

Melanne Verveer

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Int'l Family
Planning
Hague Speech

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United Nations Population Fund

21

Consensus and Progress: Hillary Rodham Clinton

Addresses The Hague Forum

The Hague, Netherlands

February 1999

Consensus and Progress

**Hillary Rodham Clinton
Addresses
The Hague Forum**

**The Hague, Netherlands
February 1999**

Sponsored by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) as part of the five-year review and appraisal of the International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action.



Washington, D.C. 20520

October 4, 1999

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

TO: H - Susan Jacobs

FROM: L/FO - Bill Kissinger *WB*

SUBJECT: Possible Revisions to the Greenwood Language

You asked me to propose some revisions to the Greenwood language (attached) that would make it appear "tougher" without making it too "tough." Below I have suggested a two possible revisions. The first only creates the appearance of being tougher; the second option is "tougher" in the sense that it would be a somewhat bitter pill for the Administration to accept. These options are not mutually exclusive; they could be combined. I have not yet shared this with White House Counsel as you suggested. I wanted to get your reactions first.

Option 1: The "Looks Tough Only" Revision

Insert a new section (a)(1) that provides as follows:

"(1) it will not use such funds to pay for the performance of abortion as a method of family planning or to motivate or coerce any person to practice abortions."
[Existing (a)(1)-(4) would need to renumbered accordingly.]

Revise section (a)(2) as follows:

(2) it will use such funds that are made available for funding planning services to
~~*reduce the incidence of*~~ *to prevent* *abortion as a method of family planning;*

Cosmetic
Explanation: The first revision adds only an additional certification requirement. Existing law already prohibits USG funds from being used to pay for abortions. FAA section 104(f)(1). Thus, this revision only requires organizations to certify they will not do that which is already prohibited.

The second revision also makes the Greenwood language look tougher without substantively imposing additional restrictions. In interagency discussions that included AID almost two years ago, we concluded language along these lines was acceptable given the definition AID would provide to the phrase "prevent abortion as a method of family planning." [The agency would adopt the interpretation that providing information on other alternatives "prevents abortion as a method of family planning."]

Option 2: The "Slightly Bitter Pill" Revision

Insert a new section (a)(5) that provides as follows:

"(5) it will not have a substantial part of its activities involve carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation with respect to abortion."

Explanation: This language is intended to be comparable to the restriction that exists on lobbying activity by domestic tax exempt organizations under 26 U.S.C. section 501(c)(3). This restriction was seriously considered as a revision to toughen the Gilman-Pelosi language in January 1998.

This approach was never floated on the Hill because there appeared no serious prospect of it going anywhere. There were, however, serious concerns about pursuing this approach. On the upside, this approach would preserve funding for most, if not all, organizations because even the largest organizations receiving funds spend only a de minimis amount on lobbying. By looking to a definition of lobbying based on existing US law, it is readily understandable by Congress and U.S. organizations and limited in scope.

The downsides associated with this approach are based on more general principles. It would codify the principle that abortion rights as defined under law are somehow different from other reproductive rights and that it is appropriate to limit NGO participation in the democratic process. It was also argued that it would set a precedent that the Administration acknowledges that what NGO's do with privately raised funds may be punished, something that is contrary to the President's policy as articulated in 1993. There were also concerns that the language, even with the 501(c)(3) gloss, would be ambiguous to recipients to US funds.

Attachment

*Hillary
Sept 29 in a
transmission funding
3 yrs + funding*

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

Drafted by: L/FO:WKissinger
drafted 10/4/99 7-5036
Doc # 72848

**SUBSTITUTE OFFERED BY MR. GREENWOOD OF
PENNSYLVANIA
TO THE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SMITH OF
NEW JERSEY
(FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS, 2000)**

Page 116, after line 5, insert the following:

- 1 RESTRICTION ON POPULATION PLANNING ACTIVITIES OR
2 OTHER POPULATION ASSISTANCE
- 3 SEC. ____ (a) None of the funds appropriated or
4 otherwise made available for population planning activities
5 or other population assistance under title II of this Act
6 may be made available to a foreign nongovernmental orga-
7 nization unless the organization certifies that—
- 8 (1) it will not use such funds to promote abor-
9 tion as a method of family planning or to lobby for
10 or against abortion;
- 11 (2) it will use such funds that are made avail-
12 able for family planning services to reduce the inci-
13 dence of abortion as a method of family planning;
- 14 (3) it will not violate the laws or policies of the
15 foreign government relating to the circumstances
16 under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or pro-
17 hibited; and

1 (4) it will not engage in any activity or effort
2 in violation of applicable laws or policies of the for-
3 eign government to alter the laws or policies of such
4 foreign government relating to the circumstances
5 under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or pro-
6 hibited, except with respect to activities in opposition
7 to coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization.

8 (b) The limitation on availability of funds to a foreign
9 nongovernmental organization under subsection (a) shall
10 apply—

11 (1) to funds made available to an organization
12 either directly or indirectly as a subcontractor or
13 subgrantee; and

14 (2) to activities in which the organization en-
15 gages either directly or indirectly through a subcon-
16 tractor or subgrantee.

1 SEC. ____ . TREATMENT OF VIOLATIONS OF UNITED STATES

2 POPULATION PLANNING ASSISTANCE LAWS.

3 Section 104 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961
4 (22 U.S.C. 2151b) is amended—

5 (1) by redesignating subsection (g) as sub-
6 section (h); and

7 (2) by inserting after subsection (f) the follow-
8 ing new subsection:

9 “(g) ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS FOR POPULATION
10 PLANNING ASSISTANCE.—

11 “(1) CERTIFICATION REQUIRED.—An organiza-
12 tion shall be ineligible for population planning assist-
13 ance in a fiscal year unless, prior to the initial dis-
14 bursement of such assistance in that fiscal year to
15 the organization, the AID Administrator determines
16 and certifies to the appropriate congressional com-
17 mittees that the organization—

18 “(A) has not used population planning as-
19 sistance in violation of subsection (f) during the
20 preceding fiscal year; and

21 “(B) has adequate internal accounting con-
22 trols to prevent the use of population planning
23 assistance in violation of subsection (f).

24 “(2) SUSPENSION OF ELIGIBILITY FOR ASSISTANCE
25 UNDER THE ACT.—An organization that the AID Admin-
26 istrator determines has used population planning assist-

*no us funds
to perform
actions*

1 ance in violation of subsection (f) shall be ineligible to re-
2 ceive assistance of any kind under this Act for a period
3 of 10 years from the date of the determination.

4 “(3) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

5 “(A) AID ADMINISTRATOR.—The term “AID
6 Administrator” means the Administrator of the
7 United States Agency for International Develop-
8 ment.

9 “(B) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-
10 TEES.—The term ‘appropriate congressional com-
11 mittees’ means the Committee on Foreign Relations
12 and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate
13 and the Committee on International Relations and
14 the Committee on Appropriations of the House of
15 Representatives.

16 “(C) POPULATION PLANNING ASSISTANCE.—
17 The term ‘population planning assistance’ means as-
18 sistance under subsection (b).”.

CAROLYN B. MALONEY
14TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

2430 RAYBURN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3214
(202) 225-7944

COMMITTEES:
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Congress of the United States

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P.02

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*file, internal &
family plan*

December 17, 1999

The Honorable Madeleine K. Albright
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Secretary Albright:

I am writing to thank you for your strong and outspoken support of international family planning programs. As we prepare for FY 2001 budget battles, I wanted to reiterate my colleagues and Mr. Ricchetti's understanding that the President will include international family planning funds at the FY 1995 level in his FY 2001 budget request for both our bilateral and multilateral funding commitments through both USAID and UNFPA. In 1995, funding levels were \$547.7 million for USAID programs and \$50 million for UNFPA.

It is essential that the Administration commit to fully funding vital family programs throughout the world. As our world's population exceeds six billion people, it is imperative that we give women everywhere the opportunity for safe and effective family planning resources. To do this, the United States must show its strong commitment to these programs by restoring international family planning funds to FY 1995 levels, \$585 million, in the President's FY 2001 budget.

As we enter the next century, we must continue to work together to restore our commitment to family planning. I hope we will be able to work together to see FY 2001 international family planning funds at \$585 million and help save the lives of women and children throughout the world and provide much needed resources to women who otherwise would not have the choices we hold so dear.

My colleagues and I look forward to working with you next year to return international family planning funds to their FY 1995 level. Please feel free to contact me at (202) 225-7944 with any assistance we can provide or with any questions you may have. Thank you for your continued support and attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

CAROLYN B. MALONEY
Member of Congress

cc: Mr. Stephen Ricchetti
Democratic Women Members of Congress

United States of America
Washington, DC 20515

November 17, 1999

Mr. Stephen Ricchetti
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
First Floor, West Wing
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Ricchetti,

As you know, we are extremely angry and disappointed to learn of the recent agreement to link \$1 billion in back dues to the United Nations to restrictions on abortion advocacy. Per our meeting last night, which we thank you for attending, we would like to make clear the actions we believe the President should take to repair the forthcoming damage to principles, policy and programs of the U.S. international family planning program and a woman's right to choose if, as you stated last night, this "deal" cannot be renegotiated.

First, it is essential that the President personally state within the next twenty-four hours that he is entirely committed to never again signing any legislation containing language, such as that advocated by Rep. Chris Smith (R-NJ), that would jeopardize family planning or a woman's right to choose, domestically or internationally. The agreement, per your description, only applies to the next ten months. If a Smith Amendment is proposed in any part of the budget next year, the President must veto the legislation, even if the Republican Leadership threatens to hold the government hostage over the issue.

Second, as the President is now making his requests for the 2001 Budget, the Administration must mend this year's spending setbacks (now including penalties that will be incurred due to the Presidential waiver) by requesting funding for international family planning, including but not limited to USAID and UNFPA, at the 1995 funding levels, at a minimum.

Third, before February, the Administration must hold a public event to provide leadership on our Cairo commitment. The President, the Secretary of State and Ambassador Holbrooke should convene a meeting at the White House with their counterparts in other donor countries to review their fiscal and technical assistance commitments made in Cairo and find ways to ensure we meet these goals by 2004. The Administration must utilize this event to recommit itself in a vocal, confident manner to the importance of international family planning and a woman's right to

choose. At this meeting, we would like a joint discussion about the type of leadership this issue deserves from this Administration, at home and abroad, in the coming year.

Finally, the President should meet, before the end of this year, with the Members of Congress and organizations who attended yesterday's meeting, so that the President may directly and personally communicate a message of his re-commitment to international family planning and a woman's right to choose.

We firmly believe that if these actions are taken by the President, it will allow us, who now feel compelled to vote against the FY 2000 Budget in its currently negotiated form, to reluctantly vote for the final bill.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

Carolyn B. Maloney

Nancy Pelosi

Lynn Woolsey

Shirley Jackson Lee

Barbara Lee

Carolyn C. Kilpatrick

Joe Schekowsky

Jamie R. Rathbone

Louise M. Blumenthal

Stephanie Tubbs Jones

Angie S. Liff

Dana DeLette

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Danene Horley

Louella Sanchez

Cavone Brown

*file International
family planning*

September 17, 1999

TO: Ambassador Holbrooke
FR: Tori Holt *THL*
RE: Mexico City policy documents

To follow up on your request, I have compiled the attached documents on the evolution of the debate over the "Mexico City" policy limitations on international family planning funds. Most of these are primary materials, not analyses, as you suggested. I am happy to discuss this with you, and will continue to seek some outstanding documents.

The attached materials include:

- 1) 1984 Statement outlining the new U.S. policy by Reagan administration official James Buckley, head of the U.S. delegation to the UN International Conference on Population, in Mexico City, August 9, 1984 (and thus "Mexico City" policy). Note that this was a White House policy - not an Executive Order by the President, as frequently thought.
- 2) White House Memorandum to Agency for International Development (AID), January 22, 1993, outlining President Clinton's direction that AID remove the "Mexico City" conditions of the Reagan/Bush Administrations. Clinton's repeal was done by a memorandum, not an Executive Order, which was all that was needed.
- 3) US AID Policy on Abortion, April 1994. (Simple one pager on the position.)
- 4) Current U.S. Law. Excerpts from current law governing AID Development Assistance; four pages.
- ✓ 5) 1997 "Mexico City" Amendment by Rep. Chris Smith (R-NJ) to the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill, September 4, 1997. His amendment bans foreign recipients of U.S. funding from providing abortion services and engaging in any activity to alter the laws or policies of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited. (Vetoed by President.)
- ✓ 6) State Department conference report, March 10, 1998, referencing interpretation of lobbying ban in Smith amendment. I include this language to demonstrate that the report language influences the definition of "lobbying", which Smith's staff pointed out had

changed. This language supporting Smith's amendment in last year's State Authorization bill walks back from banning attendance at conferences involving discussion of abortion laws, while still barring "sponsoring" them. This did not solve the fundamental barring of public statements on "alleged defects" of the law or other provisions opposed by the Clinton Administration. (The bill was vetoed that fall.)

- ✓ 7) **Memo to the Secretary on Mexico City language on House Foreign Operations bill, July 29, 1999.** This memo from Barbara Larkin outlines the two amendments involving the issue this summer.
- ✓ 8) **Texts of Smith "Mexico City" amendment and alternative amendment by Rep. James Greenwood, (R-PA).** Both amendments were approved by the House in July. The Administration opposes the Smith amendment, but supported Greenwood. Smith opposes Greenwood, of course, and will argue that his amendment should be included in any bill including UN arrears.
- 9) **OVERVIEW Q&A from the State Department Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration.** This e-mail outlines the answers to a few basic questions about Mexico City, FYI.

Kalin Book w/ Mexico City Staff
Move to front

EVOLUTION OF "MEXICO CITY" LANGUAGE

POLICY	1984 Reagan Policy	1997 Smith Proposal	1998 Smith Proposal	1999 Smith Proposal	1999 Greenwood Proposal
LANGUAGE	"...where U.S. funds are contributed to nations which support abortion with other funds, the U.S. contribution will be placed into segregated accounts which cannot be used for abortion" "...the U.S. will no longer contribute to separate non-governmental organizations which perform or actively promote abortion as a method of family planning in other nations." "...before the U.S. will contribute funds to the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, it will first require concrete assurances that the UNFPA is not engaged in, and does not provide funding for, abortion or coercive family planning programs."	"...no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any ...organization until (it) certifies that it will not... perform abortions in any foreign country, except where the life of the mother would be endangered...." "...no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any ...organization until (it) certifies that it will not... violate the laws of any foreign country...or engage in any activity or effort to alter the laws or governmental policies of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited." "...no funds may be made available for the UNPFA... unless the President certifies that UNFPA has terminated all activities in the People's Republic of China...."	"...no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any ...organization until (it) certifies that it will not... perform abortions in any foreign country, except where the life of the mother would be endangered...."* *(The President could have waived this provision but doing so would have cut funding for population planning activities.) "...no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any ...organization until (it) certifies that it will not... violate the laws of any foreign country...or engage in any activity or effort to alter the laws or governmental policies of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited." "...no funds may be made available for the UNPFA... unless the President certifies that UNFPA has terminated all activities in the People's Republic of China...."	"...no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any ...organization until (it) certifies that it will not... perform abortions in any foreign country, except where the life of the mother would be endangered...." * *(The President may waive this provision.) "...no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any ...organization until (it) certifies that it will not... violate the laws of any foreign country...or engage in any activity or effort to alter the laws or governmental policies of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited."	"None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available for population planning activities or other population assistance...may be made available to a foreign non-governmental organization unless the organization certifies that – (1) it will not use such funds to promote abortion as a method of family planning or to lobby for or against abortion; (2) it will use such funds that are made available for family planning services to reduce the incidence of abortion as a method of family planning; (3) it will not violate the laws or policies of the foreign government relating to the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited; and (4) it will not engage in any activity or effort in violation of applicable laws or policies of the foreign government to alter the laws or policies of such foreign government relating to the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited..."
POLICY TYPE	Administration Policy	Law – Amendment, Foreign Operations Approps Bill	Law – Amendment, State Dept. Authorization Bill	Law -- Amendment	Law – Amendment
STATUS	Terminated in Jan. 1993*	Vetoed	Vetoed	Passed House; veto expected	Passed House; Admin. could support

Has Congressman Smith compromised? Not really.

1. He has tried to codify in law what was only an administration policy.
2. His "Mexico City" language is much more restrictive than the original Reagan policy:
 - It would include multilateral organizations, not just NGOs.
 - It would broaden the language regarding prohibited lobbying behavior to cover "any activity or efforts."
3. His so-called "compromise" is weak:
 - He dropped the UNFPA provision. However, using separate legislation, he prevented funding for UNFPA last year and tried (unsuccessfully) to prevent UNFPA funding this year.
 - He provides a waiver only with respect to prohibitions on organizations that provide abortions; his amendment still prohibits lobbying/speaking out against abortion laws. Thus, his amendment would still "gag" organizations.

Important Note:

It has never been AID policy to fund or advocate abortions as a form of family planning. It has never advocated breaking the laws of any country.

**** In January 1993, President Clinton terminated Reagan's "Mexico City" policy in a memorandum to the Acting Administrator of the Agency for International Development: "The August 1984 announcement by President Reagan ... directed the Agency for International Development to ... withhold AID funds from NGO's that engage in a wide range of activities, including providing advice, counseling, or information regarding abortion, or lobbying a foreign government to legalize or make abortion available. These conditions have been imposed even where an NGO uses non-AID funds for abortion-related activities....I hereby direct that AID remove the conditions not explicitly mandated by the Foreign Assistance Act or any other law from all current AID grants to NGOs and exclude them from future grants."**

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(5)

**FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS
APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1998 (House of Representatives - September 04, 1997)****AMENDMENT NO. 1 OFFERED BY MR. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY**

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Amendment No. 1 printed in House Report 105-184 offered by Mr. Smith of New Jersey:

At the end of the bill, insert after the last section (preceding the short title) the following new section:

**FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS THAT PERFORM OR PROMOTE ABORTION
OVERSEAS; FORCED ABORTION IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

Sec. 572. (a) Section 104 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection.

(h) Restriction on Assistance to Foreign Organizations That Perform or Actively Promote Abortions:

(1) Performance of abortions:

(A) Notwithstanding section 614 of this Act or any other provision of law, no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any foreign private, nongovernmental, or multilateral organization until the organization certifies that it will not, during the period for which the funds are made available, perform abortions in any foreign country, except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the pregnancy were carried to term or in cases of forcible rape or incest.

(B) Subparagraph (A) may not be construed to apply to the treatment of injuries or illnesses caused by legal or illegal abortions or to assistance provided directly to the government of a country.

(2) Lobbying Activities: (A) Notwithstanding section 614 of this Act or any other provision of law, no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any foreign private, non-governmental, or multilateral organization until the organization certifies that it will not, during the period for which the funds are made available, violate the laws of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited, or engage in any activity or effort to alter the laws or governmental policies of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited.

(B) Subparagraph (A) shall not apply to activities in opposition to coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization.

'(3) **Application to foreign organizations:** The prohibitions of this subsection apply to funds made available to a foreign organization either directly or as a subcontractor or subgrantee, and the certifications required by paragraphs (1) and (2) apply to activities in which the organization engages either directly or through a subcontractor or subgrantee.'

(b) Section 301 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

'(i) **Limitation Relating to Forced Abortions in the People's Republic of China:** Notwithstanding section 614 of this Act or any other provision of law, no funds may be made available for the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) in any fiscal year unless the President certifies that—

'(1) UNFPA has terminated all activities in the People's Republic of China, and the United States has received assurances that UNFPA will conduct no such activities during the fiscal year for which the funds are to be made available; or

'(2) during the 12 months proceeding such certification there have been no abortions as the result of coercion associated with the **family planning** policies of the national government or other governmental entities within the People's Republic of China.

