

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| 001. letter              | Adrienne Germain to Melanne Verveer [partial] (1 page) | 02/03/1999 | b(6)        |

### COLLECTION:

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Melanne Verveer  
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### RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

*file family  
planning***FAX TRANSMISSION**

**To:** Melanne Verveer  
Chief of Staff to the First Lady  
The White House  
456-6244

**From:** Craig Lasher  
Population Action International

**Subject:** Copy of a Letter to House-Senate Conferees on the Global Gag Rule

**Date:** September 30, 1998

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Attached is a copy of a letter mailed today to likely House and Senate conferees on the foreign operations appropriations bill opposing the inclusion of the global gag rule provision in the omnibus spending bill. The letter urges the conferees to reject the global gag rule and to support the Senate position on family planning, free speech, and democracy.

The 46 organizational signatories on the letter represent a broad cross-section of groups and have been drawn from the public health, civil liberties, women's rights, religious, population, and environmental communities.

Please do not hesitate to call me at (202) 659-1833 if you have any questions.

September 29, 1998

The Honorable Bob Livingston  
Chairman  
House Appropriations Committee  
Capitol H-218  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Chairman Livingston:

We, the undersigned, represent millions of Americans who care deeply about the United States' international obligations and responsibilities. Many of our organizations work overseas, in partnership with the U.S. government, as well as with U.N. agencies, to further worldwide humanitarian goals and U.S. interests. We strongly support the United States meeting its full financial obligations to the United Nations. Earlier this year, however, we wrote to the president and, regretfully, urged him to veto H.R. 1757, the Foreign Affairs Reform Act—whenever he receives it—because of the global gag rule provision that would severely undermine a core principle of U.S. foreign policy.

As you begin deliberations to resolve the differences between the House and Senate-passed versions of the FY 1999 foreign aid appropriations bill, we must point out to you that the **House-passed "gag rule" restriction affecting international family planning assistance in this bill is even more onerous than the one contained in H.R. 1757.** This new version would, by force of law in the statute itself, define "lobbying" far more broadly than any existing understanding of the term. Under H.R. 1757, the same definition would apply but it is contained in the "statement of managers" rather than the statutory language.

The measure's restrictions on freedom of speech are unacceptable as a matter of principle and policy because it is intended to muzzle private, nonprofit, nongovernmental organizations in other countries. As a condition of eligibility for receiving U.S. family planning funds, foreign NGOs—**using their own non-U.S. funds**—would be barred not only from "overt" lobbying but also from sponsoring "conferences or workshops on the alleged defects of the abortion laws, as well as drafting and distribution of materials or public statements calling attention to such alleged defects."

Secretary of State Albright said it best at a Congressional hearing earlier this year: It is a "gag rule. . . that would punish organizations for engaging in the democratic process in foreign countries and for engaging in legal activities that would be protected by the First Amendment if carried out in the United States."

This policy violates democratic principles and would be firmly rejected as unconstitutional if applied in the United States. It is not a policy that should be foisted on other nations. Many of our organizations have direct experiences with the implementation of public health programs in the United States and overseas.

The facts are:

- USAID resources do not fund abortions;
- Levels of funding approved by Congress for family planning have been cut drastically since 1995; and
- The practical impact of the global gag rule is enormous.

Proponents claim the gag rule will have little effect. This is simply not true.

If a family planning organization in Bolivia is receiving U.S. support for its programs and, for example, published a paper noting that Bolivia has the highest maternal mortality rate in all of Latin America, largely as the result of illegal, unsafe, botched abortions, it would amount to drafting a paper "calling attention" to "defects" in Bolivia's abortion law.

If the head of a group receiving U.S. aid that offers only natural-method family planning gave a radio interview urging opposition to her country's plan to liberalize its abortion law, she would be violating the ban on a "public statement."

In South Africa, where safe, legal abortions were available to white women but beyond the reach of most black women under apartheid, President Nelson Mandela in 1996 asked Dr. Helen Randera-Rees, director of the Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa (PPASA), for her help. He wanted to draft a law easing such administrative hurdles as a requirement for approval by two doctors, one of whom must have been in practice for at least four years. She helped to draft that law, and it was enacted. Under the pending U.S. measure, PPASA would have lost its U.S. support because Dr. Randera-Rees responded to Mandela's request.

