of Chinese American Harry Wu, a crusader against conditions in China's prisons and forced labor camp system, also dealt a blow to relations.

State Department officials have just begun to calm China's fury over the Lee visit. Ten days ago, the two nations agreed to a meeting of their foreign ministers in late September and to prepare for a possible summit meeting between President Jiang Zemin and President Clinton. And the Chinese ambassador to the United States, recalled in June, is expected to return to Washington soon.

Because of the recent warming in relations, some administration advisers opposed Hillary Clinton's visit, saying that if she failed to deal with the human rights issue it would appear as though the United States had been intimidated by China—and that if she did deal with the issue, it could further damage relations between Washington and Beijing.

In an interview with reporters, Clinton played down the strains her speech would put on U.S.-China relations, saying, "We are working toward having a very comprehensive and hopefully good relationship with China in many areas."

"For me, it was important to express how I felt and to do so as clearly as I could," she said.

White House officials said Clinton's remarks were designed to strike a balance between the obvious need to take account of China's behavior and its treatment of the delegates and the desire not to antagonize Beijing or be rude to the hosts.

"You couldn't not mention some of those things," one senior official said, because failure to bring them up would have exposed Clinton to charges of pandering to the Chinese at the expense of the conference goals.

The first lady has no meetings scheduled with Chinese officials during her visit. However, Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord plans to meet Wednesday with Chinese officials to prepare for the planned talks

between Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.

Some senior administration officials tried to soften the blow of Clinton's remarks here by stressing that she also cited women's rights abuses common in other nations. "Clearly this was a global speech on women and women's rights," a senior administration official said tonight. "It didn't single China out."

Indeed, without mentioning the name of any country, Clinton condemned the Indian practice of burning brides when their marriage dowries are deemed too small; the African custom of performing genital mutilation on women; domestic violence found in the United States and elsewhere; and the Bosnian and other conflicts in which "women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war." Many abuses she cited can be found in several nations.

Madeline K. Albright, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, said the intention of the U.S. team here was "not to mince words, not to put a gloss on the issues, but to talk about what we need to talk about to improve the situation in this country and all countries throughout the world."

"This was the most eloquent and forceful I've ever heard her," Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, said about Clinton's speech. "Everyone knows the countries she was talking about."

But not everyone was satisfied with the first lady's remarks. Rep. Christopher H. Smith (R-N.J.), chairman of the House subcommittee on international operations and human rights, said that while he was happy that she denounced forced abortions, "for want of one word—China—the speech fell short."

"If women have a conference in Beijing and it doesn't mention that China has engaged in this terrible practice, it would be an opportunity lost and negligence, really," Smith said.

Clinton also tested some phrases likely to become standard usage during the upcoming U.S. presidential campaign.

She opened and closed her afternoon speech with the phrase "common ground," a phrase President Clinton often uses in trying to define his administration as lying between the extremes of American politics.

The phrase also resonated here as delegates from more than 180 nations are trying to reach a consensus about the wording of a 120-page document setting new standards for women's health, economic welfare, family planning and status in society.

"However different we may be," Clinton said, "there is far more that unites us than divides us. We share a common future. And we are here to find common ground so that we may help bring new dignity and respect to women and girls all over the world—and in so doing bring new strength and stability to families as well."

She also stressed the importance of women to "families," a word that the Vatican and other conservative delegations have said was used too seldom in the Platform for Action, the U.N. draft document under consideration here.

In the evening, the head of the Vatican delegation, Harvard University law professor Mary Ann Glendon, said: "The conference documents ...

are not bold enough in acknowledging the threat to women's health arising from widespread attitudes of sexual permissiveness."

Glendon reiterated the Catholic Church's opposition to abortion. "It will be a great reproach to our society if all we have to say to a woman or a girl who is pregnant and frightened is that she must destroy her own unborn child," she said.

Regarding abortion, Clinton said obliquely that the conference document should guarantee the "right to determine freely the number and spacing of the children [women] bear." It is a phrase borrowed from the U.N. conference on population last year in Cairo. She added in a morning speech on health issues that she endorsed the Cairo conference clause that "in no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning."

"There is no formula for how women should lead their lives," said Clinton, who upset some conservatives during the presidential campaign who felt she put down cookie-baking, child-rearing housewives. "That is why we must respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family."

On Wednesday Clinton will make a speech in Huairou, the site of the NGO Forum. On Thursday she will stop over in Mongolia before returning to the United States on Friday.

Staff writer Thomas W. Lippman in Washington contributed to this report.

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.

Army Plane Sri Lanka Crashes 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.