As used in this section, the term 'coercion' includes physical duress or abuse, destruction or confiscation of property, loss of means of livelihood, or severe psychological pressure.'

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the order of the House of Thursday, July 24, 1997, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Smith] and the gentlewoman from California [Ms. Pelosi] will each control 20 minutes.

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March 10, 1998

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

H1001

jobs, including the expansion of existing programs and the creation of new programs to train, upgrade and improve the skills of minority employees.

(8) Establishing procedures to assess, identify and actively recruit minority employees with the potential for further advancement, and

(9) Proving for the appointment of a senior management staff member to be responsible for the employment efforts of the entity and, within a reasonable period of time, the implementation of the principles described above.

This section also includes the principles of economic justice to insure that these principles should be applied by those individuals or entities who receive any portion of the U.S. contribution to the International Fund for Ireland.

In addition a new provision was added to insure nothing shall require quotas or reverse discrimination, which is consistent with the intent and purpose of the MacBride principles.

The Senate amendment has no comparable provision.

The conference substitute (sec. 1811) is similar to the House bill except the mandatory requirement that the US contributions shall be used in a manner that effectively increases employment opportunities in communities with rates of unemployment "significantly" higher than the local or urban average of unemployment in Northern Ireland (defined as the counties of Antrim, Armagh, Derry, Down, Tyrone, and Fermanagh) is changed to "should".

US POLICY WITH RESPECT TO JERUSALEM AS THE CAPITAL OF ISRAEL

The House bill (sec. 1708) contains four provisions which together reaffirm and strengthen U.S. policy as reflected in the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995 (P.L. 104-45) that Jerusalem should remain the undivided capital of Israel.

The Senate amendment (sec. 1608) similar to the House bill.

The conference substitute sec. 1812(a) authorizes the appropriation of \$25,000,000 for fiscal year 1998 and \$75,000,000 for fiscal year 1999 for the construction of a U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem. This subsection restates and updates the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995 (P.L. 104-45). It reiterates Congressional intent concerning the establishment of the U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem, Israel, no later than May 11, 1999.

Subsection (b) urges the President to correct the current anomalous situation in which the United States Ambassador to Israel, currently resident in Tel Aviv, does not supervise all U.S. diplomatic and consular activities in the State of Israel, and particularly, does not supervise the Consul General and consular personnel in Jerusalem, Israel.

Subsection (c) requires new public documents to describe Jerusalem as Israel's capital as a prerequisite for funding under the bill. This requirement follows State Department practice in such publications as the "Background Notes" for Israel.

Subsection (d) requires that for purposes of registration of birth, certification of nationality, or issuance of a passport, that the Secretary of State, upon the request of a U.S. citizen born in Jerusalem, record the place of birth as Israel. This section does not constitute a requirement that U.S. citizens born in Jerusalem have Israel recorded as their place of birth.

A reporting requirement pertaining to subsection (a) is required by P.L. 104-45. The committee of conference recommends that that report also include information pertaining to subsections (b), (c), and (d). Accord-

ingly, the commitment to implement subsection (b) should be detailed, the new public documents referred to in subsection (c) should be included with the report, and the Department of State should indicate the steps taken to inform U.S. citizens born in Jerusalem of the option they may exercise in seeking implementation of subsection (d). The Department of State should also include the number of citizens requesting the change permitted by subsection (d).

SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION IN IRAQ

The conference substitute (sec. 1813) adds a new section on Iraq. The committee of conference notes that bringing Saddam Hussein and other Iraqi officials to justice for war crimes has been a stated goal of President Clinton's administration since 1993. Legislation encouraging the Administration to pursue this course has passed the House (H. Con. Res. 157) and is pending in the Senate (S. Con. Res. 78). Secretary of State Albright's statement of February 26, 1998 is noted: "We look forward to working effectively with them in the future." The overt support for political activities and broadcasting by opposition forces can have a significant impact inside Iraq. In addition, the committee of conference notes that disparate Kurdish, Shiite, and Sunni groups have in the past been willing to set aside their differences and unite under the umbrella of the Iraqi National Congress (INC) to effectively challenge Saddam Hussein. The committee of conference recommends supporting efforts to reunite these disparate groups under a unified umbrella, whether it be the INC or another opposition group, to present a solid,

pro-Huss work Role nati prog
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The is similar to the House bill with modifications to consolidate the findings.

CUBA ASSISTANCE

The House bill (sec. 1901) makes \$2 million available for democracy programs in Cuba under chapter 4 part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

The Senate amendment has no comparable provision.

The conference substitute (sec. 1815) is the same as the House bill.

FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS THAT PERFORM OR PROMOTE ABORTION, FORCED ABORTION IN CHINA

The House bill (sec. 2101)
The Senate amendment had no comparable provision.

The conference substitute (sec. 1816) combines House bill sections 2101 and 2102. Section 2101 concerns U.S. population assistance to foreign organizations that perform or promote abortions. Section 2102 concerns UN Population Fund (UNFPA) activities in the People's Republic of China in relation to forced abortions carried out in connection with the Chinese government's population program.

The conference substitute prohibits, inter alia, population assistance to foreign organizations that "engage in any activity or effort to alter the laws or governmental policies of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited." Such prac-

tices include not only overt lobbying for such changes, but also such other activities as sponsoring, rather than merely attending, conferences and workshops on the alleged defects of the abortion laws, as well the drafting and distribution of materials or public statements calling attention to such alleged defects.

DIVISION C—UNITED NATIONS REFORM GENERAL PROVISIONS

Short title

The House bill has no similar section. The Senate bill (Sec. 2001) names this division the "United Nations Reform Act of 1997."

The conference substitute (Sec. 2001) is identical to the Senate bill.

DEFINITIONS

The House bill has no similar section. The Senate bill (Sec. 2002) defines the terms: appropriate congressional committee, designated specialized agency, secretary general, United Nations member, United Nations peacekeeping operation.

The conference substitute (Sec. 2002) is nearly identical to the Senate bill.

NONDELEGATION OF CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS

The House bill has no similar section. The Senate bill (Sec. 2003) expresses that the Secretary of State may not delegate the authority in this chapter to make any certification.

The conference substitute (Sec. 2003) is identical to the Senate bill.

TITLE XXI—AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

ASSESSED CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

The House bill (Sec. 2103) provides for \$98,289,000 in fiscal year 1998 and \$97,500,000 in fiscal year 1999 for assessed contributions to the United Nations and affiliated organizations.

The Senate bill (Sec. 2101) provides for \$93,000,000 in fiscal year 1998 and \$90,000,000 in fiscal year 1999 for assessed contributions to the United Nations and affiliated organizations, subject to certifications and conditions enumerated below.

The conference substitute (Sec. 2101) provides \$90,000,000 for fiscal year 1998 and \$90,000,000 for fiscal year 1999.

NO GROWTH BUDGET

The House bill has no similar provision. Of the funds authorized, the Senate bill (Sec. 2101) makes available in fiscal years 1998 and 1999, \$80,000,000 on a semi-annual basis only when the Secretary of State certifies to the Congress that no action has been taken by the United Nations to increase the United Nations 1998-99 budget of \$2,582,000,000 during that period without finding an offset elsewhere in the United Nations budget during that period.

The conference substitute (Sec. 2101) amends the certification for a no growth budget to become an annual rather than a semi-annual certification.

INSPECTOR GENERAL

The House bill has no similar provision. The Senate bill (Sec. 2101) withholds 20 percent of the funds made available for the United Nations until the Secretary of State certifies that the Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) continues to function as an independent inspector general. This section requires the Director of the OIOS to report directly to the Secretary General on the adequacy of his resources and to notify in writing each program, project, or activity funded by the United Nations that it has the authority to audit, inspect, or investigate it. The conference substitute (Sec. 2101) makes several technical and conforming

State Authorization
1998 (revised)

report language
on Mexico City

jobs, including the expansion of existing programs and the creation of new programs to train, upgrade and improve the skills of minority employees.

(8) Establishing procedures to assess, identify and actively recruit minority employees with the potential for further advancement, and

(9) Providing for the appointment of a senior management staff member to be responsible for the employment efforts of the entity and, within a reasonable period of time, the implementation of the principles described above.

The section also includes the principles of economic justice to insure that these principles should be applied by those individuals or entities who receive any portion of the U.S. contribution to the International Fund for Ireland.

In addition a new provision was added to insure nothing shall require quotas or reverse discrimination, which is consistent with the intent and purpose of the MacBride principles.

The Senate amendment has no comparable provision.

The conference substitute (sec. 1811) is similar to the House bill except the mandatory requirement that the US contributions shall be used in a manner that effectively increases employment opportunities in communities with rates of unemployment "significantly" higher than the local or urban average of unemployment in Northern Ireland (defined as the counties of Antrim, Armagh, Derry, Down, Tyrone, and Fermanagh) is changed to "should".

US POLICY WITH RESPECT TO JERUSALEM AS THE CAPITAL OF ISRAEL

The House bill (sec. 1709) contains four provisions which together reaffirm and strengthen U.S. policy as reflected in the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995 (P.L. 104-45) that Jerusalem should remain the undivided capital of Israel.

The Senate amendment (sec. 1683) similar to the House bill.

The conference substitute sec. 1812(a) authorizes the appropriation of \$25,000,000 for fiscal year 1998 and \$75,000,000 for fiscal year 1999 for the construction of a U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem. This subsection revises and updates the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995 (P.L. 104-45). It reiterates Congressional intent concerning the establishment of the U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem, Israel, no later than May 31, 1999.

Subsection (b) urges the President to correct the current anomalous situation in which the United States Ambassador to Israel, currently resident in Tel Aviv, does not supervise all U.S. diplomatic and consular activities in the State of Israel, and particularly, does not supervise the Consul General and consular personnel in Jerusalem, Israel.

Subsection (c) requires new public documents to describe Jerusalem as Israel's capital as a prerequisite for funding under the bill. This requirement follows State Department practice in such publications as the "Background Notes" for Israel.

Subsection (d) requires that for purposes of registration of birth, certification of nationality, or issuance of a passport, that the Secretary of State, upon the request of a U.S. citizen born in Jerusalem, record the place of birth as Israel. The section does not constitute a requirement that U.S. citizens born in Jerusalem have Israel recorded as their place of birth.

A reporting requirement pertaining to subsection (a) is required by P.L. 104-45. The committee of conference recommends that that report also include information pertaining to subsections (b), (c), and (d). Accord-

ingly, the commitment to implement subsection (b) should be detailed, the new public documents referred to in subsection (c) should be included with the report, and the Department of State should indicate the steps taken to inform U.S. citizens born in Jerusalem of the option they may exercise in seeking implementation of subsection (d). The Department of State should also include the number of citizens requesting the change permitted by subsection (d).

SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION IN IRAQ

The conference substitute (sec. 1813) adds a new section on Iraq. The committee of conference notes that bringing Saddam Hussein and other Iraqi officials to justice for war crimes has been a stated goal of President Clinton's administration since 1993. Legislation encouraging the Administration to pursue this course has passed the House (H. Con. Res. 137) and is pending in the Senate (S. Con. Res. 78). Secretary of State Albright's statement of February 26, 1998 is noted: "We look forward to working effectively with them in the future." The overt support for political activities and broadcasting by opposition forces can have a significant impact inside Iraq. In addition, the committee of conference notes that disparate Kurdish, Shiite, and Sunni groups have in the past been willing to set aside their differences and unite under the umbrella of the Iraqi National Congress (INC) to effectively challenge Saddam Hussein. The committee of conference recommends supporting efforts to reunite these disparate groups under a unified umbrella, whether it be the INC or another opposition group, to present a solid, pro-democracy, Iraqi front against Saddam Hussein. The Administration is expected to work closely with the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on International Relations in the development of the program, including the selection of grantees.

DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN SERBIA

The House bill (sec. 1713) expresses a sense of Congress regarding the various methods and actions that can be taken to support the development of democracy in the Republic of Serbia. The Senate amendment has no comparable provision.

The conference substitute (sec. 1814) is similar to the House bill with modifications to consolidate the findings.

CUBA ASSISTANCE

The House bill (sec. 1901) makes \$2 million available for democracy programs in Cuba under chapter 4 part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

The Senate amendment has no comparable provision.

The conference substitute (sec. 1815) is the same as the House bill.

FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS THAT PERFORM OR PROMOTE ABORTION; FORCED ABORTION IN CHINA

The House bill (sec. 2101) The Senate amendment had no comparable provision.

The conference substitute (sec. 1816) combines House bill sections 2101 and 2102. Section 2101 concerns U.S. population assistance to foreign organizations that perform or promote abortions. Section 2102 concerns UN Population Fund (UNFPA) activities in the People's Republic of China in relation to forced abortions carried out in connection with the Chinese government's population program.

The conference substitute prohibits, inter alia, population assistance to foreign organizations that "engage in any activity or effort to alter the law or governmental policies of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited." Such prac-

tices include not only overt lobbying for such changes, but also such other activities as sponsoring, rather than merely attending, conferences and workshops on the alleged defects of the abortion laws, as well the drafting and distribution of materials or public statements calling attention to such alleged defects.

DIVISION C—UNITED NATIONS REFORM GENERAL PROVISIONS

Short title

The House bill has no similar section. The Senate bill (Sec. 2001) names this division the "United Nations Reform Act of 1997."

The conference substitute (Sec. 2001) is identical to the Senate bill.

DEFINITIONS

The House bill has no similar section. The Senate bill (Sec. 2002) defines the terms: appropriate congressional committee, designated specialized agency, secretary general, United Nations member, United Nations peacekeeping operation.

The conference substitute (Sec. 2002) is nearly identical to the Senate bill.

NONDELEGATION OF CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS

The House bill has no similar section. The Senate bill (Sec. 2003) expresses that the Secretary of State may not delegate the authority in this chapter to make any certification.

The conference substitute (Sec. 2003) is identical to the Senate bill.

TITLE XXI—AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

ASSESSED CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

The House bill (Sec. 2102) provides for \$360,383,000 in fiscal year 1998 and \$347,590,000 in fiscal year 1999 for assessed contributions to the United Nations and affiliated organizations.

The Senate bill (Sec. 2101) provides for \$333,000,000 in fiscal year 1998 and \$300,000,000 in fiscal year 1999 for assessed contributions to the United Nations and affiliated organizations, subject to certifications and conditions enumerated below.

The conference substitute (Sec. 2101) provides \$301,000,000 for fiscal year 1998 and \$300,000,000 for fiscal year 1999.

NO GROWTH BUDGET

The House bill has no similar provision. Of the funds authorized, the Senate bill (Sec. 2101) makes available in fiscal years 1998 and 1999, \$80,000,000 on a semi-annual basis only when the Secretary of State certifies to the Congress that no action has been taken by the United Nations to increase the United Nations 1998-99 budget of \$2,523,000,000 during that period without finding an offset elsewhere in the United Nations budget during that period.

The conference substitute (Sec. 2101) amends the certification for a no growth budget to become an annual rather than a semi-annual certification.

INSPECTOR GENERAL

The House bill has no similar provision. The Senate bill (Sec. 2101) withholds 30 percent of the funds made available for the United Nations until the Secretary of State certifies that the Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) continues to function as an independent inspector general. This section requires the Director of the OIOS to report directly to the Secretary General on the adequacy of his resources and to notify in writing each program, project, or activity funded by the United Nations that it has the authority to audit, inspect, or investigate it.

The conference substitute (Sec. 2101) makes several technical and conforming



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

INFORMATION MEMORANDUM
S/S

JUL 29 1999

⑦

TO: The Secretary

FROM: H - Barbara Larkin *J.E.L.*

SUBJECT: Mexico City Language on
Foreign Operations Bill

The Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill will be on the floor of the House late today, July 29. The bill as reported out of Committee does not contain Mexico City language. Chris Smith (R-NJ) will offer his Mexico City language as an amendment on the floor. Unfortunately, the Rules Committee again shut Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) out of the process. However, to accommodate pro-choice Republicans, an amendment sponsored by Jim Greenwood (R-PA), which we support, will also be permitted. However, the Greenwood provision is not a substitute for Smith, but a parallel amendment. It is therefore possible for members to vote yes to both bills and for both to pass, which is our desired result. This is obviously not an ideal situation. However, since the Republican leadership continues to link Mexico City language and UN arrears and since this is likely to be the only Mexico City vote in the House this year, this will be our only opportunity to break that link.

The Smith Amendment continues the Mexico City "Gag Rule" but contains a waiver on the performance of abortions with no reduction in funding, a change from his previous legislation. There is no waiver for lobbying. The Greenwood Amendment, co-sponsored by Nita Lowey (D-NY), Carolyn Maloney (D-NY), Tom Campbell (R-CA) and Ben Gilman (R-NY), prohibits the use of U.S. funds for abortions or for lobbying for abortions, but permits organizations to use their own funds for these activities in accordance with local laws. The amendment also contains a self-certification procedure.

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- 2 -

It is unlikely that Smith can be defeated, so our strategy is to obtain a majority for the Greenwood Amendment to demonstrate that the full House supports a more reasonable alternative that could then be used on UN arrears.

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Talking Points

- Calling to ask for your support for the Greenwood amendment on international family planning.
- The Greenwood Amendment restates long-standing U.S. law prohibiting funding of abortions overseas. It also bars lobbying for or promoting abortions with U.S. funds.
- It further prohibits the use of U.S. funds to engage in activities that are illegal in the recipient's country.
- The Smith Amendment, however, would also limit how international family planning spend their own funds.
- The Smith Amendment would cripple the work of many private organizations doing the most effective work in family planning and maternal and child health. The consequences are clear — an increased number of unintended pregnancies, unsafe abortions, and maternal and child deaths.
- These restrictions are unnecessary since long-standing U.S. law prohibits the use of our funds for abortion as a method of family planning or abortion-related lobbying.
- The Smith Amendment would not only ban overt lobbying by organizations but also bar their participation in other activities such as conferences and workshops on the alleged defects in abortion laws, as well as the drafting and distribution of materials or public statements calling attention to such defects.
- Smith has repeatedly stated that he links Mexico City to payment of our UN arrears. While the two issues are unrelated, if the Smith Amendment wins and Greenwood loses, Smith will continue to make the case that this provision should be tied to UN arrears.
- A vote for Greenwood will help break this linkage. This is likely to be the only House vote on Mexico City this year. To enable the UN to carry out its mandates, such as in Kosovo, we must pay our arrears and retain our influence in the Security Council and the General Assembly.
- The UN is taking on more and more critical issues and we can't afford not to pay our dues.

- Passage of the Greenwood Amendment breaks the logjam on Foreign Ops since the President will veto a bill containing Mexico City language.
- Hope I can count on you.

**AMENDMENT TO H.R. _____, AS REPORTED
(FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS, 2000)
OFFERED BY MR. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY**

At the end of the bill, insert after the 'last section
(preceding the short title) the following:

1 LIMITATION ON FUNDS FOR FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS
2 THAT PERFORM OR PROMOTE ABORTION
3 SEC. _____. (a) Section 104 of the Foreign Assistance
4 Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151b) is amended by adding at
5 the end the following:
6 “(h) RESTRICTION ON ASSISTANCE TO FOREIGN OR-
7 GANIZATIONS THAT PERFORM OR ACTIVELY PROMOTE
8 ABORTIONS.—
9 “(1) PERFORMANCE OF ABORTIONS.—(A) Not-
10 withstanding section 614 of this Act or any other
11 provision of law, no funds appropriated for popu-
12 lation planning activities or other population assist-
13 ance may be made available for any foreign private,
14 nongovernmental, or multilateral organization until
15 the organization certifies that it will not, during the
16 period for which the funds are made available, per-
17 form abortions in any foreign country, except where
18 the life of the mother would be endangered if the

1 pregnancy were carried to term or in cases of forc-
2 ible rape or incest.