And most recently, in Mexico, a national debate on reforming the law on abortion is occurring. NGOs in Mexico—where 1500 maternal deaths are attributed to illegal abortion annually—would be disqualified from U.S. family planning aid if they dare to participate in the national debate. Even Guadalajara's Cardinal Juan Sandoval commented that, while he does not wish to see the law changed, "it's good to raise the discussion. We are in a democratic society..." (*Boston Globe*, July 29, 1998). The debate is going on in Mexico, among Mexicans with non-U.S. funds.

We believe that the bill as enacted would lead to more, not fewer, abortions worldwide, because it would cut \$44 million in funding for family planning, which has proved repeatedly to be the single most effective means of reducing the number of abortions.

The measure imposes a minority American political position on other nations' private organizations, rather than letting them decide what is best for their own country. It tramples upon those countries' medical standards, their political practices and their right to decide their own futures, and it drastically narrows the reproductive health options available to hundreds of millions of women.

Some of us who have signed this letter are pro-choice while others take no position on the question of abortion, but we all stand firmly behind family planning, safe motherhood, free speech, and maternal and child health programs.

Equally important, we are Americans who take very seriously our country's deeply held democratic values. The pending measure directly contradicts the most basic of those values: free speech, access to the political process and the right to petition the government for a redress of grievances. The global gag rule turns its back on 222 years of U.S. history and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

For these reasons, we urge you to reject the gag rule and support the Senate position on family planning, free speech and democracy.

Sincerely yours,

James Wagoner  
President  
Advocates for Youth

Sandy Bernard  
President  
American Association of University  
Women

Richard A. Levinson, M.D.  
Associate Executive Director for  
Programs and Policy  
American Public Health Association

Peter D. Bell  
President  
CARE

Janet Benshoof  
President  
Center for Reproductive Law and  
Policy

Nan Aron  
President  
Alliance For Justice

Laura W. Murphy  
Director, Washington National Office  
American Civil Liberties Union

Amy E. Pollack, M.D., M.P.H.  
President  
AVSC International

Frances Kissling  
President  
Catholics For a Free Choice

Peggy Curlin  
President  
Centre for Development and  
Population Activities

Jill Sheffield  
President  
Family Care International

Nils Daulaire, M.D.  
President & CEO  
Global Health Council—NCIH

Marcia Townsend  
Deputy Regional Director  
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Region

Phyllis T. Piotrow  
Professor and Director  
Center for Communication Programs  
Johns Hopkins School of Public Health

Catherine Crone Coburn  
President  
Management Sciences for Health

Joan E. Bertin  
Executive Director  
National Coalition Against Censorship

Nan Rich  
National President  
National Council of Jewish Women

Patricia Ireland  
President  
National Organization for Women

Judith L. Lichtman  
President  
National Partnership for Women  
and Families

Eleanor Smeal  
President  
Feminist Majority

Jill Merrick  
Director of Communications & Public  
Policy  
International Center for Research on  
Women

Adrienne Germain  
President  
International Women's Health  
Coalition

Joel Lamstein  
President  
John Snow, Inc.

Kate Michelman  
President  
National Abortion and Reproductive  
Rights Action League

The Reverend Joan Brown Campbell  
General Secretary  
National Council of Churches

Judith M. DeSarno  
President & CEO  
National Family Planning and  
Reproductive Health Association

Kathryn Rodgers  
Executive Director  
NOW Legal Defense & Education  
Fund

Marcia Greenberger  
Co-President  
National Women's Law Center

Helen Rodriguez-Trias, M.D.  
Co-Director  
Pacific Institute for Women's Health

Carole Shields  
President  
People For The American Way

Amy Coen  
President  
Population Action International

David J. Andrews  
President  
Population Communications  
International

The Reverend Elenora Giddings Ivory  
Director  
Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.),  
Washington Office

The Reverend Carlton W. Veazey  
President and CEO  
Religious Coalition for Reproductive  
Choice

Jeannie I. Rosoff  
President  
The Alan Guttmacher Institute

Dr. Thom White Wolf Fassett  
General Secretary  
General Board of Church & Society  
United Methodist Church

Prema Mathai-Davis  
CEO  
YWCA of the U.S.A.