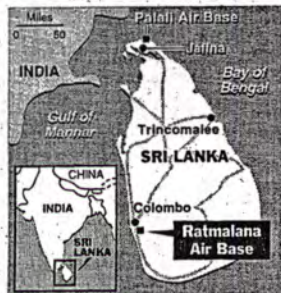
It was the third time in five months that a troop-carrying plane bound for the rebel stronghold on the Jaffna peninsula had crashed with the loss of all aboard.

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,



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.

*File
China*

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 an 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 about the NATO bombing campaign.

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 forceably 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.

U.N. Women's Meeting Settles Key Disputes

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.

I.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."

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By Joyce Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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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 divided 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.

Purification 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."

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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 Ukhaa 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, Halun. 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, Punsalmaagyn 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."

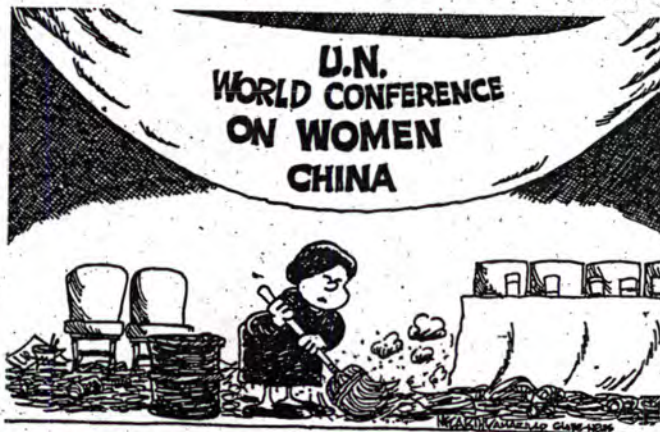
In Russia, where one in five mur-

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 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 Hualou 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.

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.

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 craned 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.

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."

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."

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.

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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."

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

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

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1995

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.

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 chadors. 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.

AID fund to help women in politics around the world

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BELJING — 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.

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.

al 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.

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 affect 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 Friedman, 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, Chinese 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 one 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 *Libération* 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 88 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.



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

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, halting sentence style.

The subject inevitably came around to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women under way here, and Mr. Bush singled out favorite Republican target at a conference 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 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 grocer. 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



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 1988. "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 Mimi 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."

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.

be 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 Maria 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.

ENTERPRISE

World's Poorest Women Advance by Entrepreneurship

By CAROL HYNOWITZ

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 Kathmandu. 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-Chettri 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-Chettri 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

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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."

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

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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."

Gerry Newhall
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111 111 111 111

Readers campaign for Clinton's column, which will stay

A suggestion
that the
first lady's
opinions be
dropped by
the paper
shows she
has a big,
loyal, vocal
following

Maybe it was the call from Betty Ragsdale, my ninth-grade English teacher.

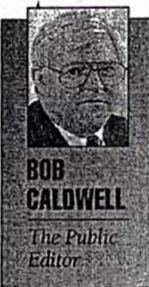
Or maybe it was the call from the woman who did not leave her name but did leave a blunt message about my shortcomings, intellectual and otherwise.

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."

■ **Dawn 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 Scharr, 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.

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.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1995

he's outranked in diplomatic terms by the first lady.

At a summer guest house, Mrs. Clinton met over lunch with Mongolia's president, Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat. In entertainment afterwards, a 13-year-old girl stole the show with a contortionist routine, twisting her body into pretzel-like poses that made Mrs. Clinton gasp in amazement.

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BC-HILLARY-MONGOLIA

Hillary Clinton visits nomads in Mongolia

By Laurence McQuillan

ULAN BATOR, Mongolia (Reuter) - First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton Thursday visited a family of Mongolian nomads and sipped mare's milk, nibbled cheese made from fermented cow's milk and learned about their wandering ways.

After arriving in the Mongolian capital from China, Clinton and a group of aides, secret service agents and journalists drove for some 45 minutes on gravel roads that cut through the green expanse of the nomads' homeland.

Clinton stopped at a ger, a round white tent, of Zanabaatar, an ageing grandfather whose place at the head of his family means he has no first name.

After entering the ger, which by custom always faces south to avoid harsh northerly winds, Clinton quickly learned that in this part of the world -- where the nomadic lifestyle has developed over thousands of years -- tradition means a lot.

She was promptly offered a silver bowl brimming with the fermented milk of a mare which she accepted. It would be considered an insult to reject the potion.

``It tastes like what we call yogurt,'' she said smiling.

She also tried some cheese, made from the fermented milk of a cow, and smiled graciously suggesting that the handful of reporters who had squeezed into the ger also taste it.