3 “(B) Subparagraph (A) may not be construed
4 to apply to the treatment of injuries or illnesses
5 caused by legal or illegal abortions or to assistance
6 provided directly to the government of a country.

7 “(2) LOBBYING ACTIVITIES.—(A) Notwith-
8 standing section 614 of this Act or any other provi-
9 sion of law, no funds appropriated for population
10 planning activities or other population assistance
11 may be made available for any foreign private, non-
12 governmental, or multilateral organization until the
13 organization certifies that it will not, during the pe-
14 riod for which the funds are made available, violate
15 the laws of any foreign country concerning the cir-
16 cumstances under which abortion is permitted, regu-
17 lated, or prohibited, or engage in any activity or ef-
18 fort to alter the laws or governmental policies of any
19 foreign country concerning the circumstances under
20 which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited.

21 “(B) Subparagraph (A) shall not apply to ac-
22 tivities in opposition to coercive abortion or involun-
23 tary sterilization.

24 “(3) APPLICATION TO FOREIGN ORGANIZA-
25 TIONS.—The prohibitions of this subsection apply to

1 funds made available to a foreign organization either
2 directly or as a subcontractor or subgrantee, and the
3 certifications required by paragraphs (1) and (2)
4 apply to activities in which the organization engages
5 either directly or through a subcontractor or sub-
6 grantee.".

7 (b) The President may waive the provisions of section
8 104(h)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating
9 to population assistance to foreign organizations that per-
10 form abortions in foreign countries), as added by sub-
11 section (a), for any fiscal year.

*This is the
difference between
leg version and by
POW in 1997
and this leg.*

(8)

**AMENDMENT TO H.R. 2606, AS REPORTED
OFFERED BY MR. GREENWOOD OF PENNSYLVANIA**

At the end of the bill, insert after the last section
(preceding the short title) the following:

1 RESTRICTION ON POPULATION PLANNING ACTIVITIES OR
2 OTHER POPULATION ASSISTANCE

3 SEC. _____. (a) None of the funds appropriated or
4 otherwise made available for population planning activities
5 or other population assistance under title II of this Act
6 may be made available to a foreign nongovernmental orga-
7 nization unless the organization certifies that—

8 (1) it will not use such funds to promote abor-
9 tion as a method of family planning or to lobby for
10 or against abortion;

11 (2) it will use such funds that are made avail-
12 able for family planning services to reduce the inci-
13 dence of abortion as a method of family planning;

14 (3) it will not violate the laws or policies of the
15 foreign government relating to the circumstances
16 under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or pro-
17 hibited; and

18 (4) it will not engage in any activity or effort
19 in violation of applicable laws or policies of the for-
20 eign government ~~(to)~~ alter the laws or policies of such

1 foreign government relating to the circumstances
2 under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or pro-
3 hibited, except with respect to activities in opposition
4 to coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization.

5 (b) The limitation on availability of funds to a foreign
6 nongovernmental organization under subsection (a) shall
7 apply—

8 (1) to funds made available to an organization
9 either directly or indirectly as a subcontractor or
10 subgrantee; and

11 (2) to activities in which the organization en-
12 gages either directly or indirectly through a sub-
13 contractor or subgrantee.

*file interest
family planning*

**DRAFT: PRESIDENT CLINTON URGES CONGRESS TO SUPPORT
INTERNATIONAL FAMILY PLANNING AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH**
April 7, 2000

Today, in a White House ceremony marking World Health Day, President Clinton will recognize the critical role that family planning plays in saving the lives and protecting the health of women around the world. He will call for action to address the fact that every day, at least 1,600 women around the world die from the complications of pregnancy and childbirth. The President will urge Congress to fully fund his FY 2001 budget initiatives to address this and other health care challenges facing women and families, including: an additional \$169 million in family planning assistance to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), thereby restoring funding back to 1995 levels (\$541.6 million); \$25 million to the UN Population Fund (UNFPA); and \$100 million through USAID, the Department of Health and Human Services and other agencies to prevent the spread of HIV and AIDS, primarily in Africa.

MILLIONS OF WOMEN WORLDWIDE ARE WITHOUT ACCESS TO SAFE AND EFFECTIVE FAMILY PLANNING AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH SERVICES.

Use of family planning can have profound effects on women's health and dramatically reduce infant and child deaths. Related reproductive health services promote safe motherhood and prevent sexually transmitted diseases. America has been the leader in providing family planning and reproductive health care for women and their families in developing countries, investing over \$3.5 billion through USAID and UNFPA since 1993, as well as close to \$1 billion in HIV/AIDS prevention. However, much more needs to be done.

- **One in four maternal deaths could be prevented through family planning.** Every day, at least 1,600 women die from the complications of pregnancy and childbirth – almost 600,000 women per year. Complications of pregnancy and childbirth are the leading cause of death and disability among women aged 15 to 49 in developing countries. Only 53 percent of the deliveries in developing countries take place with a skilled birth attendant. Of all the health statistics monitored by the World Health Organization, maternal mortality shows the greatest disparity between developed and developing countries.
- **Sixteen thousand people are infected with HIV every day.** In most countries, 40 percent of new HIV infections are among women, and this rate is rising. Half of the newly infected people are under 25 years of age. Thirty-four million people now live with AIDS -- 95 percent of whom are in the developing world. Family planning programs play a key role in reducing transmission of HIV/AIDS.
- **More than 1 million people are infected with a preventable sexually transmitted infection (STI) every day.** There are 333 million cases of sexually transmitted diseases annually. The four most common sexually transmitted diseases are easy to cure with antibiotics. Family planning programs play a key role in reducing transmission of sexually transmitted infections and diseases.

PRESIDENT CLINTON URGES CONGRESS TO SUPPORT HIS PROPOSALS TO SAVE WOMEN'S LIVES AND PROTECT WOMEN'S HEALTH. President Clinton's budget this year contains several important proposals to improve women's health. Today, the President urged Congress to support and pass his family planning and reproductive health initiatives, including:

- **Investment of \$541 million in family planning efforts overseas, a 45 percent increase over FY 2000 levels which restores funding to FY 1995 levels.** An estimated 34,000 children under age five die every day in developing countries, and almost 600,000 women die each year of causes related to pregnancy and childbirth. By avoiding unintended pregnancies and helping women bear their children during the healthiest times, family planning helps prevent maternal and child deaths. The President will highlight that his FY 2001 budget proposes \$541 million, an increase of 45 percent over FY 2000 funding levels, to fund the provision of family planning services and related reproductive health services overseas and urge that it be passed with out restrictions on the ability of organizations to participate in the democratic process in their own countries.
- **Investment of an additional \$100 million in HIV and AIDS prevention and treatment efforts in Africa and developing countries in other regions.** The President's budget will invest a total of \$342 million in HIV prevention and AIDS treatment around the world, more than doubling the FY 1999 level. Funds will be targeted to the countries where the disease is most widespread and where our efforts will have the greatest impact. Activities include: increasing primary prevention efforts; providing care and treatment for individuals infected with HIV; caring for children orphaned by AIDS; strengthening the public health infrastructure; and expanding HIV prevention programs in the workplace.
- **Investment of \$25 million in the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA).** The United States has been a supporter of UNFPA, the largest multilateral provider of population assistance, for over 30 years. Its work complements our bilateral efforts. The President's budget proposal includes \$25 million to support the UNFPA's work providing much needed voluntary family planning services, maternal and child health care, and STD prevention – including HIV/AIDS – in 160 countries.

A CRITICAL TIME TO SAVE WOMEN'S LIVES, PROTECT WOMEN'S HEALTH AND PROVIDE WOMEN WITH THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR NATIONS.

The President will note that this is a critical time to invest in international family planning programs. Today, there are one billion people between the ages of 15 and 24 – the largest generation ever – entering their reproductive years, and a record number of people living with or vulnerable to HIV/AIDS.

The President will recognize the critical role that family planning plays in saving the lives and protecting the health of women around the world. America's strong support for international family planning programs will allow millions of women to plan their families, provide for their children's future, and contribute to the development of their nations.

Draft 04/06/00 6:15pm

Heather Hurlburt

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS TO WOMEN'S HEALTH EVENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC
April 7, 2000**

Acknowledgements: Secretary Madeleine Albright, Secretary Donna Shalala; my friend Brady Anderson, the USAID Administrator; Representatives Carolyn Maloney, Jim Greenwood, members of Congress and all the women's health advocates who are with us today.

I want to thank everyone who helped organize these two days of events on saving women's lives and protecting women's health. This week Congress began a new budget debate – and we have a new chance to return America's support for family planning around the world to the level it ought to be. We have a new chance to lift the international family planning debate out of partisan politics and back to what it is really about -- human potential and human lives. I have proposed an increase of \$169 million in our international family planning assistance this year. Members of my Administration and I have made clear at every opportunity that we are ready to fight – and I know you are ready to help us win.

My wife Hillary, whose leadership on this issue has been so important, would have loved to be with us today – but she is fighting hard to join Senators **TBD** in the Senate, and help me join the Senate Spouses Club. So I want to quote something she said last year at The Hague Forum:

“[W]e now know that no nation can hope to succeed in the global economy of the 21st century if half its people lack the opportunity and the right to make the most of their God-given potential. No nation can move forward when its women and children are trapped in endless cycles of poverty; when they have inadequate health care, poor access to family planning, limited education, or when they are constrained inside social or cultural customs that impoverish their spirits and limit their dreams.”

Two weeks ago I was in a little village in India, a country with more than 900 million people and a per capita income of \$450 a year. One of the poorest places on earth. I met the women who, with the smallest amount of encouragement, had started the Women's Dairy Cooperative, and taken over the local milk business. And I saw the community center computer that any village woman, poor or even illiterate, can use to get the latest information on caring for a newborn baby.

Think about how life in that one village is changing for the better because women have access to education and health care. Hillary and I have seen again and again around the world how empowering women lifts the lives of individuals and transforms the future for whole communities. Family planning is a vital part of that empowerment – because it allows women and families to make their own choices, and plan their own futures. If you believe God created

women equal, if you believe every society needs women's contributions to succeed, then you ought to be in favor of returning decisions on family life to the hands of women and families.

Around the world, the complications of childbirth kill 600,000 women every year. We all agree that the United States should fight child and maternal mortality – just as we are working to eradicate polio and TB. But maternal mortality has been stuck at the same level for more than a decade – even though we know that family planning could help women bear healthier children, and save the lives of 125,000 women every year. If you're in favor of keeping families together, if you're in favor of healthy mothers raising healthy babies, you ought to be in favor of family planning.

Around the world, 34 million people are now living with AIDS – and in the developing world, almost half are women. More than 6,000 women are infected every day. Last year, AIDS killed 1.1 million women, leaving broken communities, crippled economies, and parentless children. If you care about stopping the spread of AIDS, you ought to care about empowering women to make safe choices for themselves and for their children.

Around the world, more than one billion young people are entering their reproductive years. That is the largest generation in history, and the one behind it is two billion strong. More than 150 million women world-wide would like to limit or space their children, but have no access to contraception. The options these young people have, and the choices they make, will have vital consequences for every one of us. If you are concerned about the health of our planet, and about the health of everyone on it, you ought to support our family planning assistance overseas.

America has a profound interest in safe, voluntary family planning. We have a moral interest in saving human lives. We have a practical interest in building a world of healthy children and strong societies. And because we are a nation that believes in individual freedom and responsibility, we have every interest in supporting others around the world who seek the same rights and responsibilities we enjoy.

That is why I have asked Congress to return our funding for international family planning to the level it reached in 1995 -- a level that serves our interests, keeps our promises, and leverages support from other donors around the world. And I have asked Congress to give us that money without restrictions that hamper the work of family planning organizations, and even bar them from discussing or debating reproductive health policies.

Those Congressionally-sponsored restrictions have not prevented a single abortion; and where they have caused cuts in other kinds of family planning services, they may even have resulted in more. These restrictions are bureaucratic and inefficient and they are fundamentally un-American. When would we ever accept rules telling Americans at home not even to discuss methods of family planning? And how, in the name of democracy and freedom, can we impose those rules on others?

I want to thank Carolyn Maloney, Nita Lowey, Jim Greenwood and Nancy Pelosi, and many others, for your efforts to roll back these restrictions. I also want to acknowledge the

foundations and non-profits which have stepped up their own support for women's health and family planning around the world.

We know that Americans favor family planning at home, and family planning assistance to those who need and want it. We must not let politics and name-calling hide that simple truth. At stake is a simple question: does the United States want to save lives, promote mother and child health, and strengthen families and communities around the world?

Together, let's make sure the answer is yes.

Now let me turn to someone who has been a leader, in my Administration and around the world, in making the case for women's health and women's empowerment; who is herself a trail-blazer and a role model; and who has distinguished herself as a very fine Secretary of State. Madeleine Albright.

After Representative Greenwood speaks, President returns to podium to thank participants and close event.

JUDY MANN

This Deal Was No Triumph of Diplomacy

Each year, more than 585,000 women worldwide die of complications of pregnancy and childbirth. As many as 50 million suffer health problems following childbirth, many of which could be prevented with low-cost safe motherhood practices offered in international reproductive health programs.

Yet these women's health programs have become pawns in the nasty game between the Clinton administration and the right-wing abortion foes who control the House of Representatives. Last year, the administration agreed to impose a global gag rule forbidding any group that received U.S. aid funds to use any money to lobby or discuss the subject of abortion in their own countries. In exchange, the House agreed to pay nearly \$1 billion in arrearages to the United Nations. The deal was engineered in large measure by U.N. Ambassador Richard C. Holbrooke.

A few days after the agreement, Holbrooke bragged to New York Times writer James Traub, who was in his office working on a profile of him, that "we got 90 percent of what we wanted." Women, he said, "have emphasized the 10 percent we didn't get."

In the profile that appeared March 26, Traub wrote that Holbrooke saw this as feminist purism. Traub went on to describe Holbrooke taking a call "from one of Washington's most prominent women." Holbrooke made faces, watched CNN, mugged for the reporter and said things like, "No, we beat Chris Smith. . . . You know I love you, otherwise I wouldn't scream at you."

When men make remarks like that, you know one thing for sure: They're not taking you seriously.

The woman, it turns out, was none other than Rep. Carolyn B. Maloney (D-N.Y.), who had tried her level best to keep the administration from trading women's lives for U.N. dues. In a not-yet-published letter to the New York Times Magazine, she wrote: "For the first time in history, restrictive language on international family planning was codified into law in a deal to satisfy one Member of Congress, Chris Smith (R-N.J.), who represents the extremists in the Republican Party and those who oppose legal abortion under any circumstances and who consistently vote against family planning. Mr. Holbrooke accepted a policy that would be unconstitutional if applied to U.S. organizations."

"I talked to Ambassador Holbrooke the day the deal was made public. It was clear then and today—he just doesn't get it. I believe that if Mr. Holbrooke had stood on principle instead of political convenience, we would have won U.N. dues without restrictions on women's health."

One of the reasons women's organizations were outraged by the back-room deal is that top administration officials had previously assured them that under no circumstances would the administration cave on the global gag rule. "They sold us down the river," says one woman who met with Clinton administration officials. "By the

following Monday, it was clear the deal was struck."

Maloney and 18 other members of Congress then wrote Steve Ricchetti, deputy chief of staff and the main budget negotiator, saying they would "reluctantly vote for the bill" only if Clinton took several specific steps to repair the damage. Those included a promise to not cave in again, to restore family planning funds to 1995 levels (they've been cut 28 percent in budgets since then) and to hold a high-profile public event at which the administration would recommit itself to family planning and a woman's right to choose.

"The deal that was worked out by the White House was an extremely high-priced deal that hurt women around the world," Maloney says.

The president's budget restores funding to 1995 levels, as does a Maloney bill that has almost 100 co-sponsors and no gag rule.

One immediate effect of the gag rule is that nongovernmental organizations have to sign a document saying they will not lobby to change abortion laws. "It goes further and says they cannot as organizations take part in discussions about abortions in seminars or other venues," says Peggy Curlin, president of the Centre for Development and Population Activities, which runs programs in 40 countries. "Groups have had a real struggle with whether or not to certify."

Paying for abortions is not the issue. The Helms amendment enacted in 1974 prevents any U.S. aid funds from being used for abortions.

Two of the larger women's groups in Latin America were informed in the last two weeks that the Government Accounting Office would spend two weeks with each of them to do an audit for compliance on family planning regulations, Curlin says. She says the audits were requested by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.). "It is a frightening thing to groups that are simply trying to bring reproductive health and development to the most vulnerable women in the world."

The White House event the congresswomen requested is scheduled for today—World Health Day—and will be attended by family planning experts from around the world, along with top administration officials and members of Congress. It climaxes two days of activities designed to focus on family planning as an essential part of women's health. "This is not an ideological dispute about abortion and reproductive rights," says Nils Daulaire, head of the Global Health Council. "It's a fundamental issue to the health of hundreds of millions of women around the world."

That it is. The United States hardly did itself proud by exporting restrictions on free speech that wouldn't last a day here. This was a bad deal on free-speech grounds alone. It's an even worse deal when you realize that the dealmakers were willing to turn access to family planning for millions of women into a bargaining chip. Call me a feminist purist, but I can't help but wonder what the outcome would have been had men's access to Viagra had been on the line.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, APRIL 7, 2000

E. J. Dionne Jr.

GOP Firefighters

You can now rest easier: The Republican-led House of Representatives has voted for a new program to give \$100 million in federal money to local fire departments and fire prevention programs.

Fighting fires being a popular cause, the "unprecedented" spending, as its sponsor, Rep. Curt Weldon (R-Pa.) called it, was added to the supplemental appropriations bill last week on a vote of 386 to 28. Why a new federal program in this area? Well, if President Clinton can push for a lot of help to cops, why can't a Republican give firefighters a hand? As Weldon said in a statement, "while law enforcement receives billions of dollars in federal aid each year, our volunteer fire departments receive virtually no assistance."

Personally, I have no principled objection to the feds helping firefighters. But something curious is going on here. Wasn't this Republican Congress elected to scale back the federal government? Haven't we been told over and over that Washington has no business getting involved with what were traditionally "state and local" responsibilities? Isn't firefighting a quintessentially "local" responsibility?

Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.) could not resist lavishing tongue-in-cheek praise on the Republicans for their philosophical breakthrough.

"I congratulate the Republican Party on sloughing off that old notion that the federal government was something whose influence should be resisted and restricted," Frank said on the House floor. "Having the Republican Party bring forward a new federal program, putting the federal government into a new area where it had not previously been, helping local firefighting, shows a degree of intellectual growth on which I congratulate them."

Weldon's new deal for firefighters, which still needs Senate approval, is a small but telling symbol of the sweeping change that has overtaken the Republican Party as it struggles to keep its tenuous hold on the House and recapture the presidency after eight years in the wilderness. Gone is the bold rhetoric about rolling back an overweening federal apparatus.

Instead, Republicans talk about meeting "the needs out there," as Rep. Dave Camp (R-Mich.) puts it. And if meeting those needs requires approving a new federal program to provide prescription drugs for seniors or seeking compromise on a bill to regulate health maintenance organizations, so be it. The Democrats' biggest challenge may involve blocking Republican initiatives with arguments that they are insufficient. For Dem-

ocratic candidates, that would have the additional virtue of preserving issues for the fall campaign.

Robert Shrum, a Democratic consultant assisting Vice President Al Gore's campaign, sees the changes in Congress and George W. Bush's forays into Democratic territory on education and the environment as marking the rebirth of "me, too Republicanism." That term grew popular in the 1960s among Goldwater conservatives. They used it to bash their moderate brethren for proposing programs ("constructive Republican alternatives" they were called) that tried to do what the Democrats wanted to do, but for less money. Shrum dismisses the new disposition as "me too, but a lot less."