Daniel E. Pellegrin  
President  
Pathfinder International

Gloria Feldt  
President  
Planned Parenthood Federation  
of America

Margaret Catley Carlson  
President  
Population Council

Richard Frank  
President  
Population Services International

Gordon W. Perkin, M.D.  
President  
Program for Appropriate Technology  
in Health

Carl Pope  
Executive Director  
Sierra Club

Warren Leon  
Deputy Director for Programs  
Union of Concerned Scientists

Mim Kelber  
Interim President  
Women's Environment and  
Development Organization

Peter Kostmayer  
President  
Zero Population Growth

TALKING IT OVER  
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The pregnant woman wore an alpaca shawl over her blouse and full skirt, the traditional Indian dress in Bolivia. She looked about 35 and was attending a prenatal class at a health clinic I visited this week in the Bolivian capital, La Paz. She was nursing a 3-month-old baby and expecting her eighth child, who she hoped would be her last.

I was in Bolivia to attend the Sixth Conference of Wives of Heads of State and Government of the Americas. Women from countries throughout the Western Hemisphere got together to talk about strategies to eliminate measles, promote education reform and improve maternal health in our region.

Bolivia, a country of majestic beauty in the heart of South America, was an auspicious location for such a discussion. More women die in Bolivia during pregnancy and childbirth than in any other country in South America. But in the face of this human tragedy, Bolivia has become a model of how one nation can respond to the crisis of maternal mortality by galvanizing the government, non-governmental organizations and the medical establishment to launch a nationwide family-planning campaign.

In a country where half of all expecting mothers go through pregnancy and childbirth alone -- without medical attention of any kind -- Bolivia's aggressive effort to educate women about their own health and their options for childbearing is resulting in safer pregnancies, stronger families and fewer abortions. Without access to family planning, women in Bolivia -- and in many developing nations -- often turn in desperation to illegal, unsafe abortions that can end in death or serious injury. Deaths from abortion complications account for half of all maternal deaths in Bolivia.

As Bolivia has ably demonstrated, voluntary family planning teaches women about the benefits of spacing children several years apart, breast-feeding, good nutrition, prenatal and postpartum visits and safe deliveries. It also decreases the number of abortions.

Bolivia's success at preventing mothers from dying and lowering abortion rates has been possible, in part, because of help from the United States and other countries. The U.S. Agency for International Development has provided financial and technical assistance to help Bolivia establish a network of primary health care clinics.

The clinic I visited in La Paz is one that the United States helped start. Called PROSALUD (which, loosely translated, means "for the good of health" in Spanish), the clinic has doctors and nurses who offer round-the-clock prenatal, obstetric and pediatric services, as well as counseling about family planning in a poor neighborhood of 15,000 people. In the first six months of this year, the clinic staff provided 2,200 medical consultations, delivered 200 babies, registered 700 new family-planning users and immunized 2,500 children.

There are obvious benefits of such a program to Bolivian women, children and families, but health and family-planning services also help alleviate poverty and contribute to the economic stability of a democratic ally in our hemisphere. Yet opponents of foreign assistance and particularly of family planning in Congress are trying to eviscerate U.S. funding for programs like the one I saw at PROSALUD. Some argue that the United States has no national interest in the health and well-being of other countries' citizens. Others mistakenly suggest that family planning is being used to encourage -- rather than decrease -- abortions. In fact, our government has prohibited funding of any overseas project that promotes abortion since 1973.

Ignoring this, Congress last year approved draconian cuts in family-planning assistance amounting to a 35 percent reduction in funds. To add insult to injury, the cuts were accompanied by new restrictions that delayed delivery of aid for the first nine months of the fiscal year.

Similar harsh cuts and delays are included in the current budget, meaning that many organizations could again be denied assistance for months and then receive it only in monthly installments.

According to a recent analysis by five population organizations, the funding cuts alone will result in an increase of 1.6 million abortions, more than 8,000 maternal deaths, and 134,000 infant deaths in developing countries.