Clinton, through an interpreter, chatted amicably with the extended family -- which included seven round-faced children.

She was shown some of their prized possessions, including small snuff boxes -- including one that has been handed down in the family for generations and another that was described as modern.

``It's so beautiful,'' said Mrs. Clinton, who stopped short of sampling any of the contents. Instead, she sniffed the outside of the containers.

As horses, cows and yaks roamed outside, the U.S. first lady was told about life where home is where your ger is. The family expects to move three to four times between now and November -- each time searching for better grazing areas and a safe location from the harsh winter.

Ulan Bator is the world's coldest capital -- with temperatures plunging to minus 40 Fahrenheit.

Clinton was also taken outside, past piles of flattened dung, to watch a mare be milked.

And she watched the grandchildren compete in a horse race, and promptly rewarded all of the contestants with candies.

Later, she had lunch with Mongolian President Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat, and was entertained by a series of performers including singers who made their voices sound like electronic instruments and a 13-year-old female contortionist who twisted her body into seemingly impossible positions.

In an arrival statement for the mainly symbolic two-day visit, she announced a new \$4.5 million aid package for Mongolia.

Her visit was part of American efforts to build close ties with Mongolia since it became independent from the former Soviet Union five years ago and adopted a democratic form of government.

REUTER

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February 27, 1996



Ms. Melanne Verveer
 Deputy Chief of Staff
 to the First Lady
 The White House
 Washington

Dear Ms. Verveer,

I enjoyed meeting you in the White House after the Bosnia ceremony with the First Lady. As you may remember, we talked about the recently published Human Rights Watch report "Death by Default," concerning Chinese orphanages, and about the mixed reaction to it that your office has been receiving.

You indicated that in addition to messages of outrage at the terrible abuse of children in Chinese orphanages that the First Lady has been receiving from American citizens, there was also a sizeable amount of communications expressing concerns at the fact that our report might jeopardize American families' prospect of adopting a child from China.

The fears of anxious families, desperate to adopt and afraid that so many things might go wrong in the lengthy and complicated adoption process, are understandable. But, luckily, facts indicate that the Chinese have decided not to hold the adoption issue hostage to politics and that the publication of the Human Rights Watch report has not led to the halt or slowdown in American adoptions from China. The American Embassy in Beijing recently sent a fax to adoption agencies that said, among other things: "In recent weeks, there have been a number of media reports concerning orphans in China. To date, these reports do not appear to have significantly affected processing adoptions in China. We have been assured by the Chinese Ministry of Civil Affairs that adoption processing would not stop nor would there be any slowdown in the procedures." This has been confirmed by adoption agencies here in the U.S.

The abuses in Chinese orphanages constitute only one aspect of the tremendously serious human rights situation in China, and last year saw a steady deterioration in this area.

For example, two events at the end of 1995 demonstrated anew China's disdain for the rule of law and for fundamental human rights. On December 13, a Beijing court sentenced Wei Jingsheng, China's leading dissident, to a fourteen-year term on charges of attempting to overthrow the government. Among Wei's alleged crimes were his insistence on supporting pluralism and the rule of law, his plans to help victims of the June 4, 1989 massacre, and his autonomous trade union activities. On November 29, the Chinese government blatantly intervened with religious affairs in Tibet by ignoring the Dalai

Ms. Melanne Verveer
page two

Lama's choice of a new Panchen Lama and installing its own candidate. The six-year-old selected by the Dalai Lama has disappeared along with his family, and the abbot who led the original selection committee has been arrested along with some forty-eight others. Throughout the year, China used trumped-up criminal charges to sentence political dissidents, and sentenced others administratively to "re-education through labor," a process the U.N. characterized as inherently arbitrary. In addition, the Chinese government interfered with procedures at the Fourth World Conference on Women and the parallel NGO Forum, hampering press in their coverage, denying visas to selected delegates, disrupting NGO workshops and meetings, and attempting to limit freedom of expression and association of delegates who were demonstrating.

The international community has been so far unable to condemn China's human rights record at the most important international human rights forum, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. Last year, due to a tremendous diplomatic effort by the Administration, the resolution on China nearly passed (it lost by only one vote, whereas in the past, it had never even made it to a vote). It is imperative that the United States repeat this effort this year.

And this brings me back to the appeal I made to the First Lady and I am now reiterating with you: please use your good offices to ensure that the President and the Vice-President vigorously support a strongly worded resolution condemning China's human rights record during the upcoming session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

Thank you in advance for your kind attention to this important matter.

Sincerely,



Joanna Weschler
U.N. Representative