Frank says the Republican shift is a straightforward response to new public demands for government action on education, health care, the minimum wage and other problems. "Democracy works," Frank says. "Broad public moods communicate themselves."

Camp, a moderate conservative, doesn't disagree. "The political environment and the concerns people have change, and a lot has changed since 1994," he says. "If we were to just stand in one place, that's not governing responsibly."

Rep. Fred Upton (R-Mich.) is unflinching about the political stakes in the prescription drug issue, which is at the "top of the charts" among his constituents' concerns. "If we don't do something on prescription drugs," he says, "there's a decent chance we'd lose the House."

Yet it can be jarring to hear old Democratic arguments repackaged as Republican doctrine. Pete Peterson, Weldon's press secretary, defends federal money for firefighting as legitimate help, especially to volunteer fire departments "facing financial constraints." He adds: "There's only so much they can do with chicken dinners and bingo nights to buy new equipment."

No doubt true—and exactly what Democrats say in arguing that "the voluntary sector" and the local governments so often touted by the GOP as the preferred problem-solvers don't have enough money to, say, help the needy or fix the schools.

Rep. Douglas Bereuter (R-Neb.) chuckles appreciatively at Frank's characterization of his party's great conversion on the federal role, at least where firefighters are concerned. "We're looking to avoiding political difficulties," he says candidly, "and helping constituencies that are seen as favorable." The big bad federal government never looked so good.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, APRIL 7, 2000

*file internat'l
family planning*

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

I am returning without my approval H.R. 1757, the "Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998".

I take this action for several reasons, most importantly, because this legislation includes unacceptable restrictions on international family planning programs and threatens our leadership in the world community by tying our payment of dues to the United Nations and other international organizations to these unrelated family planning issues.

Current law, with which Administration policy is fully consistent, already prohibits the use of Federal funds to pay for abortion abroad and for lobbying on abortion issues. This bill would go beyond those limits. One provision would deny U.S. government funding for family planning programs carried out by foreign nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that use their own funds to perform abortions even though the overall result of these NGO family planning programs is to reduce the incidence of abortion. Although the bill allows the President to waive this restriction, use of the waiver would also cripple many programs by limiting annual spending for international family planning to \$356 million, \$44 million below the amount available for Fiscal Year 1998.

A second provision would attempt to restrict the free speech of foreign NGOs by prohibiting funding for those that use their own funds to engage in any activity intended to alter the laws of a foreign country either to promote or to deter abortion. The bill would even ban drafting and distributing material or public statements on abortion. No waiver is provided for this restriction.

These restrictions and the funding limit would severely jeopardize the ability of the United States to meet the growing demand for family planning and other critical health services in developing countries. By denying funding to organizations that offer a wide range of safe and effective family planning services, the bill would increase unwanted pregnancies and lead to more abortions than would otherwise be the case.

I am deeply concerned that this legislation ties unacceptable restrictions on international family planning to payment of legitimate U.S. arrears to the United Nations and other international organizations. A strong United Nations, with the United States playing a leadership role, is in our national interest. Payment of our dues to the United Nations is essential to our ability to lead. There are strongly held beliefs on both sides of the debate over international population policy. These issues ought to be considered separately, on their own merits; they should not be permitted to hinder U.S. obligations to the world community.

The package authorizing arrears payments linked to UN reforms was the result of good faith negotiations between the Administration and Congress more than a year and a half ago. Unfortunately, due to the passage of time, some of these conditions are now outdated and are no longer achievable. In particular, the fact that the UN has concluded negotiations on assessment rates for the next 3 years, has significantly decreased our ability to negotiate a limitation on the U.S. assessed share of the UN regular budget below 22 percent. Furthermore, the increase in contested arrears during this period requires that the United States have additional flexibility in obtaining a contested arrears account. While many of the UN reform benchmarks in the package remain acceptable, significant revisions are required, and we look forward to working with Congress next year to secure the payment of our arrears and an achievable package of UN reforms.

While H.R. 1757 contains important and carefully negotiated authority to reorganize the foreign affairs agencies and other basic authorities for these agencies, these important provisions have been included in the Omnibus Consolidated and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for FY 1999.

For these reasons, I am compelled to return H.R. 1757 without my approval.

file international
family planning

JUDY MANN

Making a Better World With U.S. Money

The idea that Americans are indifferent to people who live in developing countries is a myth. This nation, whose unexampled altruism helped rebuild Europe with the Marshall Plan after World War II, is far more in favor of international economic assistance than the isolationists in Congress would have us believe.

A recent Rand report on American attitudes about world population issues found 59 percent of Americans support international assistance, the highest level of support these programs have enjoyed since attitudes were first tracked in 1974. Support hit a low in 1993 but has since increased by 16 points. Sixty percent of those favoring assistance to developing countries believe it will ultimately benefit the United States economically, an earnest of our growing sophistication in such matters.

Historically, this has been the case. Some 80 percent of the money that funded the Marshall Plan returned to the United States directly in the form of contracts to American companies. In the current world economy, corporations understand that helping developing countries prosper leads to more skilled labor pools and stronger markets for U.S. products.

The survey also asked Americans how they would like to see their foreign assistance dollars spent. Not surprisingly, two of the top goals were improving children's health and increasing child survival rates. Protecting the environment is also one of the most popular efforts, as is relieving human suffering brought about by civil war and natural disaster. The fifth most popular program was helping women in poor countries avoid unintended pregnancies, followed by helping countries slow their rate of population growth. Eight in 10 Americans favor funding voluntary family planning programs—and that includes 70 percent of all demographic and political subgroups. Family planning services in the survey did not include abortion.

Unfortunately, the survey found high levels of ignorance in some key areas. Only 14 percent knew that the world's population is about 6 billion people; 14 percent said it was 30 billion, and 40 percent admitted they didn't know. About half gave the frightening prediction that the world's population would double in 20 years, instead of in 50 years as expected. Sixty percent believe the Earth is overpopulated, and 71 percent agreed with the statement that "too much population growth in developing countries is holding back their economic development." In 1994, 55 percent of respondents agreed with that. Thirty-three percent of Hispanics, as opposed to 20 percent of the general population, rank population growth as a very serious problem, and they are more likely to support funding for family planning programs than any other group.

Support for funding voluntary family planning programs overseas was high, with 80 percent in

favor and 18 percent opposed. One relatively new approach in economic development aid has been to focus on keeping girls in school. The more educated girls become, the longer they postpone childbearing and the more capable they are of contributing to their family's economic well-being. Programs to give girls in developing countries the same educational opportunities as boys enjoy a high level of support from the American public.

The willingness of Americans to think globally is all the more significant in light of a new international health crisis for which U.S. help inevitably will be sought. A report released the day after the Rand study has found that multi-drug-resistant tuberculosis continues to spread at alarming rates. Some 500 people died of it in an outbreak in New York City in 1991, and hundreds have died of it in Russian prisons more recently. The outbreaks cost \$2 billion, according to the report by the World Health Organization and the International Union Against TB & Lung Disease.

Resistance to at least one TB drug has increased by 50 percent in Denmark and Germany since 1996, and it has doubled in New Zealand. In all three countries, foreign-born patients are almost twice as likely to have the drug-resistant strain than native-born patients. Treated properly, TB can be cured for \$20 or less per patient in developing countries. But if the patient fails to take all of the drugs properly, the strongest bacilli living in the lungs can produce a strain of the disease that is multi-drug-resistant. Bacilli that become airborne are also drug-resistant and will infect others. Treating multi-drug-resistant TB is 100 times more expensive and 20 times less effective.

A typical reaction of policymakers in afflicted regions is to screen immigrants and deport immigrants who test positive, which sends the epidemic underground. Immigrants who show symptoms don't go to doctors, instead using homemade remedies and black-market medications.

Arata Kochi, director of the Stop TB initiative at WHO, says the only course for wealthy countries to protect themselves is to help developing countries strengthen their TB control programs. And this is going to take tens of millions in additional funds from donor countries, corporations and foundations, many of whom are enjoying the fruits of today's prosperity.

Investing in TB programs now can save us from disastrous epidemics tomorrow. We are not immune: The nation's capital has the highest TB rate in the country.

What is so encouraging about the Rand report is that it destroys the myth that Americans don't approve of foreign assistance and establishes very clearly that, whether for humanitarian reasons or enlightened self-interest, we are more than willing to spend money to improve the health of people in less fortunate parts of the world.

David Ignatius

The Microsoft Judge Didn't Duck

When Judge Thomas Penfield Jackson was assigned the Microsoft antitrust case several years ago—and had the future of America's technology industry almost literally dropped in his hands—he remembers reciting what he calls “the astronauts’ prayer”: “Please, God, don’t let me screw this up.”

Judge Jackson issued his final verdict in the case Monday, finding the software giant guilty of violating the antitrust laws in its relentless drive to sell its Windows operating system. And while appeals courts may spend years weighing the final outcome, there’s no doubt Jackson’s prayer was answered.

Most of the plaudits in this case so far have gone to the Justice Department’s lawyer, David Boies. But the real hero, I think, was Judge Jackson. He was the person who finally had to make up his mind about the complicated facts and reach a verdict.

Jackson, 63, played the role of judicial Everyman in this case, grappling with the mysteries of the tech wizards. With his silver hair and meat-and-potatoes face, he had the look of an old-time movie actor—if someone was to play him today, it might be Brian Dennehy. He would gaze out from the bench, surveying all the bright young techies and lawyers and you could almost hear him thinking: Don’t try to put one over on the old guy!

As a Republican and Reagan appointee, who had sided with General Motors in a previous big case, Jackson might have been expected to lean Microsoft’s way. But his only discernible lean was toward the hundred-year-old Sherman Antitrust Act. When it came time to sum up the case Monday, Jackson applied an old meat-market term to the technology marketplace. He said that Microsoft had put an “oppressive thumb on the scale of competitive fortune.”

Jackson’s secret, in my judgment, was that he was in many ways an ordinary guy, placed in an extraordinary situation. That’s the essential paradigm of our judicial system—that ordinary people in a democracy are the best judges of right and wrong, and it worked sublimely in the Microsoft case.

Jackson was never a fancy lawyer. He grew up in Washington, went to Dartmouth College and Harvard Law School, and then came back home to practice with his dad in a small local firm. His specialty was medical malpractice cases, hardly a glamorous area of the law, but it taught him that by working hard and paying careful attention to witnesses, he could master a complex technical subject.

Jackson was smart enough not to try to impose himself on the case but to let the facts speak—through the opposing lawyers. Jackson let the lawyers educate him about the facts, and while the press often covered the trial as a daily baseball game—chronicling the little ups and downs as if they mat-



BY MICHAEL LUTZKY—THE WASHINGTON POST

tered—Jackson kept looking for the big picture.

He finally summarized the thousands of pages of evidence in his “Findings of Fact” last November. They were a devastating account of Microsoft’s behavior—surprising both for the ferocity of Jackson’s criticism and the clarity of his written account. In some areas he was more pointed than even the Justice Department had been.

From the beginning, Jackson had believed this was, paradoxically, too important a case for the court. Better that it should be settled by the two parties. Through the months of trial, he prodded them to reach an out-of-court settlement, and when that didn’t work, he moved in late November to appoint a mediator.

He chose federal appellate Judge Richard Posner, a brilliant and innovative conservative. He and Posner labored mightily to get a settlement, but the effort collapsed over the weekend—setting the stage for Jackson’s verdict Monday. The case will now move to a penalty phase, in which Judge Jackson will quickly try to decide what’s the best remedy for Microsoft’s illegal monopoly.

Atop a bookcase in Jackson’s chambers is a wooden duck, which he uses to illustrate a favorite joke—one that explains how he’s managed this trial of a lifetime. It involves a law professor, an appellate judge and a district judge who all go duck hunting. The first one to hit a duck wins \$100, but if they hit something else, they have to pay \$100.

A bird flies overhead. The law professor observes that it has the ornithological characteristics of a duck, pulls the trigger—and misses. Another bird is flushed, the appellate judge notes that the Supreme Court ruled last year that any bird appearing in this area should presumptively be judged a duck, pulls the trigger—and misses.

A third bird is on the wing. The district court judge fires his shotgun, nails the bird—and mutters, “I sure hope that was a duck.”

Jackson loves to tell that story. And it’s the perfect calling card for an ordinary guy who listened to the most complicated issues in the world, made up his mind for himself and pulled the trigger. And, yes, it was a duck.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 5, 2000

file int'l Repro Planning

C · R · L · P

THE CENTER FOR REPRODUCTIVE LAW AND POLICY

October 16, 2000

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HTTP://WWW.CRLP.ORG

The Honorable Carolyn Maloney
2403 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Representative Maloney:

I am writing in my capacity as the President of the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy, a New York-based global human rights organization, to express my opposition to the global gag rule. We are grateful for your tireless work on behalf of women's rights, particularly reproductive rights, and for your efforts to eliminate the global gag rule. For that reason, I want to explain to you how this gag not only censors democratic speech overseas, but is also impeding the ability of the Center to accomplish our public service mission of advocating for legal protection of reproductive rights worldwide.

The gag rule imposed by Congress on recipients of U.S. aid is increasingly stopping the flow of speech and chilling democratic law reform efforts. The people censored by the U.S. government are those working with foreign non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in over 50 countries which receive U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) family planning funds. Many of these groups are reproductive health organizations whose collaboration with us is critical. Advocates, doctors and lawyers in these groups are forbidden to provide legal abortion services or advocate, testify to or lobby their own governments in order to reform their abortion laws. This democratic free speech cannot even occur with private funding, such as that provided by my organization. This censorship of all their public and privately funded speech on abortion laws is an unconscionable condition of their being able to receive USAID family planning funds.

We have legal or health activist NGO partners in many of the 50 affected countries. A few of our current colleagues receive the censoring USAID money. We are now in the position of being unable to fund or actively collaborate on abortion law reform with approximately 430 sister organizations who have "agreed" to stop performing abortions or speaking about abortion law reform. The gagged groups cannot, even with Center money, speak up to reform their laws to allow abortions to save dying women. The continuation of the global gag rule will force some of our global partners to choose between collaborating with us and receiving USAID funding for desperately needed services. Here are three examples of the effect on our work:

1. In Bolivia, where maternal mortality from illegal abortions is very high, we provided legal advocacy Spanish-language materials to approximately 15 Bolivian women's reproductive rights and health NGOs that were trying to reform Bolivia's

restrictive abortion law. Now, this year, as a direct result of the U.S. gag, four of these organizations have already dropped out of this public campaign to save women's lives.

2. We are organizing a workshop with Salvadoran women to be held in El Salvador in November of this year. At this conference, we will launch our report on the effects of the new criminal abortion law passed in El Salvador in 1998, as well as discuss ways to reform the law with leading women's rights advocates. Because of the gag rule, we fear that some critical organizations will not attend our conference, or will attend and not speak, for fear of jeopardizing their USAID funding – even though this workshop is supported by CRLP with funds from private U.S. philanthropies.

3. We are working with Russian NGOs to inform both the general public and the government about the health effects of a proposed restrictive abortion law in Russia. We funded and co-sponsored a conference on this proposed law in St. Petersburg in June of 2000 with some 30 advocates from NGOs. Now, some of the Russian NGOs critical to the success of this effort have been forced to sign the gag by the U.S. government.

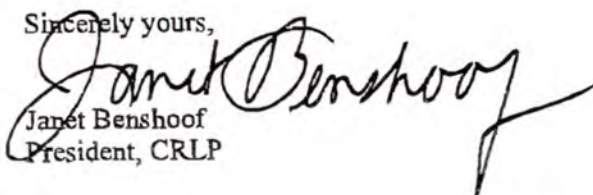
In addition to the countries noted above, we do legal work with women's legal and health organizations in other gagged countries including Albania, Brazil, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guatemala, Jamaica, Kenya, Nigeria, Peru, Romania, South Africa, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

We have heard first-hand from our staff lawyers traveling to gagged countries that because of the gag rule, private organizations have stopped doing legal – even life-saving – abortions in their countries. This U.S. legislation is killing women and killing democracy. The gag rule is affecting the free speech of the Center as our global audience is being coerced away from us by the U.S. government.

Paradoxically, the United States government, in its Medicaid program, requires every state to fund abortions for eligible women under the life, rape and incest exceptions to the Hyde Amendment. Similarly, the United States Foreign Assistance Act permits the U.S. government to fund abortions for women overseas who fall under the life, rape and incest exceptions. Thus, the United States government gags foreign advocates from lobbying for reform of their abortion laws to permit life, rape or incest abortions -- abortions which the United States itself would even pay for.

On behalf of the women of the world who cannot speak for themselves, either because they have died due to unsafe pregnancies or unsafe abortions, or because they are gagged by the U.S. government, I urge you to end the global gag rule. The U.S. government has a responsibility for repairing the damage it has done to the democracy in the countries where the gag rule is imposed. I am requesting that you sponsor affirmative legislation to remedy this by encouraging democratic law reform of laws that harm women, including those regarding abortion. Rather than "making the world safe for democracy", the United States government's censorship is making the world unsafe for democracy and for women in over 50 countries.

Sincerely yours,


Janet Benshoof
President, CRLP

File: InterCountry
Adoption

October 5, 2000

**BILL SIGNING CEREMONY FOR H.R. 2909, THE INTERCOUNTRY ADOPTION
ACT OF 2000**

DATE: October 6, 2000
LOCATION: Oval Office
EVENT TIME: 5:05PM—5:10PM
FROM: Chuck Brain
Melanne Verveer
Lisel Loy

I. PURPOSE

To sign H.R. 2909, the Intercountry Adoption Act of 2000.

II. BACKGROUND

H.R. 2909 implements the Hague Convention on Protection of Children and Co-operation in Respect of Intercountry Adoption. The Hague Convention was negotiated by the US and sixty-five other countries in response to abuses in the intercountry adoption process, including illegal child trafficking. The Convention acts as a global legal framework designed to protect adoptive children and their families, and to streamline the international adoption process. The Convention was signed by the United States on March 31, 1994. The Senate gave its advice and consent to ratification of the Convention on September 20, 2000.

The bill was sponsored by Rep. Ben Gilman (R-NY) and fifty-one bipartisan cosponsors. The Senate companion bill, S. 682, was sponsored by Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) and six bipartisan cosponsors.

The First Lady has long been concerned about ratifying the Hague Convention and ensuring that we implement it properly in order to put in place the needed protections for internationally adopted children, as well as their birth parents and adopted parents. She requested that you do this signing ceremony to recognize the importance of this bill for the continually rising number of internationally adopted children in our country.

Rep. Bill Delahunt (D-MA), co sponsor of H.R. 2909, is an adoptive parent of a daughter from Vietnam; and requested that you hold the bill signing. Also, Senator Mary Landrieu (D-LA) is an adoptive parent to two children: three year old, Mary Shannon and eight year old Connor.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Bill Signing

Senator Joseph Biden (D-DE)

Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC)

Senator Mary Landrieu (D-LA)

Rep. William Delahunt (D-MA)

Rep. Dave Camp (R-MI)

Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D-CT)

Susan Jacobs, Deputy Director of Legislative Affairs, Department of State

Susan Soon-Keum Cox, Exec Director, Holt International Children's Services

Ms. Cox was the President of the Joint Council on International Children's Services of North America. In this role, she was instrumental in establishing the Hague Alliance, the advocacy group representing the adoption community on issues related to the Hague Convention. Ms. Cox was herself internationally adopted from Korea in 1956.