Family-planning campaigns at work in Bolivia and elsewhere represent sensible, cost-effective and long-term strategies for improving women's health, strengthening families and lowering the rate of abortion. My husband's administration remains committed to the continuation of these investments. And I will do everything I can to ensure that U.S. support for these initiatives continues. If you share my concern, I hope you will add your voice to mine and give all women everywhere the same opportunities for their lives we take for granted in ours.

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December 3, 1996

*file families  
planing*

**FAX TRANSMISSION**

**To:** Melanne Verveer  
Chief of Staff to the First Lady  
The White House

**From:** Craig Lasher  
Population Action International

**Subject:** Forthcoming Newspaper Ad Campaign on the Global Gag Rule

**Date:** September 11, 1998

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Early next week, an ad will appear in newspapers in 18 targeted states and congressional districts around the country opposing efforts by conservative forces in Congress to impose additional restrictions on overseas family planning programs. In addition, it will be published in two Washington papers with wide readership inside the beltway. A copy of the ad and a list of the newspapers in which it will run are attached.

The ad highlights the aspects of the global gag rule amendment that are among the most offensive to American values, namely its inconsistency with democratic principles and its interference with the freedom of speech.

Twenty-six major national organizations have endorsed this effort and are listed on the ad. Several more have either generously provided financial support or have agreed to activate their grassroots members during this critical stage in the legislative process.

The ad will run on Tuesday, September 15 in most outlets. The ad will appear on Monday, September 14, on the Federal Page of the *Washington Post* and in *Roll Call*.

We are hopeful that this targeted media campaign will have a favorable impact on upcoming debates. Please do not hesitate to contact me at (202) 659-1833 if you have any questions.

# Restricting free speech is un-American.

That's why U.S. politicians do it in *other* countries.



When the topic of women's health care arises, some members of Congress would throw free speech out the window.

Right now, a bill in Congress would cut off U.S. family planning funds to any organization overseas that dares to speak out either for or against abortion.

This bill seeks to punish those who talk about it publicly, even to speak to their own governments about the deaths and injuries to women from unsafe abortions. [It is not about the use of U.S. funds for abortion services—that has been illegal since 1973.]

In our country, a Gag Rule like this would be unconstitutional. In developing countries, where family planning clinics are often a woman's only source of health care, it is unconscionable.

If you believe people the world over should have the freedom to discuss and debate issues, do the American thing: Call your Senators and Representative today. Tell them you support U.S. funding for international family planning programs—no restrictions on free speech attached.

Because silence is not the answer. In our country—or any other.

To reach your Senators and Representative, call the U.S. Capitol switchboard at 1-202-224-3121.

Sponsored by: Advocates for Youth, American Association of University Women, American Civil Liberties Union, AUSA International, Catholics for a Free Choice, Center for Reproductive Law and Policy, NARAL, International Women's Health Coalition, National Coalition Against Censorship, National Council for International Health, National Council of Jewish Women, National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Association, National Partnership for Women & Families, National Women's Law Center, Pacific Institute for Women's Health, Pathfinder International, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Population Action International, Population Communications International, Population Council, RUTH, Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice, Seneca Club, Union of Concerned Scientists, Women of Reform Judaism, and Zero Population Growth.  
For more information, call toll-free 1-877-PAU-PLAN.