Susan Freivalds, Executive Director, Adoption Education Institute

Ms. Freivalds was the Coordinator of the Hague Convention Policy for the Joint Council on International Children's Services. She was a member of the U.S. Delegation to treaty negotiations at the Hague that produced the Hague Convention on Intercountry Adoption.

Bill Pierce, Founding President of the National Council for Adoption

Mr. Pierce was a Member of the Delegation to the Hague Convention on Intercountry adoptions. Currently, works on the implementation of the Hague Convention as a consultant to the International Association of Voluntary Adoption Agencies and NGOs, an organization that has observer status at the Hague.

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House Photo

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

--YOU greet guests in the Oval Office.

--YOU proceed to desk and sign the bill.

--Guests depart.

VI. REMARKS

None

Marty J. Hoffmann

10/05/2000 07:32:43 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: MoCs attending Intercountry Adoption Signing, 10/6/00

EVENT: HR 2909-Intercountry Adoption Act Signing
DATE: Friday, October 6, 2000
NEWTIME: 4:05 PM-5:10 PM
Location: Oval Office
PRESS: White House Photo Only
Participants: The President + 8 guests

Members should arrive no later than 4:50 PM at the NW gate,
park on the NW drive and enter the West Wing Lobby.

MEMBERS ATTENDING (4):

Sen. Mary Landrieu (D-LA)
Rep. Bill Delahunt (D-MA)
Rep. David Camp (R-MI)
Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D-CT)

MEMBERS PENDING (1):

Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC)

MEMBER REGRETS (2):

Sen. Joseph Biden (D-DE)
Rep. Benjamin Gilman (R-NY)

Message Sent To: _____

file Mel's
adoption



16.V.99

Dear Melanne,

The Conference in London was an amazing success. As always, the First Lady, spoke brilliantly. I couldn't tell you how much I admire her - determined, courageous and incredibly eloquent.

Our children are - one day - better

protected, it will be thanks to her and clerk.
Their commitment and sense of Justice is
absolutely wonderful.

But then behind both of them, there is
you and Fiona - and no words could ever
express how grateful I am for the support
you have given me and more importantly
the cause of victimised children. Again,
thank you. You have just been terrific. We
have broken amazing grounds.

All my love, Catherine

file drill
adoption



18. VI. 2000

Dear Meloune,

A belated note to thank you very much for all your wonderful help. You have been amazing. But then, I always knew you would be - from the very first time I met you. Intuition, or whatever one wants to call it, but I can usually sense what people

are about (save past mistakes if course!)
and I immediately knew what a special
person you are: honest, loyal, hard-working
and with a huge heart.

The President was absolutely brilliant.
I and all the other victim parents are pro-
foundly grateful to him. He has re-kindled
our hopes that one day - soon we hope - we will
be able to see our children again. I met with
Tony Blincken last week and was thrilled to
learn how determined everyone was to solve our
problems. Much of this due to you! All my love,
Catherine

*file int'l
family pl.*

September 18, 2000

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

Dear Mr. President:

We, the undersigned organizations, represent millions of Americans who care deeply about family planning and other crucial reproductive health services in developing countries. We are strongly opposed to the anti-family planning and anti-democratic amendment commonly known as the global gag rule and were deeply disappointed when it became law last year. We urge you to use every means at your disposal to ensure that it is not renewed. We respectfully request an opportunity to meet with you to discuss how together we can guarantee that this outcome becomes a reality during the final budget negotiations.

You are distinguished as the President who overturned the global gag rule's predecessor—the Mexico City policy—as one of your first official acts. If the restrictions were to continue, it would undo the tremendous support you have shown for international family planning programs.

The inevitable result of a continuation of these restrictions will be even more interference with the critical work of family planning providers overseas, undermining their efforts to reduce the tragic toll of nearly 600,000 annual deaths to women during pregnancy and childbirth. Such interference is simply unacceptable.

Obstetricians-gynecologists from around the world attending the XVI World Congress of the International Federation of Gynecology and Obstetrics earlier this month in Washington noted in a petition urging you to block renewal of the global gag rule,

“If high quality family planning service were more widely available, there would be fewer unwanted pregnancies and fewer abortions. As many as one in every four of these [600,000] deaths could be prevented.”

The global gag rule is also a direct assault on the right of foreign organizations to engage in free and open debate on an important public health issue. The global gag rule mandates that eligibility for U.S. population assistance be conditioned on the willingness of an overseas organization to surrender its right to use its own funds to address—within its country's political process—issues that affect the beneficiaries of its programs and services.

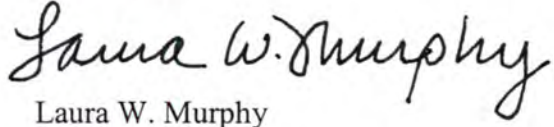
As you correctly noted at the White House ceremony commemorating World Health Day, the global gag rule "imposes a destructive double standard." You pointedly asked, "When would we ever accept rules telling Americans at home not even to discuss women's health and women's choices? And how in the name of democracy and freedom can we ever impose those rules on others, which would be illegal here in the United States?" We wholeheartedly agree "that this is not the American way."

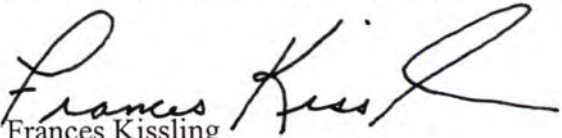
All our organizations stand firmly behind family planning, safe motherhood, and child and maternal health programs. We are all also deeply concerned about the fundamental democratic principles that are undermined by the global gag rule restrictions, and we are firmly committed to their removal from the law.

Therefore, we are requesting a meeting to urge you to ensure that the restrictions are eliminated. The global gag rule is unworthy of a great nation.

Sincerely yours,


Nancy Zirkin
Director of Public Policy and
Government Relations
American Association of University Women

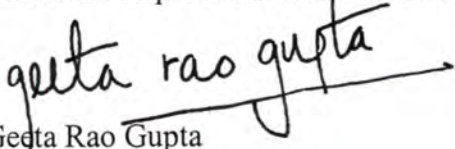

Laura W. Murphy
Director
American Civil Liberties Union
Washington Office

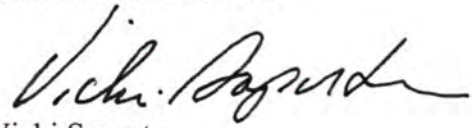

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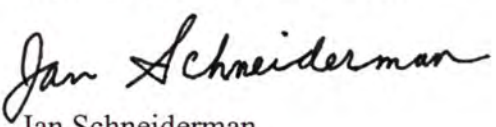

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President
Center for Reproductive Law and Policy

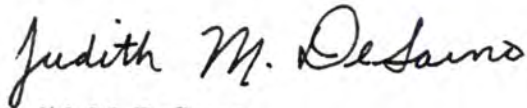

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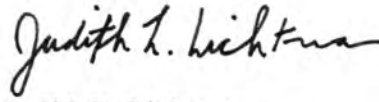

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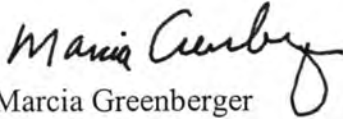

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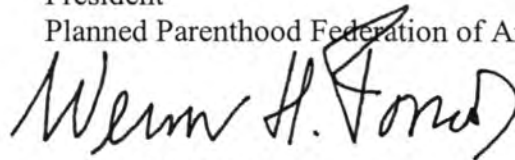
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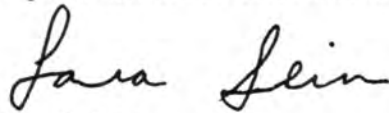
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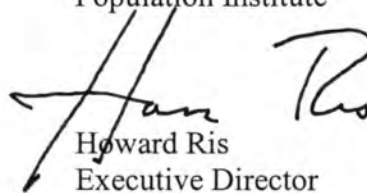
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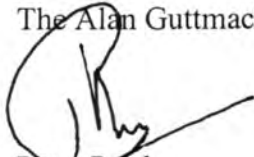
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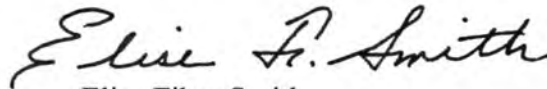
Sara Seims
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The Alan Guttmacher Institute



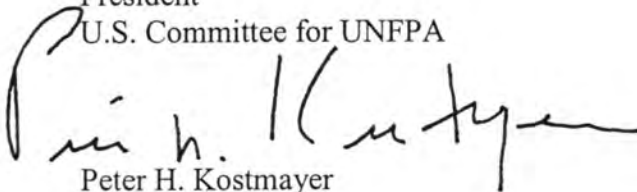
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U.S. Committee for UNFPA



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Peter H. Kostmayer
President
Zero Population Growth

Enclosure

cc: The Hon. Madeleine Albright, John Podesta, Steve Ricchetti, Maria Echeveste, Charles Burson, Nancy McFadden, Melanne Verveer, Audrey Tayse Haynes, Charles Brain, Mary Beth Cahill, Lauren Supina

Editorials On International Family Planning And The Gag Rule

Positive Gag Rule Editorials

Date	Outlet	Title
August 24, 2000	Detroit Free Press	Dump the Gag on Family Planning
July 31, 2000	Palm Beach Post	Get Rid of Gag Rule
July 26, 2000	Daily Camera (Boulder, CO)	A Misguided Policy
July 25, 2000	St. Petersburg Times	Playing Politics with Lives
July 25, 2000	The Des Moines Register	The Unconscionable Gag Rule Denying Aid to Family-Planning Groups Will Encourage Abortions
July 23, 2000	Tulsa World (Tulsa, OK)	Reproduction Politics
July 19, 2000	Atlanta Journal and Constitution	'Gag Rule' Keeps Aid from Needy
July 18, 2000	The New York Times	Shortchanging Foreign Aid
July 16, 2000	San Francisco Examiner	Abortion Gamesmanship; 'Pro-Life' Advocates Can Only Achieve a Pyrrhic Victory by Insisting on Strings for IFP Funds
July 13, 2000	Pittsburgh Post-Gazette	Remove the Gag Rule
July 4, 2000	Courier-Journal (Louisville, KY)	Editorial: 'America's Global Gag'
June 26, 2000	Seattle Post Intelligencer	Lift Strings on Aid Abroad
June 21, 2000	Philadelphia Weekly	Nix the Gag Rule
June 21, 2000	Philadelphia Daily News	U.S. Trying to Gag Free Speech Abroad
June 20, 2000	Washington Post	Ostriches in Congress
June 20, 2000	Detroit Free Press	Global Gag: U.S. Aid Shouldn't Undermine Free Speech
June 16-22, 2000	Philadelphia Gay News	Mark My Words: Gag Order Needs to Be Removed
June 16, 2000	Macomb Daily (Mt. Clemens, MI)	In Our Opinion
June 4, 2000	Maine Sunday Telegram	U.S. Gag Rule Hinders African Triage
April 23, 2000	Palm Beach Post	Dislodging Gag Rule May Take a Bomb
April 21, 2000	Charleston Gazette (Charleston, WV)	Arrogance: Far-Right Restrictions
April 19, 2000	The New York Times	Family Planning Politics
April 17, 2000	Boston Globe	Funds for Family Planning
April 12, 2000	Daily Camera (Boulder, CO)	Planning a Family
April 6, 2000	Washington Post	Ungag Family Planning
February 29, 2000	Tampa Tribune	Bills Would Widen Women's Awareness of Happier Alternatives to Abortion
January 12, 2000	Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN)	Family Planning; Fulfilling the Dreams of Abortion Foes
January 11, 2000	The Atlanta Journal and Constitution	Fund Family Planning Services
December 27, 1999	Los Angeles Times	Mexico: Family Planning Gains
November 27, 1999	The Houston Chronicle	No Honor in Paying U.N. Dues at Foreign Women's Expense
November 17, 1999	Miami Herald	Clinton Blinks on United Nations Debt
November 17, 1999	Denver Post	America Loses Face
November 17, 1999	Buffalo News	A Bad Deal for Women
November 16, 1999	St. Louis-Post Dispatch	GOP Holds Women Hostage
November 16, 1999	Fresno Bee	Extortion on Abortion
November 16, 1999	Atlanta Journal and Constitution	Abortion Foes Threaten Our World Role

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EDITORIAL AIDS AWARENESS

THURSDAY, AUGUST 24, 2000

IN OUR OPINION

Dump the gag on family planning

The fight against AIDS got a big boost Saturday when President Bill Clinton signed a bill putting \$300 million into a global AIDS trust fund over the next two years. International donations are expected to help this seed money grow to \$1 billion to combat a disease that killed 2.8 million people around the world last year.

The money would be aimed at prevention, treatment and, most important in the absence of a cure, education. This key component, however, could be sadly lacking because of a terrible restriction that Congress continues to impose.

Known by women's rights and family planning advocates as the "global gag rule," it prevents any organization that accepts U.S. family planning money from using its own funds to lobby for abortion rights, to campaign for safer abortions or to recommend an abortion that could save a woman's life.

That means family planning agencies — in many ways the best-equipped people to provide AIDS

counseling — will have to choose between taking U.S. dollars and dispensing life-saving advice.

Without U.S. funds, many of these agencies will close down. Then the global gag rule will have limited access to AIDS information and exacerbated the problem — including passing the disease on to children at birth.

When Congress returns this fall, it will have to hash out competing foreign aid bills. The House version includes the global gag rule. The Senate version says Congress can't impose restrictions overseas that would be illegal to impose in the United States, such as the gag rule.

If Congress really stands behind the AIDS trust fund — which was enacted with strong bipartisan support in both houses — it will cut the global gag rule from family planning funding and prevent it from being resurrected as an amendment to any other bill. That would show a commitment not only to fighting AIDS, but also to fighting for the health of women around the world.

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The Palm Beach Post

MONDAY, JULY 31, 2000

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Get rid of gag rule

Congress left town for its August recess without settling the most contentious issue in the \$13.3 billion foreign-aid bill. Both sides are left wondering: Will anti-abortion zealots win again in their effort to restrict international family-planning money? Will President Clinton veto such a bill or cave in as he did last year?

The Senate-passed foreign-aid bill is preferable because it includes more money for family-planning assistance and would eliminate the "gag rule." The House bill contains the gag rule, which bars private foreign organizations from receiving federal family-planning money if — even with separate money — they provide abortions or abortion counseling. Current law already prohibits federal money from paying for abortions in foreign countries.

U.S. Reps. Nita Lowey, D-N.Y., and James Greenwood, R-Pa., proposed an amendment that would have removed the restrictions from the House bill, but it failed 221-206. In the July 13 vote, Rep. Mark Foley, R-West Palm Beach, voted for the amendment. Rep. E. Clay Shaw, R-Fort Lauderdale, voted against it. Rep. Foley gets kudos. Rep. Shaw gives his reelection opponent an issue.

President Clinton called the House bill "deeply flawed" and said he would veto it unless Congress fixed certain problems. One is the gag rule. Another is the amount of money earmarked for family-planning aid. The

Anti-abortion zealots attack foreign aid.

Senate bill is better on that score but still provides less than the president requested.

But *will* the president follow through on his threat? After the odious deal he struck last year with anti-abortion ideologues, no one can be certain. Last year, he said if Republicans would agree to start paying down the country's nearly \$1 billion debt to the United Nations, he would not veto the foreign-aid bill containing — for the first time — the gag rule. Abortion-rights supporters were outraged. This year, they're cautious.

A House-Senate conference committee had planned to meet last week and resolve the bills' differences before the August break. That didn't happen. Now, they have until Sept. 30, the end of the fiscal year. The only Floridian on that committee is Rep. Bill Young, R-St. Petersburg, not usually considered a friend of family planning.

To most Americans, helping couples in poor nations space their children with modern contraception is not a contentious issue but a common-sense way to help people improve their lives. President Clinton has a large majority behind him on this one. He needs to stand firm.



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EDITORIAL

A misguided policy

U.S. Congress must restore family planning funding

They're baaack. Rep. Chris Smith of New Jersey and his fellow Republicans in the U.S.

Congress are engaged in their annual battle to limit family planning funds overseas. Anti-abortion lawmakers are also trying to cement a gag rule on women's health care advocates who would debate abortion policies. Both U.S. funding and policy decisions could be decided as early as today.

The U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate have passed two unacceptable foreign aid bills. The House version is the most egregious. It would grant a meager \$385 million for international family planning programs. The bill would further reinstitute a year-old law that prevents U.S. funds from assisting public or private organizations that use *their own* resources to debate abortion policies.

Both the House and Senate bill ask for \$169 million less than what President Clinton requested during budget hearings. The Senate version, however, has language that would eliminate the speech prohibition.

How proud these legislators must feel. Since 1995, lawmakers have successfully kept funding 30 percent below what family planning programs need to be effective. The result? More unintended births that add to a world population of 6 billion. Too many of these newborns have died because their families live a marginal existence without health care and proper nutrition. Without a well-funded family planning program, developing countries continue to experience millions of

pregnancy-related deaths and unsafe abortions that put both mothers and their children in jeopardy.

Some U.S. citizens may be uncomfortable spending U.S. dollars on programs that practice safe abortions using non-U.S. dollars. But that should not stop these individuals from finding Smith's gag rule offensive, as well as undemocratic.

The law is clear: U.S. funds cannot be spent on abortion services overseas. A further prohibition on abortion-related

speech has no place in foreign aid — legislation that should be focused on women's health and children's quality of life. The rule is far too sweeping and would restrict education about unsafe abortion practices. Holding funding hostage to speech is an arrogant move by U.S. lawmakers who would place political views above human lives.

As a member of the Senate Foreign Operations subcommittee, Colorado Republican Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell will play a role in

reconciling the House and Senate bills. Campbell should fight to restore funding back to 1995 levels of \$542 million and eliminate the gag rule.

Family planning programs serve to *reduce* abortions and are a critical tool to counter the HIV/AIDS epidemic worldwide. In sub-Saharan Africa, for example, only 20 percent of women use contraception. An additional 27 percent of women wish they had access to family planning resources. There is no reason, other than political posturing, to limit our country's contribution to improving and saving lives.

**TOO MANY
NEWBORNS HAVE
DIED BECAUSE
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LIVE A MARGINAL
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HEALTH CARE
AND PROPER
NUTRITION.**

St. Petersburg Times

Florida's Best Newspaper

TUESDAY, July 25, 2000

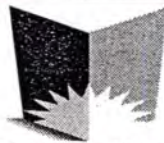
Playing politics with lives

Once again, Congress is trying to shove its twisted "morality" down the throats of poor women in developing countries. This year's foreign aid bill contains a provision to prevent private agencies that receive some federal aid from using their own money — not the taxpayers' — to fund family planning and abortion information overseas.

The abortion restrictions were placed in the foreign aid appropriation last year as part of a compromise with the White House to get the thing passed. In 1999, President Clinton waived the restrictions so that agencies could continue with their work in women's health but in doing so triggered another congressional booby trap that cut federal aid to international family planning organizations by \$12-million. This year, an amendment co-sponsored by Democratic Rep. Nita Lowey and Republican Rep. James Greenwood that would have done away with the limitations on agencies' use of non-government funding was defeated by only a 15-vote margin. If this year's restrictions are allowed to stand, help for family planning will be reduced even further.

What with recent court decisions, anti-abortion forces haven't made much headway in the United States. But they keep trying to foist their hostility to reproductive rights onto women who have far fewer birth control options than affluent American women. In parts of India, Asia and Africa, poor women often die from botched back-street abortions. Sometimes an abortion is the appropriate medical option because of the woman's health or because she already has more children than she can feed. Congress is basically saying that they don't care what happens to the baby once it's born — they just want it born in the first place, no matter what the consequences to mother, child or community.

President Clinton should veto the bill. It is outrageous that Congress would try to blackmail international family planning agencies that depend on some U.S. money into refusing to help the women who depend on them. Too many in Congress are trying to play politics with poor women's lives; they should be ashamed of themselves.