## *Planned Advertisement Placements*

| <u>Newspaper</u>                               | <u>Congressional District</u>                                           |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Anchorage Daily News (Alaska)               | Sen. Ted Stevens (R)                                                    |
| 2. Riverside Press-Enterprise (California)     | Rep. Mary Bono (R-44)                                                   |
| 3. San Bernardino Sun (California)             | Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-40)                                                 |
| 4. Denver Post (Colorado)                      | Sen. Ben Nighthorse-Campbell (R)                                        |
| 5. West Palm Beach Post (Florida)              | Rep. Mark Foley (R-16)<br>Rep. Clay Shaw (R-22)                         |
| 6. Sarasota Herald Tribune (Florida)           | Rep. Dan Miller (R-13)                                                  |
| 7. Florida Times Union (Jacksonville, FL)      | Rep. Tillie Fowler (R-4)                                                |
| 8. Kansas City Star (Missouri)                 | Rep. Pat Danner (D-6)                                                   |
| 9. Omaha World Herald (Nebraska))              | Rep. Doug Bereuter (R-1)                                                |
| 10. Albuquerque Journal (New Mexico)           | Rep. Heather Wilson (R-1)                                               |
| 11. Dayton Daily News (Ohio)                   | Rep. Tony Hall (D-3)                                                    |
| 12. Toledo Blade (Ohio)                        | Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-9)                                                 |
| 13. Canton Repository (Ohio)                   | Rep. Ralph Regula (R-16)                                                |
| 14. Phil. Inquirer & Daily News (Pennsylvania) | Rep. Bob Borski (D-3)<br>Rep. Robert Brady (D-1)<br>Rep. Jon Fox (R-13) |
| 15. Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania)     | Rep. Ron Klink (D-4)<br>Rep. John Murtha (D-12)                         |
| 16. Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader (Pennsylvania)   | Rep. Paul Kanjorski (D-11)                                              |
| 17. Richmond Times Dispatch (Virginia)         | Sen. John Warner (R)                                                    |
| 18. Seattle Times & Post Intelligencer (WA)    | Rep. Jennifer Dunn (R-8)<br>Rep. Rick White (R-1)                       |
| 19. Roll Call (Washington, DC)                 |                                                                         |
| 20. Washington Post (Washington, DC)           |                                                                         |

All placements for Tuesday, September 15, 1998, except Roll Call and The Washington Post (Federal Page) for Monday, September 14, 1998.

In Seattle and Philadelphia the ads will appear in both the morning and evening papers.

# House funds family planning agency at U.N.

## Won't pay for abortion in China

By Tom Carter  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The House voted yesterday to resume funding of U.N. family planning programs after a one-year hiatus during debate on a bill providing \$1.4 billion to enhance security at U.S. embassies abroad.

An amendment to authorize \$25 million for the U.N. Population Fund (UNFPA) was approved on a 221-198 vote. That will be reduced by an amount equal to any money the agency spends in China, which is accused of performing forced abortions to enforce its policy restricting couples to one child.

In effect, the United States will give UNFPA about \$20 million next year. Last year, Congress refused to approve any money for the agency.

Approval of the amendment was a setback for anti-abortion Rep. Christopher H. Smith, New Jersey Republican, who has consistently linked foreign affairs funding with anti-abortion legislation.

Mr. Smith had proposed tougher language that would have cut off all money to UNFPA as long as it runs programs in China, or until the president can certify that China is no longer performing forced abortions.

"It was a defeat, but the real losers are the poor women of China," Mr. Smith said after the vote. "They beat us by claiming to be anti-abortion. It was deceptive."

Family planning organizations celebrated the restoration of money for family planning programs in undeveloped nations.

"Members of the House made the right decision today by refusing to hold family planning and UNFPA hostage to otherwise legitimate concerns about the human rights record of the Chinese government," said Amy Coen, president of Population Action International.

China claims its abortion policy is voluntary.

Mr. Smith said UNFPA did not deserve U.S. support because it was "complicit" in China's "crimes."

That view was challenged by Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman, New York Republican and chairman of the International Relations Committee, who co-sponsored the amendment that passed.

He said UNFPA is the "only channel" the United States has to help mitigate Mexico's exploding population. He said the agency also serves U.S. interests through its

anti-AIDS work in Haiti, Hurricane Mitch assistance in Central America, and efforts to end female circumcision.

The main thrust of yesterday's bill, which will likely come to a vote this week, is to finance the first year of a 10-year, \$14 billion program to fortify existing embassies and build new, more secure structures.

It provides \$1.4 billion for improving security at embassies and another \$1 billion for other State Department programs.

The Senate approved only \$300 million for embassy security in the first year in a major foreign affairs authorization bill in June. That matches the request of the Clinton administration, which wants to spend \$11.4 billion over 10 years.

The Senate bill also authorized payment of nearly \$1 billion in U.S. arrears to the United Nations, which was not mentioned in the House bill. Mr. Clinton vetoed a similar measure to pay the U.N. arrears last year after Mr. Smith was successful in attaching anti-abortion language.

The differences will have to be worked out in conference between representatives of the two chambers.

Mr. Smith said yesterday that the House leadership continues to back his strategy of linking the U.N. arrears payment to anti-abortion language that would prevent U.S. money from being used to lobby to end anti-abortion laws overseas.

The bills come amid increased fear of a terrorist attack around the anniversary of the bombings that killed 224 persons at U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania on Aug. 7, 1998.

If diplomats are going to be asked "to put themselves in harm's way, we need to do everything we can to protect them from terrorism," Mr. Gilman said.

Several U.S. embassies have been closed for short periods since the Africa bombings. And the State Department on Monday announced a temporary closure of its embassy in Mozambique for security reasons.

The bill would fund several other programs but leaves levels for foreign aid and other international spending to congressional appropriators, who have to work out a balanced budget for the start of fiscal year 2000 on Oct. 1.

• This article is based in part on wire service reports.

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# INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S HEALTH COALITION

24 East 21 Street, New York, New York 10010 Telephone (212) 979-8500

Fax (212) 979-9009 iwhc@igc.nyu.org http://www.iwhc.org

February 3, 1999

Ms. Melanne Verveer  
Chief of Staff for the First Lady  
Office of the First Lady  
O.E.O.B., Room 100  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Melanne,

I apologize for the delay in sending these suggestions for Hillary's speeches in the Hague. I did send some of them to Margaret Pollack last week just before her conversation with the speech writer.

\* Hillary's NARAL speech was fabulous, certainly her strongest on the subject. Much of that speech could be used verbatim in the Hague simply by changing "American values" to "ICPD commitments"! I make some specific suggestions below.

## A. General Points:

1. While it is important for Hillary to endorse the entire ICPD agenda, this is a critical moment to emphasize actions needed specifically on reproductive rights and health. Both proponents and opponents of the ICPD Programme of Action will listen closely to what the First Lady says, and even more closely to what she does not say. While I understand the need to consider Congressional views, I believe it is essential for her to address directly even the most sensitive issues (adolescents, abortion, gender, families), as she did in her NARAL speech.
2. It is very important that Hillary speak as an American, and refer to both progress and shortfalls domestically. While she should acknowledge the importance of U.S. foreign assistance, and express the Administration's commitment to increase it, I believe that her audiences will be most receptive if she recognizes the work and accomplishments of local groups and projects based on their own commitment, skills and initiative. U.S. foreign assistance aids and abets good ideas, but the accomplishments are those of the local groups, many of which she has visited.

Letter to Ms. Verveer  
February 3, 1999  
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3. This is an important moment to express support for UNFPA and the Administration's intentions on funding. ||

B. Key points to include in both speeches:

1. The context: ICPD implementation requires poverty alleviation; action to reduce the terrible burden of debt faced by southern countries and countries with economies in transition; increased foreign assistance; partnerships between the private sector and donors/international agencies; reduction of corruption and waste; and prioritization of social sector investment by governments.
2. Elimination of deaths and illness related to pregnancy: Despite more than a decade of the "Safe Motherhood Initiative," in the last 12 years some seven million or more women have died, and millions upon millions of women's lives and health have been ruined – unnecessarily. It is not acceptable that, even under the politically comfortable banner, "Safe Motherhood," women's death and illness have attracted so little funding and that political will for change does not yet exist. As you'll see from more detailed points below, emphasizing this issue would allow Hillary to address quite a number of additional topics, while, at the same time, highlighting what has possibly been the most neglected dimension of reproductive health worldwide (including in the U.S. where women of color and low income women have higher rates of maternal mortality than others). \*
3. Investment in civil society groups: The points made below may seem esoteric but they are critically important. Too many governments stifle the energy of NGOs. The U.S. experience demonstrates not only what the nongovernment actors can do, but also the importance of basic capacity building and freedom from unnecessary government restrictions. This topic would allow Hillary to pick up the great lines from her NARAL speech on common ground, democracy, values, etc. \*
4. Key words and phrases from the NARAL speech: Certain phrases from the NARAL speech on unwanted pregnancy and abortion, would be particularly meaningful in the Hague, because they would reinforce the leadership of the U.S. in the original ICPD negotiations, and because neither governments nor international agencies have taken the action needed. I hope Hillary will assert that abortion should be "safe, legal and rare." Para. 8.25 (copy attached) of the ICPD Programme of Action exists because of U.S. recognition, in both Cairo and Beijing, that unwanted pregnancies will occur no matter how strong preventive efforts are, because contraceptives fail, circumstances