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The unconscionable gag rule

Denying aid to family-planning groups
will encourage abortions.

Congress is into its annual battle over the abortion issue, for the wrong reasons, on the wrong battleground. The legislation is the foreign-aid appropriations bill. The bone of contention is an unconscionable

**For many years, U.S. law
has prohibited use of U.S.
finances to pay for abortions
in other countries.**

gag rule whose primary champion is Congressman Chris Smith, a New Jersey Republican.

For many years, U.S. law has prohibited use of U.S. finances to pay for abortions in other countries. The gag rule, contained in the House version of the foreign-aid bill, denies U.S. family-planning aid to foreign

non-governmental groups if, with their own funds, they finance or even talk about abortion.

By denying help to family-planning organizations that would enable young women to avoid unplanned pregnancies, the gag rule encourages abortions.

The Senate version of the bill would free foreign groups of the restrictions on the use of their own money. There would be no restrictions on the health services they finance if they are legal in their countries and in the United States.

Few global issues rival population control in importance when literally billions of our fellow humans are hungry. Half the world's 6 billion population is under 25, meaning that unless women are given the contraceptive means to control reproduction, the crush of humanity and its accompanying denial of a fair chance at a decent life will increase further.

WHO WRITES THE EDITORIALS? The essays in this column are written by the editorial-page staff, which includes Richard Doak, Linda Lantor Fandel, Lovell Beaulieu, Rox Laird, Bill Leonard and Suzanne Nelson. The editorials are a consensus of the views of the editorial-page staff and of Publisher Barbara Henry and Editor Dennis R. Ryerson.

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Opinion

"Publish and set up a standard; publish and conceal not." Jeremiah 50:2

Reproduction politics

Congress, candidates wrestle with abortion issue

If you've been paying any attention at all to politics lately — and you couldn't be blamed if you haven't — you're probably aware that sex is once again a hot topic.

Not the Clinton-Lewinsky sort, but the more commonplace reproductive issues many Americans face — what to do about unwanted pregnancies, how to prevent them, what to tell teenagers about sex.

Most Americans would just as soon these matters were decided without government intrusion. But thanks to a small but noisy minority of idealogues — a few of whom have managed to get elected — sexual politics continues to make the front pages.



JANET
PEARSON

These days the issues include much more than just abortion. The reproductive-rights debate now includes the "abstinence-

only" teen sex-education skirmish, the RU-486 medical-abortion question, gag rules on foreign family-planning groups, even whether warning labels should be placed on condom packages (an idea pushed by an Oklahoma congressman).

Here's an idea of how the political landscape looks now: More Americans by the day are aware that the next president likely will choose several new Supreme Court justices — which could mean a shift in the court's view of the 1973 decision legalizing abortion. The breakdown currently is 6-3 in support of *Roe vs. Wade*.

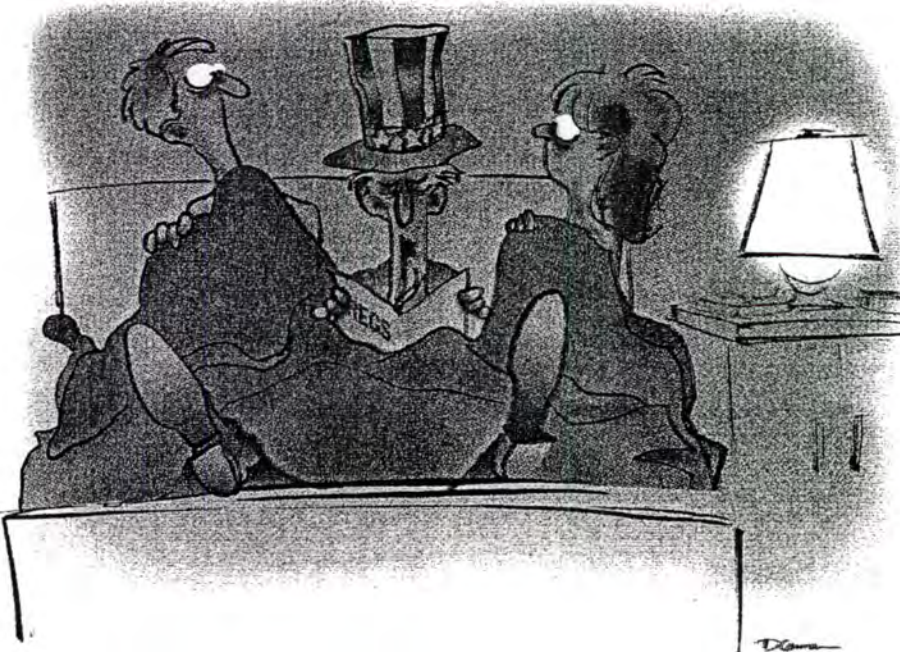
Vice President Al Gore's pro-choice stand has been firm and unambiguous. Texas Gov. George W. Bush finds himself in the difficult-if-not-impossible position of trying to be seen as both staunchly anti-abortion yet not too rigid on the subject, lest he alienate pro-choice Republicans.

While presidential contenders wrestle over the subject, Congress continues with its scattershot approach to reproductive issues. Among recent actions:

- Under consideration in a House subcommittee is the "Born Alive Infants Protection Act," which purports to protect any fetus born alive but which also would effectively grant legal personhood status to any fetus at any stage of development. Opponents contend the bill would blur the issue of viability and grant fetal recognition and rights under federal law. The law also could impel neonatologists to undertake expensive and futile life-preserving efforts on doomed premature fetuses to protect themselves.

- For three years U.S. Rep. Tom Coburn, R-Okla., has attempted to block the federal Food and Drug Administration from using any funds to test, develop or approve drugs that induce nonsurgical or medical abortions (mifepristone, or RU-486 is the best known one). The first two years the House approved Coburn's amendment, which was subsequently defeated in the Senate. This year, due to numerous absences, the amendment failed by a close vote. Obviously the concern here is the precedent that would be set by injecting politics into what ought to be a purely scientific, regulatory matter.

- Coburn had better luck with an amendment to include warning labels on condom packages ex-



plaining that condoms do not prevent the transmission of the human papillomavirus, which has been linked to cervical cancer. The Coburn amendment, added to an otherwise popular bill on Medicaid coverage for breast and cervical cancer, is opposed by various medical groups, including the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, which fears such a warning would discourage condom use overall. Opponents argue the benefits of using condoms outweigh the risks of not using them: by slowing the spread of AIDS and reducing the likelihood of pregnancy, for example.

- It's Oklahoma Republican Rep. Ernest Istook who's among those pushing the abstinence-only sex-education movement, slated this year to receive an increase of \$50 million despite little (if any) proof that abstinence-only education works. In fact, the available evidence indicates comprehensive sexuality-education programs are the most effective in keeping teen pregnancy levels down. A recent report from the Alan Guttmacher Institute shows the United States' teen pregnancy rates and abortion rates are similar to those of countries like Belarus, Bulgaria and Romania, while rates in European nations, where comprehensive sexuality education is commonplace, are dramatically lower. Nine European countries had teen pregnancy rates (per 1,000 women ages 15-19) ranging from 12.0 to 32.3, while the U.S. rate was 83.6. Those same nations had abortion rates ranging from 3.6 to 18.7, while the

U.S. rate was 29.2.

- Headed for conference committee are two versions of foreign operations appropriations bills, including a House version that includes a global "gag" rule on international family planning programs. This gag rule forbids foreign groups that provide family-planning services abroad from using their own funds to offer abortion services or advocate for changes in the law in their own countries. Opponents of the gag rule note that 600,000 women die from preventable pregnancy-related causes worldwide each year; an estimated 150 million married women likely would use contraceptives to help plan their families but do not have access to them.

These are but a few of the reproductive issues on the table today; rest assured there will be more. The partial-birth abortion issue will not go away any time soon, especially since a Supreme Court ruling probably has invalidated the 30-plus state laws already enacted. Congress is still trying to get one enacted, too.

Most of us wish this unpleasantness would go away and that American citizens could quietly make these difficult decisions in private. But that won't happen as long as there are those who feel that women, their loved ones and their health-care providers can't be trusted to make decent, moral and appropriate reproductive decisions on their own.

Janet Pearson is an editorial writer for the Tulsa World.

The Atlanta Constitution

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July 19, 2000

'Gag rule' keeps aid from the needy

Anti-choice zealots in the U.S. House of Representatives are at it again. Last week, on a vote of 221-206, GOP conservatives killed a bipartisan effort to remove the so-called "gag rule," which bars mention of abortion by international family planning organizations, from the annual foreign aid bill. The provision bars those groups from accepting much-needed U.S. aid.

Last year, 600,000 women around the world died from pregnancy-related complications and lack of proper medical care. In part because of lack of money, family-planning organizations in Africa and Asia that offer birth control and prenatal care never reached these women, some of whom are young teenagers. In effect, Washington politicians are trading the lives of women and children for political gain, while piously proclaiming themselves the protectors of human life. What they are really protecting is the GOP's far-right flank.

Washington politicians are trading the lives of women and children for political gain, while piously proclaiming themselves the protectors of human life.

■

Of Georgia's nine Republicans in Congress, only U.S. Rep. Johnny Isakson was willing to stand up for women's reproductive health — for the universal right of women to choose when to bear children and how many to bear. Along with Georgia Democratic Reps. Cynthia McKinney and John Lewis, Isakson voted in favor of an amendment that would have stripped the gag rule out of the bill.

President Clinton threatened previously to veto the House foreign-aid bill because it contains \$1.8 billion less than he requested for debt relief, economic and military assistance, AIDS and health programs. The Senate version doesn't contain the onerous anti-choice provision, but it short-changes debt relief to an even greater extent than the House bill. The president should exercise his veto power if the gag rule isn't dropped and the funding enhanced in upcoming budget negotiations.

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Shortchanging Foreign Aid

Although there are some positive elements in the foreign aid bill that the House passed last week, it is still seriously flawed and has rightly invited a veto threat from President Clinton. The basic problem is that the overall allocation is far too low to meet American foreign policy objectives. Both the House bill and the Senate version that passed in June are nearly \$2 billion below the White House request for fiscal 2001.

Both spending bills make severe cuts in White House funding for multinational development banks that make basic infrastructure loans to the poorest countries. They also fail to finance international women's health programs adequately, and reduce funding for peacekeeping and nuclear nonproliferation efforts. The House, for instance, would cut the administration's contribution to development loans by 40 percent.

In addition, the House bill contains an unacceptable provision that would deny American assistance to any foreign organization that uses its own money to provide abortions or engages in political debate to change abortion laws. Under longstanding law, no United States government funds may be used to pay for abortions or to lobby on abortion policy in other countries. Last year Congress went further, barring groups from using other funds to engage in those activities. The Clinton administration accepted a one-year restriction as part of a deal with Congressional Republicans to pay back dues owed to the

United Nations. This anti-democratic gag rule on abortion advocacy should now be abandoned.

Mr. Clinton is also calling on Congress to raise international family planning aid overall. The House bill maintains funding at the inadequate level of \$385 million, which is 30 percent below 1995 levels, before Congress slashed the program.

The House did, however, approve an amendment to increase funding for debt relief for the world's poorest nations, to meet Mr. Clinton's request of \$225 million. Debt relief is crucial because the poorest nations are spending up to 60 percent of their budgets to service debt on old loans, and are unable to direct scarce resources toward health and social investments that can reduce poverty. But the House failed, as did the Senate, to provide \$210 million for debt relief in supplemental spending for the current fiscal year.

The House wisely adopted an amendment to finance global AIDS programs at the president's request of \$244 million. But those funds came out of other important foreign operations accounts.

The Senate bill does not contain the anti-abortion provision, but it has only a paltry \$75 million for debt relief, and deserves a veto for that funding shortfall. These unrealistic, crippling cuts most likely mean that the final foreign aid numbers will have to be part of the budget negotiations between the White House and Congress later in the year.

San Francisco Examiner

July 16, 2000

Abortion Gamesmanship; 'Pro-life' Advocates Can Only Achieve A Pyrrhic Victory By Insisting On Strings For International Family Planning Funds

UNDER WAY IN Congress is the annual, misguided attempt to stop U.S. funds from going to international organizations that perform or promote abortions. Part of the motivation of conservative Republicans is to achieve a symbolic victory, but their insistence can do real damage to family planning efforts around the globe.

Last year, the gamesmanship resulted in a cut of \$12 million in U.S. funding of all international family planning groups and a cap of \$15 million for any group involved in abortion advocacy.

Abortion foes are seeking similar restrictions this year. On Thursday, the House of Representatives voted 221-203 against restoring the funds.

What's strange is that, as an alternative to abortion, family planning can prevent the necessity of resorting to the procedure opponents see as "baby killing." But to choke off money for family planning is to create the possibility of more abortions.

By law, no U.S. money can be spent on abortions overseas. What the perennial fight is about is whether funds should go to international family planning agencies that also run abortion clinics or lobby for abortion rights in foreign countries.

The "pro-life" argument is that picking up the tab for family planning functions performed by these groups will allow them to spend more money on abortion services. But there's no proof that this is true, and it seems counterintuitive.

There's ample evidence that denying women birth control and counseling creates more abortions, more unwanted babies and more suffering. Nor does it help control the population of the world, which adds more than 70 million new citizens each year - or the equivalent of a new San Francisco every three days.

Encouraging family planning should be a part of the United States' role in the world. If the worry is the groups will shift money into abortion services, make them sign a promise not to. But don't curtail family planning, a legitimate and useful means of limiting abortion, in the name of fighting against abortion. It's just not right.

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Remove the gag

Anti-abortion extremists hurt their own cause

Every year, 600,000 women around the world die from preventable pregnancy-related problems. Another 75,000 die from botched abortions. Countless babies die before they've had a real chance to experience life because their mothers are either too young, or had too many children too closely spaced.

And every year, the U.S. Congress engages in a ritual debate over what conditions — demanded by anti-abortion extremists — to attach to the international family planning funds that could help save many of those lives.

It's not the family planning services that are the target of the anti-abortion forces, but rather the free speech of individuals and agencies that use the dollars. Rep. Chris Smith, a New Jersey Republican, has led the charge, demanding that any agency that receives the funding that provides health screening as well as family planning assistance be prohibited from advocating or lobbying on the subject of abortion.

Obviously the symbol has become more important than the reality for this small group of extremists, because releasing the funds gives women the power to decide on the size and spacing of their families, and so relieves the pressure to seek out abortions to accomplish that end.

President Clinton has staunchly op-

posed these efforts, but he gave in last year when Republicans promised to hold up payment of back dues to the United Nations unless the gag rule was accepted. As disconcerting as that concession was, it was ultimately the right choice considering that the United States' vote on the Security Council was at stake if the dues were not paid.

But this year the battle begins anew, and this year no such concession should be accepted. The action will take place in the House of Representatives, where the gag rule is part of the foreign aid bill, which includes the \$385 million in family planning funds. The Senate bill does not include such language. So even if the House approves the gag rule, there is no guarantee that it would survive in the conference committee. And even if it made its way to the president's desk, a veto could kill it.

Still, it would be heartening if the House did the right thing and once and for all disassociated the vote on international family planning from the ongoing and divisive debate on abortion. It is an inappropriate and counterproductive linkage that the anti-abortion crusade has managed to forge, and it is time for courageous members of Congress, including those who oppose legalized abortion, to support discussion of strong family planning on its own terms.

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Have a safe and happy Fourth of July!

The Courier-Journal

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

TUESDAY, JULY 4, 2000

America's global gag

AS AMERICAN law stands today, agencies offering family planning services to the women of poor, developing countries must gag themselves regarding abortion — and deprive those women of information — if they are even partially funded by United States foreign aid.

While federal law has long prohibited the direct use of aid dollars to pay for abortion advocacy or services, it is only in the past 12 months that family planning groups have been cut off from U. S. funding merely for offering these services — even if they pay for them out of a completely separate pocket.

This is a provision that is as short-sighted as it is self-righteous, one that, if implemented within our own borders, would be judged grossly unconstitutional — violating both a woman's right to choose and the free speech rights and professional obligations of providers.

Congressional advocates of a more sensible approach are struggling to reverse the policy this year, so far without luck.

Two attempts to remove the provision (which must be renewed each year as part of a

spending bill, creating annual opportunities for posturing) have failed. And a bill introduced by Rep. Carolyn Maloney, D-N.Y., to contradict the restrictive language in the appropriations bill, will most likely never make it to a vote in a House of Representatives controlled by zealously anti-abortion leaders.

The goal of this international "gag rule" is to limit abortions, but there is a much better chance that it will have the opposite effect.

Most likely, cuts in financial resources at international family planning clinics will further limit women's access to counseling and contraceptives. The rate of unwanted pregnancies will then undoubtedly increase, and in the end, there will be even more abortions than before this faulty attempt at global moralizing was instituted.

Usually, our government sends money overseas in order to better lives and to promote free and open societies that respect the rights of the individual and foster economic opportunity. Experience proves that none of these will be fully manifest until women are in control of their reproduction.

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MONDAY, JUNE 26, 2000

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

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Lift strings on aid abroad

Before members of Congress head for home, where they surely will praise our democratic traditions in Fourth of July celebrations, they must make one very American gesture:

Lift the gag order imposed last year on family-planning agencies in developing countries that get U.S. aid.

Within the foreign-aid appropriations bill before both houses — a measure that amounts to less than 1 percent of the federal budget — is an amendment that would undo a great wrong done last year, albeit for a good cause.

The wrong came when President Clinton, in order to wrest money from Congress to begin paying back dues to the United Nations, accepted untenable limits on international family-planning money.

Essentially, Congress stopped non-government organizations abroad from discussing or promoting abortion in their own countries if they also took U.S. dollars to educate

people about family planning or give them contraceptives. Mind you, American dollars do not pay for abortions overseas; the gag was an effective method of imposing Congress' political will on other countries.

The right amendment would prohibit any restrictions on the speech of agencies outside the United States that could not be imposed within the United States.

Besides ungagging agencies, Congress should restore the foreign family-planning allocation to '95's level.

Besides ungagging the agencies, Congress should restore the foreign family-planning allocation to the

1995 level; after that year, the new Republican majority slashed it by a third. Clinton's suggested \$169 million increase — to \$542 million — is the minimum legislators should approve; it would help 4.3 million more women a year avoid unintended pregnancies.

One billion people are entering their prime reproductive years, as the largest childbearing generation in history. America helps itself by helping people elsewhere make wise choices about planning.

Philadelphia Weekly

June 21, 1999

Nix the Gag Rule

If Democratic U.S. Senate hopeful Ron Klink *really* wants to distinguish himself from his opponent—the sniveling, anti-choice Rick “Little Ricky” Santorum—a prime opportunity awaits. A bill that hits the Senate this week deals with family planning aid to foreign countries, and the Washington, D.C.-based National Family Planning & Reproductive Health Association (NFPRHA) is one group that’s monitoring its progress—and with good reason. Last year, you might recall, Rep. Chris Smith—a regressive New Jersey Republican—forced the passage of what the NFPRHA dubbed the “gag rule.” Basically, it forbids any non-governmental organization that receives U.S. money from using its own funds to engage in its country’s own dialogue about abortion or abortion policies. President Clinton was pressured to pass the bill: if he didn’t, the U.S.—which owed back dues to the United Nations—could have jeopardized its General Assembly vote. “What’s unconstitutional in the U.S. shouldn’t be forced internationally,” says NFPRHA president Judy DeSarno. “Besides, when women have no access to family planning, it results in *more* abortions.” DeSarno doesn’t anticipate a fight in the Senate (there are other contentious issues that are occupying Santorum and his right-wing ilk), but Klink’s vote in the House could make all the difference—it’s *that* close. Klink’s press office had no comment—probably not a good sign.