Letter to Ms. Verveer  
February 3, 1999  
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change, sex may be forced, etc. The most contentious sentence of the paragraph – “In circumstances where abortion is not against the law, such abortion should be safe” – has been ignored by most governments even though it is so narrowly construed. It would be particularly valuable if Hillary’s speech recognizes the known health consequences of restricting access to safe abortion, asserts the need to ensure that each woman can decide for herself what to do, and that analyses the very negative consequences of both pro- and anti-natalist government action. In this regard, the first full paragraph on page 4 of the NARAL speech (“I hope...”) is brilliantly crafted. Other wonderful phrases are the personal decisions women make; stories of dangerous and illegal abortions; women who have suffered in silence.

C. Detailed points:

1. Death, injury and ill health due to pregnancy:

The widest health disparity between rich and poor countries is in maternal mortality. An estimated 600,000 women die every year due to pregnancy-related causes, most in poor countries; millions are severely injured, and left to face infertility or chronic illness. In the last 15 years, we have made almost no progress in reducing these numbers. We know how to prevent them. Most occur because of gross inequities of resource distribution between and within countries. They are due as well to failure of political will both by national governments and by donors to build and sustain the basic public health systems needed to cope with obstetric emergencies and provide safe abortion. ✓

We must recognize the underlying social causes of women’s death and suffering: gender discrimination in access to food and health care, education, employment and political participation; traditional taboos and harmful practices imposed on girls and women; endemic gender-based violence, including forced and unsafe sexual relations; laws and policies that restrict women’s access to contraception and to safe services to end unwanted pregnancies.

We will not achieve the goal set in the ICPD – to reduce by half the 1990 level of maternal mortality by the year 2000. But, let us promise our daughters, our wives, and all women, that the necessary actions will be a top priority for the next five years. What are these actions?

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February 3, 1999

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- As countries adopt health sector reforms, build effective basic health systems and adopt sector-wide investment strategies, we must:
  - prioritize sexual and reproductive health services of the best possible technical quality, that provide full information and choices and treat women with respect.
  - address pregnancy care in its broader health context, that is, build the skills and make the investments needed to prevent and treat STDs, prevent HIV, and control malaria, TB and other major communicable diseases that increase the risks associated with pregnancy; we must invest in clean water and sanitation systems, and in basic education for all.
- We must bring services – especially emergency obstetric care and safe abortion – as close as possible to women, which often will require us to:
  - invest in training and equipping mid-level paramedical providers especially midwives;
  - build partnerships with communities to ensure that everyone knows the danger signs of pregnancy, to maintain maternity waiting homes, and to provide emergency transport; and we must
  - persuade men that pregnancy is their responsibility too – men have an obligation to ensure women's access to services, to share the demands of childcare, and to refrain from violence, intimidation, and forced sex.
- We must face even the most taboo and sensitive aspects of reproductive and sexual health squarely:
  - To curb the STD/HIV epidemic, we must ensure that all sexually active people, whatever their age and marital status, have access to condoms (both male and female) and are persuaded to use them; we must develop additional methods that women control, such as microbicides (NIH funds this work); and we must work with men to be more responsible in their own sexual behavior.
  - "Emergency contraception" (higher-than-usual doses of birth control pills within 72 hours of unprotected sex) is a simple, inexpensive, safe method to prevent unintended or unwanted pregnancy. But it is not yet accessible in most places. Let us ensure that emergency contraception is available for all women.

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- When unwanted pregnancies occur, we must ensure that women have all possible choices to continue or to end the pregnancy; preventing unwanted pregnancies is essential but not sufficient; we must make safe abortion services accessible and affordable.
- We must inform young people about sexuality, help them build self-esteem, develop mutually respectful relationships, encourage gender equality and equity and delay pregnancy until they are socially, emotionally and biologically prepared for safe child bearing.