Philadelphia Daily News

June 21, 2000

Congress blocked U.N. funds to foreign family planning agencies advocating abortion info.

In the final moments of the federal budget deal last fall, Republican anti-abortion zealots in Congress held hostage dues payment the United States owed the United Nations.

They threatened to allow our nation to lose its vote in the U.N., thereby weakening our grip on world leadership unless the president agreed to gagging free speech about abortion overseas.

Choosing the lesser of two evils, the president agreed to a provision that no U.S.-funded family-planning aid (contraception, not abortion) may go to a private agency that, with its own funds, performs abortions or even advocated a change in its own country's abortion laws.

That's right: Our Congress forced a rule on foreign nations that would be patently unconstitutional here.

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright called these extremists "ostriches" for risking U.S. interests. Being a diplomat. She had to be nice. IN fact, these members of Congress are blackmailers.

With the federal budget debate this year comes that opportunity to set foreign policy free from their grasp.

Legislation sponsored by Reps. Carolyn Maloney, D-N.Y., and Jim Greenwood, R-PA, of Bucks County, would remove these strings on the funds that strangle free speech.

The bill, now in a congressional subcommittee, is expected to hit the floor. The Senate has a bill that would also kill the requirement that foreign health organizations gag kill the requirement that foreign health organizations gag themselves about abortion before they can receive U.S. aid.

President Clinton has consistently supported family planning as a way to guard the health of women and children. These funds are often the only source for critically needed health care, AIDS prevention and treatment.

But members of Congress have an even more pressing obligation – to protect democratic principles under siege by their own colleagues.

When a U.S. foreign aid agency proposed supporting efforts to limit guns in West Africa, Jesse Helms went on the offensive to protect the Second Amendment abroad. Why not a woman's right to choose?

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The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

June 20, 2000

Ostriches in Congress

OUT ON the campaign trail, the two leading presidential aspirants proclaim their internationalism and their delight in the prospect of a budget surplus. In Congress today, neither internationalism nor financial bounty will be much in evidence. The Senate is set to vote on its foreign policy spending bill, which provides only \$ 75 million for Third World debt write-offs, way short of the \$ 435 million that the administration has pledged. A House subcommittee is meanwhile scheduled to adopt a similar version of the bill. In its current form, it should be vetoed.

The House bill provides only marginally more for debt relief than would the Senate. This threatens to undermine last year's deal, in which reform-minded developing countries promised to adopt poverty-reduction plans and rich countries pledged the debt relief to make them affordable. The six richest countries other than the United States have pledged more than \$ 1 billion, but they will walk away if Congress fails to provide America's contribution.

The House bill is bad in other ways, too. It provides only \$ 202 million for the struggle against AIDS, a sixth less than the \$ 244

million the administration requested. It offers only \$ 577 million for the World Bank's soft-loan arm, a main source of resources to battle AIDS; the administration wants \$ 836 million. The House also guts America's commitment to international family planning; that too will affect the fight against AIDS as well as development generally. It cuts the administration's funding request by more than a quarter, and imposes an egregious rule banning all recipients of U.S. funds from so much as discussing abortion.

The foreign-operations bills are not the only ones in which Congress would shortchange America's international commitments. Last week another House committee cut the administration's request for United Nations peacekeeping by a third, endangering humanitarian efforts in Kosovo, East Timor and elsewhere. In the coming budget battle, the Clinton administration and the Gore campaign are sure to denounce the congressional Republicans for their cramped vision. It will be interesting to see what part that other internationalist, Gov. George W. Bush, will play in that debate.

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ON GUARD FOR 169 YEARS

Detroit Free Press

June 20, 2000

Global Gag

U.S. foreign aid shouldn't undermine free speech

One reason the United States sends money to foreign countries is to promote democracy. But for the past decade, foreign aid has been tagged with a singularly undemocratic rider called the global gag rule.

This year, Congress may have the will to unleash free speech again.

Under the Reagan and Bush administrations, no agency that used its own money to provide abortions in foreign countries could receive U.S. dollars. President Bill Clinton immediately waived that policy, holding it at bay until last year. Faced with losing the U.S. vote on the UN Security Council, he signed legislation to pay off UN debt even though it revived the global gag rule.

The new version was worse than even the Reagan-Bush policy; it said no U.S. aid could go to an agency that used its own money to implement abortion in any way — including to make the procedure safer where it's legal.

It's hard to imagine a nation that protected free speech in the very First Amendment to the Constitution telling anyone what they can and cannot say. But that's what the global gag rule does.

Lawmakers who value that free-

dom are trying to dispense with the rule. The Senate Appropriations Committee passed a foreign aid bill that adopts language drafted by U.S. Rep. Nita Lowey, D-N.Y. It says U.S. foreign policy cannot impose speech restrictions abroad that would clearly be illegal here. The full Senate is expected to OK the measure.

But the House, which has initiated the gag before, is tougher battleground. The subcommittee on foreign operations is expected to pass a version today that could include the gag rule, which the full Appropriations Committee and the full House will likely fight about, too. Gag opponents want to stand firm this year, but U.S. Rep. Chris Smith, R-N.J., has single-handedly kept the gag alive and isn't likely to give up easily.

This legislation is frightening on two levels. First, it prevents too many good organizations from getting the money they need to help women get crucial family planning information. Second, it opens the door for this country to impose similar gags for any controversial topic.

Congress should make sure no gag rule gets through this year. More important, it should make the Lowey language law and permanently close the door to exporting undemocratic policy.

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The Philadelphia Gay News

June 16-22, 2000

Mark My Words: Gag Order Needs To Be Removed

What hypocritical measure do U.S. Sen. Jesse Helms, Planned Parenthood, developing nations, U.S. foreign aid, President Clinton and HIV education have in common which results in the death of more than 600,000 women each year and lack of knowledge about AIDS, which has allowed it to spread in undeveloped nations almost unchecked?

The answer: A gag rule from Congress.

Last year, in their efforts to stop any and all abortions, opponents of international family planning (mostly people opposed to a woman's right to choose), and headed by Chris Smith a New Jersey Republican member of the House, were successful in cutting one-third of America's international family planning budget with what is now known as the gag rule.

This is one of the most un-American rules, and was passed by Congress and signed into law by President Clinton. It states that any non-governmental organization that receives U.S. family planning funds cannot participate in debates about its own country's abortion policies. If it does, it loses its funding.

So while we're so bravely pushing our system of government, which promises freedom of speech and thought throughout the world, we're also becoming hypocritical moral dictators telling those we fund that they do not have freedom of thought or speech.

This gag rule, if applied in the United States, would be unconstitutional, but, hey, Congress looks at the undeveloped nations as poor dumb cousins who don't know what's good for themselves, so Congress is going to come to the rescue, and help.

Last year, when Congress attached this gag measure, it did it at the last minute, and President Clinton was forced to sign since vetoing it would have meant that the United States could not pay its overdue United Nations dues.

These same folks who are trying to "save the lives of the unborn," are now responsible for the deaths of about 600,000 women who get botched abortions, since there is no family planning information. They're preaching life while delivering botched abortions. These same representatives who voted for this legislation are responsible for the lack of education on HIV in underdeveloped countries, since many of these countries' HIV-education systems are handled by family-planning organizations. They preach tolerance while turning their faces as AIDS spreads in undeveloped nations. The saddest of all is teaching other nations that the United States does not stand for freedom of speech.

This year, they're at it again, trying to find a way to slip this gag order into the budget. You can help, U.S. Sen. Rick Santorum (R- PA) was behind this effort last year, and supports it again this year. His Democratic opponent in the upcoming Senate election, U.S. Rep. Ron Klink (D-Murraysville), has not announced his position. Give his office a call at (202) 225-2565. Likewise Robert Borski (D-Philadelphia) - (202) 225-8251 – is also on the fence. Your phone call could save a life.

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THE MACOMB DAILY

50 cents

FRIDAY
June 16, 2000

Congress should repeal gag rule on family planning

Free speech is this nation's golden tenet — the very heart of what democracy is all about.

But last year opponents of international family planning were successful in pushing through Congress an explicitly anti-democratic dictate known as the "global gag rule."

They even risked losing America's vote in the U.N. General Assembly by blocking payment of its U.N. dues — a tactic that convinced Republican Sen. Jesse Helms of North Carolina to denounce the ploy as "irresponsible."

When the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee speaks out in defense of U.S. participatory role in the world organization, you know it has to be in the best interests of the American people.

The global gag rule prevents any nongovernmental organization receiving family planning funds from using those funds to influence its own country's abortion policies.

By law, no U.S. government foreign aid funds have been used to pay for or lobby for abortions for more than 25 years.

The global gag rule requires that the U.S. Agency for International Development withhold family planning funds from all foreign nongovernmental organizations that engage in efforts to alter the laws of any foreign country where "abortion is permitted, regulated or prohibited."

We know that kind of gag rule would be unconstitutional if applied in the United States because it would violate our freedom of speech.

We also know that family planning reduces the need for abortion and that international family planning efforts have helped to sharply reduce infant mortality. They have improved the health of infants and their mothers in a number of regions throughout the world.

Judith M. DeSarno, president and CEO of the Washington, D.C.-based National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Association, said there's hope Congress can repeal the gag rule and bring our nation back in line with our democratic principles.

DeSarno said two bills are awaiting action in the House and Senate to repeal the gag rule Congress passed last year.

The bills have the support of U.S. Reps. David Bonior, D-Mount Clemens; Sander Levin, D-Southfield; and Joe Knollenberg, R-Bloomfield Hills, because the measures would provide urgently needed health education and pregnancy and neo-natal care.

Passage of the bills would help the less-developed nations educate their citizens in family planning rather than have them adopt abortion as a way of life. The bills would repeal a controversial ban that does nothing to encourage pregnancy and neo-natal care or educate people on sexual disease prevention.

U.S. Rep. Nita Lowey, D-New York, who introduced one of the bills, said it would prohibit the imposition of restrictions on foreign nongovernmental organizations' freedom of speech that are not imposed on similar U.S. groups.

Rep. Jim Greenwood, a Pennsylvania Republican, said, "Every day around the world, 1,600 women die in postpartum hemorrhaging, and that numbers 585,000 women every year. It is a holocaust." He stressed that international planning has "brought reproductive health care to poor, underdeveloped communities across the globe."

That's why it's important Congress, as DeSarno said, "brings America's democratic actions back in line with our principles."

GROWING AIDS CRISIS

U.S. gag rule hinders African triage

● Two Ugandan doctors come to Maine seeking ideas for combating the pandemic while posturing over abortion in Congress makes matters worse.

The numbers overwhelm.

In Uganda, a country of 22 million people, 1.9 million have died of AIDS. Across the African continent, one in 10 adults is believed to be infected with HIV, the virus that causes AIDS. In some areas, the infection rate is believed to be as high as one in four.

If, proportionally, as many people were infected here, it would be a national crisis that would cripple our health-care system and leave many without care. In a country like Uganda, among the bottom 10 nations in the world in terms of poverty, it's almost unfathomable.

For the vast majority of AIDS victims in Africa there is no life-sustaining cocktail of drugs that can buy a few more years in the hope that a cure will be found. There is, instead, a certain death.

Imagine how frustrating it must be for Olive Sentumbwe and Joy Kyazike, both physicians with the Association of Uganda Women Medical Doctors. Where do they start?

AS MEDICAL PROFESSIONALS the world over are taught, they start by using triage. Save those you can. Let go of those whose fate is irreversible.

Sentumbwe, Kyazike and others committed to public health in Uganda have turned their attention to adolescents, offering them lessons on how to avoid infection. They've also decided to use scarce medical resources to provide treatments that can reduce the chances of the virus being passed from mother to child during childbirth.

Sentumbwe and Kyazike were in Maine last month as part of an exchange program sponsored by Planned Parenthood of Northern New England. They came to learn about sex education, about programs in school systems like Freeport's that have had some success in teaching



John W.
Porter

Editorial Page Editor

kids that the decisions they make about sex can be a matter of life and death.

The difficulties of talking about sex with children aren't peculiar to the United States. Parents and teachers in Uganda are just as apt to avoid the topic as adults are here. And even when a conversation occurs, reaching a teen-ager is no more easy in Africa. Indeed, Sentumbwe and Kyazike laughed knowingly when we talked about the fact that often the surest way to get a teen-ager to engage in a risky behavior is to have a parent tell her not to do it.

The focus of the adolescent program, which Kyazike oversees, is to have teens talk to teens about HIV and AIDS. It's a good idea, and she reports some success in getting boys to act as counselors to their peers. It's tougher with girls, however. Women and girls often have an overwhelming number of domestic responsibilities in a Ugandan household, making it hard for them to take time away to become peer counselors or to even be counseled.

That's troubling because the AIDS crisis and other reproductive health issues are especially acute for women in Africa. In Uganda, becoming pregnant poses a significant risk. In some areas, 2 percent of women who get pregnant die as a result. More than a quarter of these deaths are caused by botched abortions by unlicensed practitioners.

The reproductive health crisis in Africa is a tragedy that threatens to become a catastrophe, but what the United States has chosen to do about it – or, rather, not to do about it – is a crime.

Conservatives in Congress, more concerned about taking an ideological stand against abortion than they are about stopping the spread of AIDS in Africa and elsewhere around the world, have attached strings to foreign aid aimed at helping family planning organizations abroad. Not only are U.S. funds withheld from organizations that perform abortions, but even from those that merely advocate for abortion rights.

THE PRACTICAL EFFECT is to deny U.S. aid to the organizations best equipped to provide reproductive health services in places like Uganda.

Fortunately, there are a number of bills in Congress, some of which are co-sponsored by Sen. Olympia Snowe, that would change this. They include proposals to lift the abortion gag rule on family planning organizations that receive U.S. aid and an increase in funding for international family planning from about \$350 million a year to \$450 million a year or more, depending on the bill.

It's understandable that abortion opponents would fight funding for organizations that favor a woman's right to choose, but a consequence of this policy is to deepen the AIDS crisis in Africa. It's unlikely that fewer abortions are performed in Uganda because of the gag rule, as evidenced by the number of women dying at the hands of unlicensed abortion providers. At the same time, making it tougher on organizations willing to do triage amid tragedy in Africa will surely cost young lives.

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The Palm Beach Post

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April 23, 2000

Dislodging gag rule may take a bomb

The battle plan may seem to target a gnat with a nuclear bomb. But when the gnat is a pesky, persistent congressman who has beaten the odds before, smart folks don't take chances.

The congressman is Rep. Chris Smith, a New Jersey Republican who tears like a pit bull into any issue remotely involving abortion. He's against it.



Fran Hathaway

The nuclear bomb is a coalition of forces determined to end the so-called "global gag rule" and return America to its longtime stance of supporting family planning worldwide. Members include: Tim Wirth, former senator and president of the United Nations Foundation established by Ted Turner;

Dr. Henry Foster, chairman of the U.S. Committee for United Nations Population Fund; and Reps. James Greenwood, R-Pa., and Carolyn Maloney, D-N.Y., who this month introduced the "Saving Women's Lives Through International Family Planning Act of 2000."

A bit of history behind this seemingly one-sided onslaught:

For years, the United States had owed back dues to the United Nations. For years, Rep. Smith, backed by a hardy band of abortion foes, refused to authorize money to pay them unless the government agreed to restrict money for international family planning.

Last year, failure to pay the nearly

Congress' obstinacy is killing women

\$1 billion could have cost America its General Assembly vote. So President Clinton capitulated. In exchange for Congress' agreement to pay, he accepted the gag rule. Sadly, so did Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. In response to the howls of outrage, the president promised to try to repeal the gag rule this year and restore \$169 million in family-planning assistance.

Even that, however, just would bring the total back near the \$542 million it was in 1995, when America led the donor nations in addressing this need. Even then, Americans would spend less than one-half of 1 percent of the budget on humanitarian programs like family planning and education.

The bomb squad is determined to see that happen. The barrage began this month.

"Almost 600,000 women a year die from preventable complications of childbirth," Rep. Maloney said in a conference call with reporters. "In America, the gag rule's restrictions would be unconstitutional. Around the world, they're unconscionable. If we could have a clean vote on it, I think it would fail. But opponents attach it to other bills."

The gag rule bars foreign organizations from receiving U.S. family-planning money if — even with separate money — they provide legal abortion counseling

and services. Last year, Rep. Smith ramrodded it through as an amendment to a major government spending bill, though he knows full well that not one dollar of American money pays for an overseas abortion.

Says Rep. Greenwood, the leading Republican spokesman for family-planning assistance: "World population hit 6 billion last year, and 90 percent of the increase was in countries least prepared to handle it. Overpopulation leads to poverty, disease and environmental degradation. It's dehumanizing to people and destabilizing to countries."

The tragic irony is that members of Congress who oppose money for family planning actually increase abortions. Doesn't everybody want to reduce the world's 50 million abortions? Some of us do. And some, like Rep. Smith, don't give a fig for women's health and children's lives. They are extremists with a single-minded agenda, and they're stickin' to it.

Lately, however, even fellow ideologues Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., and House Speaker Dennis Hastert, R-Ill., are wearying of their Johnny-one-note colleague. This battle will play out over the next few months as Congress debates the 2001-2002 budget. But the bombers are right to take aim now. Last year, we were right to pay our U.N. debt. This year, Congress owes the world's women — big time.

Fran Hathaway is an editorial writer for The Palm Beach Post. Her e-mail address is fran_hathaway@pbpost.com

the Charleston Gazette



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the Charleston Gazette

The State Newspaper

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April 21, 2000

Arrogance

Far-right restrictions

FOR SEVERAL years, Republicans in Congress refused to pay \$1 billion in back dues America owed to the United Nations. The GOP lawmakers made the United States appear to the world as a deadbeat country.

Finally, they relented in 1999 and paid the debt — but they insisted on attaching “religious right” strings. *The Boston Globe* explained:

“Last year, legislation to pay back some \$1 billion in U.N. dues was taken hostage by a small band of anti-abortion zealots who insisted that riders be attached restricting the funds. The language prohibits nonprofit organizations receiving U.S. funds from lobbying, advising or educating about abortion, even with their own money. In other words, these groups are precluded by U.S. law from exercising democratic rights in their own countries.”

Now the Clinton administration is trying to remove the arrogant restrictions. Also, President Clinton wants to restore America's donation to the U.N. Population Fund to its full 1995 level.

This nation formerly gave \$450 million a year to worldwide birth-control efforts, before Republicans seized control of Congress and slashed the amount.

Already, Rep. Christopher Smith, R-N.J., is vowing to fight “U.S. subsidies to the international abortion industry.” Of course, this is a misleading slogan. For almost 30 years, U.S. law has forbidden any American funds to be spent for abortions overseas.

Ironically, the Republicans claim to be acting for “morality” — but it's a cruel morality. Around the world, women in poor countries desperately want to escape the ordeal of bearing eight or 10 children each, many of whom die of malnourishment. About 600,000 of these pregnant women die of childbirth complications annually. And overpopulation impoverishes their countries. Genuine morality would boost population control and reduce this suffering.

We hope that West Virginia's members of Congress do their utmost to help President Clinton prevail against this arrogance.

The New York Times

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April 19, 2000

Family Planning Politics

President Clinton recently called on Congress to raise aid for international family planning by \$169 million next year, bringing the total to \$541 million in the 2001 budget. That substantial increase, coming after years of cuts, would merely restore funding to 1995 levels. Far more is needed. Nearly 600,000 women die annually from complications of pregnancy and childbirth. Many of them could be saved by services that help women avoid unintended pregnancies.

Mr. Clinton is also calling on Congress to abolish the pernicious restriction on advocacy activities that was imposed on foreign family planning organizations as part of a deal last year to get Congress to pay back dues owed to the United Nations. Under longstanding law, no United States government funds may be used by foreign agencies for either

abortion services or for lobbying on abortion policy.