2. Investment in civil society groups:

One of the most important commitments of the ICPD was to build partnerships with civil society groups, especially women's groups, to make the hard choices about allocation of scarce resources, to monitor and hold governments accountable for meeting the promises made in Cairo, and to build the momentum and political will for the major social, policy and program changes that are needed.

If these partnerships are to take root, flourish, and be effective, governments need to:

- remove unnecessary restrictions on civil society groups' access to local and external funds;
- provide access to information;
- include civil society groups in policy processes; and
- respect the autonomy of civil society groups.

Donors and international agencies similarly need to foster partnerships based on equity, and provide the resources needed for civil society groups to build their basic organizational strength, not just implement projects or deliver services.

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Melanne, there's a lot here - I'd be happy to comment on drafts and will be in New York.

(b)(6) [001]

Please note, some of the language in this letter I have used in writing others so you may not want to use the language, just the ideas.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

*Adrienne Germain*

Adrienne Germain  
President

Enclosure

**International Conference on Population and Development  
Programme of Action**

8.25. In no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning. All Governments and relevant intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations are urged to strengthen their commitment to women's health, to deal with the health impact of unsafe abortion\* as a major public health concern and to reduce the recourse to abortion through expanded and improved family-planning services. Prevention of unwanted pregnancies must always be given the highest priority and every attempt should be made to eliminate the need for abortion. Women who have unwanted pregnancies should have ready access to reliable information and compassionate counselling. Any measures or changes related to abortion within the health system can only be determined at the national or local level according to the national legislative process. In circumstances where abortion is not against the law, such abortion should be safe. In all cases, women should have access to quality services for the management of complications arising from abortion. Post-abortion counselling, education and family-planning services should be offered promptly, which will also help to avoid repeat abortions.

\*"Unsafe abortion is defined as a procedure for terminating an unwanted pregnancy either by persons lacking the necessary skills or in an environment lacking the minimal medical standards, or both (based on World Health Organization), *The Prevention and Management of Unsafe Abortion*, Report of a Technical Working Group, Geneva, April 1992 (WHO/MSM/92.5))."

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**United States Senate**

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6225

September 27, 2000



The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I have been reliably informed that (pursuant to section 599D of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act 2000) at least ten foreign, privately run so-called population control advocacy groups and international organizations have, so far, refused to certify to the Agency for International Development that they did not perform or promote abortions with their own funds.

Two of these groups (the International Planned Parenthood Federation in London and the World Health Organization) have made their position public.

We received the findings of the General Accounting Office report called "USAID Compliance With Family Planning Restrictions" which we find disturbing, to say the least. The Committee then sought the names of the eight other organizations that are refusing to comply with U.S. law. We were arrogantly informed that the information would not be provided unless unprecedented and illegitimate restrictions were implemented.

Mr. President, it may be subject to legitimate question whether your administration is using taxpayers' dollars in violation of U.S. law to finance covert abortion clinics in foreign countries, although the behavior of your staff -- not to mention their highly creative excuses to deny Congressional request for information -- does make one wonder.

The number of frivolous excuses employed by your staff in efforts to keep Congress and the American people in the dark on this matter is breathtaking and would ordinarily defy imagination. I certainly shall not dignify a response to any of them.

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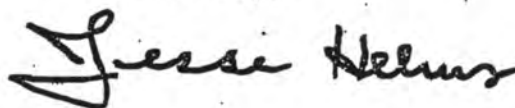
9nd 2000

I am sure you agree that U.S. taxpayers have every right to know which groups (domestic or foreign) use taxpayer funds to carry out foreign aid projects. There has never been any question about this.

A.I.D. does not now, nor has it ever, operated covert foreign aid programs. For your people to suggest otherwise could permanently damage A.I.D.'s credibility in the field as well as to cause friend and foe alike to question the U.S. Government's stated intentions to help poor people.

Mr. President, providing this information without further delay will put an end to this charade.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Jesse Helms". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly stylized font. The first name "Jesse" is written with a large, sweeping initial "J", and the last name "Helms" follows in a similar cursive style.

JESSE HELMS:ggg