But the restriction, imposed last year, goes further by barring foreign organizations from receiving American assistance if they use their own money to provide abortions or to engage in abortion policy debates in their own countries. A compromise has allowed Mr. Clinton to waive the advocacy restriction, but the waiver automatically resulted in a \$12.5 million cut to family planning aid. The gag rule is anti-democratic and a prohibition that would be illegal in this country.

Representatives Carolyn Maloney and Nita Lowey, Democrats of New York, are both sponsoring legislation to end the gag rule. Broad access to family planning is the best way to reduce the need for abortions. Congress should finance it without attempting to silence organizations abroad.

The Boston Globe

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April 17, 2000

Funds for family planning

Having appeased the antiabortion movement last year in order to win funding for the United Nations, the Clinton administration and congressional supporters of family planning are now trying to undo the damage. It will be difficult to wrench the egregious language restricting the actions of family-health agencies overseas out of this year's UN appropriations. But the administration is obligated to repair the mess it created.

Last year legislation to pay back some \$1 billion in UN dues was taken hostage by a small band of antiabortion zealots who insisted that riders be attached restricting the funds. The language prohibits nonprofit organizations receiving US funds from lobbying, advising, or educating about abortion, even with their own money. In other words, these groups are precluded by US law from exercising democratic rights in their own countries. As Clinton himself said last week in a speech urging Congress to lift the ban: "That's not the American way."

Clinton and many in Congress were genuinely anguished at this devil's bargain, but they suc-

cumbed in order to achieve the crucial goal of fully funding the nation's commitment to the UN. This year, however, Clinton has submitted a budget restoring international family planning efforts to 1995 levels - \$451 million - and he is asking that Congress appropriate the money without the riders.

The request will not be honored easily. Already Representative Christopher Smith of New Jersey, a chief antagonist of women's reproductive rights, has pledged to fight what he calls "US subsidies to the international abortion industry." His rhetoric is not just overheated, it is false. It is already law - and has been for almost 30 years - that no American funds can be used to pay for abortions overseas.

While the politicians wrangle, women in developing countries die from hemorrhages in childbirth, victims of eight or nine pregnancies by their 25th birthdays. Or they die in botched illegal abortions. Or their babies die. The pressures of a growing world population strain public health, the environment, even peace across borders. To ignore such suffering is also not "the American way."

Boulder, CO



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April 12, 2000

EDITORIAL

Planning a family

U.S. must support reproductive health services overseas

Momena Khatoon doesn't have a health plan. She'd be lucky to find a gynecologist anywhere near her rural farming village in Bangladesh. Without access to contraception, she has given birth to (in her words) too many children and can barely take care of her own health, let alone her family's on a \$2.50 daily wage.

"I was born in a wrong time," says Khatoon. "I could not go to school, but I want my children to get an education. I don't want my daughters to live the miserable life that I'm living now."

Khatoon's story, courtesy of Population Action International, is no different than daily life for 100 million women overseas, mothers who say they want to postpone or prevent another pregnancy but have no means of doing so.

The inability to plan a family has far-reaching consequences for mothers, children, families and communities. Multiple pregnancies greatly increase the mortality rate for women and children. A lack of contraception leads to abortion, HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. When women have access to reproductive health services, they are free to make choices about their own education and contribute to the overall health of their communities.

Some people might say that's all well and good, but ask why the United States ought to provide for global citizens. The answer is that it's not up to us. The European Union, World Bank, United Nations Population Fund and 21 countries contribute to family planning overseas. Four years ago the United States began shirking its duty as one of the world's wealthiest countries to contribute its fair share for a healthy world population.

Besides spending cuts, the U.S. Congress issued a "gag rule" that prohibits U.S. dollars from going to public as well as private organizations that perform abortions, even if legal abortions are clearly not funded with American dollars. The gag rule, championed by Rep. Chris Smith, a

Republican from New Jersey, further punishes family planning programs that engage in debate over abortion policy. As women's health advocates rightly point out, Smith's free speech ban would be deemed unconstitutional in this country.

The stage is set again this year for abortion foes to fight the administration's attempt to restore family planning funding overseas and overturn Smith's gag rule. President Clinton wants to spend \$541 million on international family planning programs in fiscal year 2001, a figure that would bring the U.S. back to its 1995 spending levels. Several pieces of legislation in Congress would also restore funding, including the International Family Planning Act of 2000, sponsored by Reps. James Greenwood (R-PA) and Carolyn Maloney (D-NY).

Going back to U.S. spending levels from five years ago is not enough to meet the growing needs of a world population that has reached 6 billion. The largest generation of young people in history will soon reach childbearing age. Meanwhile, Republicans in the U.S. Senate added another \$4 billion to a \$307 billion defense spending budget for next year. How's that for priorities?

The determination of who pays for family planning programs should not be limited by geography and politics. Besides the individual health and community wide benefits we mentioned earlier, access to reproductive choice is key to a healthy global environment. Human population growth and development puts tremendous pressure on scarce natural resources. Research suggests the loss of biodiversity on the planet is in part due to human population growth and poor development planning.

We urge readers to call their representatives and senators and ask that they support legislation to increase funding for family planning services overseas. And any new law must also eliminate the undemocratic and mean-spirited global gag rule.

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

April 6, 2000

Ungag Family Planning

ON FRIDAY the White House will host an event on family planning. It will feature the president, the secretary of state and flashy celebrity guests to highlight the administration's commitment to the issue. But the consistency of this commitment has yet to be proven. Today a bipartisan group in Congress is introducing a bill to strengthen America's international family planning programs. Yet the administration has chosen not to send a top-level representative to the bill's launch, and has at times seemed coy about supporting it.

The bill seeks to fix a problem that, for understandable reasons, the administration had a hand in causing. Last year, in order to get Congress to release money to repay America's debts to the United Nations, the administration accepted Republican restrictions on family planning groups abroad. This was the right trade-off. But the restrictions are onerous, and it is time to start undoing them.

The restrictions lay down that any family-

planning group that accepts federal aid may not practice or advocate abortion, even if it uses non-federal money to do so. The advocacy ban is particularly noxious: A group that hosted a conference on family planning might run afoul of the law if one of the speakers broached the subject of abortion. This is a free-speech curb that Americans would never accept at home. The United States cannot urge developing countries to espouse democracy and openness while simultaneously seeking to restrict the speech of groups that work there.

President Clinton has called for international family planning without restrictions, and may well do so again on Friday. He has also proposed that aid for family planning be increased from its current level of \$370 million to \$540 million next year. But the battle to get these policies through Congress is going to be stiff. In order to win, the president is going to have to provide consistent leadership. Leaving like-minded members of Congress to march forward alone just isn't good enough.

THE TAMPA TRIBUNE

Bills would widen women's awareness of happier alternatives to abortion

Within days of taking office in 1993, the Clinton administration suspended regulations instituted by President Reagan that barred counselors at federally funded family planning clinics from discussing abortion as an option for pregnant women.

Ungagged, counselors since have been supposed to provide "nondirective counseling" — that is, advice including all options for women in crisis pregnancies, from prenatal care and delivery to adoption and abortion.

Now pro-choice groups are worried about several congressional bills they characterize as "stealth" legislation. The proposed laws would emphasize adoption and restrict the distribution of federal moneys provided by those measures to family planning programs that do not discuss abortion — effectively bringing back the gag rule.

SEN. JOHN MCCAIN, a presidential candidate whose adherence to the pro-life movement has been questioned, is sponsor of the Adoption Awareness Act, which would provide \$7 million to a national organization to train workers in Title X and other federally funded family planning programs to promote adoption.

Significantly, the bill uses the language of Title X, the law that provides funding for reproductive health care of low-income women, except that it does not mention abortion.

If the goal is the promotion of adoption, we are not convinced that the exclusion of any mention of abortion as an option is worth a major battle with pro-abortion organizations.

We understand that part of the reason President Reagan stopped these discussions in 1987 was that some clinics, rather than take a neutral position, actually encouraged abortions. Doctors and others complained their right to free speech had been violated, but the Supreme Court declared the order valid.

McCain's proposal would be more effective if it covered all clinics, even those that mention abortion, because the most objective advice would inevitably make a better case for adoption. The best counselors, for example, could explain to a woman in simple language precisely what an abortion is. Perhaps they could even offer ultrasounds so that the pregnant woman or girl could see the beating heart of the developing child that would be removed from her body.

We know that women in crisis pregnancies want more than information. They want reassurance.

It seems to us that the more information they receive, the more likely they are to reject abortion as an answer to their predicament.

A second bill, The Women and Children's Resources Act, the pro-abortion people like even less. Sponsored by Pennsylvania Sen. Rick Santorum, the bill would provide \$85 million in grants to the states for pregnancy counseling centers that do not advocate abortion or accept money for contraceptive services.

The legislation is modeled after a Pennsylvania program created as an alternative to abortion, Project Women in Need. Money would be distributed to a state through a formula based on the number of out-of-wedlock births and abortions in that state as compared with the nation. The state must assure that the money will be used in programs that give priority to low-income individuals and pay for pregnancy testing and follow-up services, as well as prenatal and postpartum health care.

This is the type of plan even pro-choice lawmakers could support. We have often heard them opining that abortion is the least preferable alternative for a woman in a crisis pregnancy but an option that must be maintained. Santorum's bill establishes a separate program emphasizing alternatives to abortion. It does not automatically kill the family planning programs already in existence. Title X clinics could co-exist with other programs, although we recognize that the bill seeks \$85 million while asking for no addition to the overall budget for the Department of Health and Human Services.

Both of these laws would allow money to go to religious organizations that provide adoption counseling. This does not bother us because these programs do not amount to government-sanctioned churches, but health clinics providing for a pregnant woman's needs.

WE HAVE LONG OPPOSED abortion on demand and have always recognized that many pregnant women who want to have their babies need financial and emotional support. A civil society must be willing to give it and pay for it.

These two proposals are not stealth legislation. They show a simultaneous commitment to women's health care and to life.

Minneapolis, MN

StarTribune Editorial

January 12, 2000

Family Planning; Fulfilling The Dreams of Abortion Foes

Two tactics are known to prevent unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted disease. The first — not having sex — works perfectly. The second — using contraceptives — works pretty well. It could be said that the former approach is therefore preferable to the latter — especially when teenagers are involved.

But human history — not to mention human biology — suggests that abstinence is a hard policy to hold to. And since that is so, it's only right to seize upon the modern blessing of birth control. It is society's strongest shield against disease and abortion, and the surest guarantee that babies will be born into loving arms.

This is simple common sense, which wise people the world over have been spouting for years. Yet despite its plain promise, contraception remains out of reach of many who need it most. Even in the United States, where abortion and teen birth rates now hover at new lows, one-third of sexually active high schoolers don't use birth control. That helps explain why the United States still has the highest rates of adolescent pregnancy and sexually transmitted disease in the developed world.

As is invariably the case, the Third World has it worse. At least 350 million women in poor countries have no access at all to family planning. In West Africa, say U.N. officials, birth control is used by just 13 percent of adult couples; the notion of contraception is virtually unknown among younger people. In sub-Saharan Africa, many governments shy away from promoting condom use. Indeed, in many developing nations, only a small minority knows that condoms can prevent pregnancy and AIDS.

What does all this mean to the world's poor? It means more babies than they can feed — in sub-Saharan Africa, an average of six apiece. It means the onslaught of AIDS, which infects as many as one in four adults in southern Africa and growing numbers in Asia. It means entrenched poverty, illiteracy and desolation. It means a future foreclosed.

Things could be better. If this nation were to bow to the lessons contraception has to teach, it could help avoid unwanted pregnancy and disease both at home and abroad. All that's necessary is money, resolve and mobilization. A new study by Johns Hopkins University, for instance, says that HIV transmission could be brought under control by tripling the worldwide use of condoms. Investors should take note, and public-health strategists should get cracking.

But how can any of this happen? Who will care enough to see that it does? Not too long ago, the world welcomed its 6 billionth baby. Yet well-off nations seem passionately uninterested in postponing the arrival of her younger siblings, or in shielding her from AIDS or premature pregnancy. Way back in 1994, a U.N. population conference said that protecting global health would require raising worldwide spending on population control to \$17 billion by 2000. That momentous year has arrived, but current spending lingers just at \$10 billion.

Blame the United States — especially its antiabortion pot-stirrers — for that. By all rights, this country should be the world's family-planning bellwether — the leading guarantor of population stability and the AIDS epidemic's fiercest foe. Instead, it has squandered its time and reputation in petty, pointless battles over abortion. But contraception is to abortion what vaccination is to disease: It wards off disaster.

President Clinton is suddenly making much of this fact, and it's about time. Last weekend, he proposed massive increases in family-planning funds both at home and overseas. He wants \$35 million in new domestic spending for contraceptive services — the biggest proposed rise in two decades. That change could lure many now-unserved American women into family-planning clinics — advancing the trend toward fewer unwanted pregnancies and abortions.

Clinton is also seeking \$169 million in new money for family-planning services in developing countries — a 45 percent increase over the current overseas allotment. That's a whopping jump — an indication that this president, unlike any in recent history, sees contraception not as a luxury or an unmentionable, but as a mainstay of human happiness and world security.

Thus it only makes sense that Clinton also hopes to coax Congress to scrap the "global gag rule" he choked down last fall in exchange for dues payments to the United Nations. That senseless rule bars federal funds to family-planning groups that lobby on abortion matters. It would help no one, nor prevent a single abortion.

The president has seized some lovely high ground in emphasizing the good family planning can do. What he's after is fewer unwanted pregnancies, fewer abortions, healthier families with brighter futures. How can anyone decline to join him?

The Atlanta Constitution

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January 11, 2000

Fund Family Planning Services

Late last year, the Clinton administration struck an unfortunate deal with the Republican-dominated Congress: In exchange for approval of \$1 billion owed the United Nations, the administration agreed to restrictions on the use of overseas family planning funds.

Now, President Clinton has started working to ensure that those shortsighted restrictions are not continued in next year's budget. That's the right thing to do. And Congress should support lifting the restrictions if it's really interested in enhancing family values the world over.

While the GOP insists on pandering to extreme religious conservatives, the facts are in on the positive effects of family planning and contraceptive services. In developing nations, fewer unplanned pregnancies have meant a higher standard of living for children. In the United States, family planning programs have led to fewer teen pregnancies and fewer abortions --- results that should bring enthusiastic support from religious conservatives.

Under the deal Clinton struck, funds cannot go even to pregnancy prevention programs that fund rare hardship abortions out of totally separate private funds. That prevents many well-known family planning programs from receiving American aid. In addition to seeking to end the restrictions, Clinton is also seeking an increase in funding for next year: a \$169 million increase in overseas funding and another \$35 million increase for programs in this country.

Barely did Clinton complete his message in a weekend radio address before the usual note was struck by Rep. Chris Smith (R-N.J.). He declared --- once again --- that the family planning funds put America "on the side of abortionists, not babies." That false and tiresome line is to be expected from someone as unsophisticated as Smith.

But Georgia's senior senator, Republican Paul Coverdell, a respected member of the Foreign Relations Committee, ought to know better. Yet, he has voted with Smith on this issue. How disappointing. There was a time when Coverdell could be counted on to support sensible family planning programs during his tenure in the Georgia Legislature.

If Coverdell won't come to his senses, other Republicans ought to and help fund family planning services that improve the quality of life for millions of children worldwide.

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Los Angeles Times

December 27, 1999

Mexico: Family Planning Gains

The century ends with more than 6 billion humans on Earth, an increase of 4.5 billion in less than 100 years. And the fastest growth has taken place in developing countries, which have fewer resources to feed, clothe and educate these greater numbers.

Today, however, encouraging news is coming from some of the nations of Latin America, Asia and Africa that have the highest birthrates: The rate of increase is falling drastically. The reasons are complex, but begin with women's education, which many population experts see as the single biggest factor.

The partnerships forged between local institutions and U.S.-based nongovernmental agencies have also helped created success stories in family planning.

Consider Mexico, where a demographic revolution has occurred. In 1965, Mexican women gave birth to 7.2 children, on average. For 1999 the average is 2.5, and Mexico has 99 million people instead of the 142 million it faced at the 1965 rate. The programs that foster these changes were designed by Mexican agencies like the National Population Council and the nonprofit Mexican Foundation for Family Planning, or Mexfam, an affiliate of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, along with smaller groups.

The birth control programs they have put in place rely on access to both information and contraceptives. Media campaigns urge delay of marriage and pregnancy and emphasize the

advantages of spacing the births of one's children. Vasectomy or tubal ligation is available to those who ask for it. Today, 70% of women of childbearing age, 15 to 49, have access to contraception.

All of this has happened in a nation where the overwhelming majority is Roman Catholic, but both the church and family planning agencies have worked hard to keep antagonism to a minimum. The ads, for instance, list the advantages of a small family without direct mention of contraceptives. Sex education has even come, without serious opposition, to Mexico's public elementary schools.

The success of agencies like Mexfam depends on their financial support. Some funding comes from fees paid by the users of its medical and educational services, but most of it comes from Mexican and U.S. government agencies, companies and other institutions.

For the last 25 years, the United States has assisted Mexico's family planning programs generously. But the expiration of a bilateral agreement this year cut off the flow. The climate is poor for any new agreement because of a handful of members of Congress who vehemently oppose not just abortion but even certain contraception methods.

The United States has a big stake in the economic and social health of Mexico. Denying help to agencies that provide proven family planning information and assistance is a sure way to curb progress.

Houston Chronicle

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U.N. DUES; No Honor in Paying U.N. Dues at Foreign Women's Expense

The American people have little to be proud of in an agreement worked out between Congress and the White House that will result in the United States' finally paying its past-due dues and debts for peacekeeping missions to the United Nations. To get Congress to pay, the Clinton administration had to agree with anti-choice lawmakers not to fund certain international family-planning organizations.

The compromise measure means the State Department will pay \$ 926 million to the United Nations over three years. (The United Nations says the United States owes \$ 1.6 billion, but it would have to agree to write off the remaining debt.) The first installment would prevent Washington from losing its vote in the U.N. General Assembly. But - completely unrelated to U.S. participation in the United Nations - the Congress linked dues repayment to a provision that bans U.S. foreign aid to international family planning organizations that lobby their own government for safe, legal abortion.

The issue is not that U.S. foreign aid might fund foreign abortions: Since 1973, federal law has prohibited the use of American aid money to perform or promote abortion.

Congress' action simply puts a gag on groups that help women in the developing world to plan the number and spacing of their children and that provide reproductive health care to help ensure that children are born healthy to healthy mothers. And it prohibits providing funding to those organizations that use their own money to perform abortions or engage in abortion advocacy.

What role the United States should play in the United Nations and how family planning funding ought to be doled out abroad are issues on which different lawmakers may legitimately disagree. But they are distinct issues that should be debated separately.

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The Miami Herald

November 17, 1999

Clinton Blinks on United Nations Debt

The following editorial appeared in the Miami Herald on Wednesday, Nov. 17:

The Clinton administration this week won a fight it had to win over payment of United Nations dues _ but it paid a high price and sacrificed principle for expediency.

To get Congress's OK to pay the nearly \$1 billion debt, the administration compromised with anti-abortion lawmakers on its policy of full funding for family- planning organizations overseas. In resolving one problem, the President creates another.

The abortion compromise undermines a bedrock principle of the Clinton administration _ support for international family-planning and birth-control initiatives. Not surprisingly, traditional Democratic supporters reacted with anger and disappointment. Even Vice President Al Gore expressed "strong reservations."

Mr. Clinton rightly can claim a crucial victory in getting a commitment for paying this country's lawful United Nations debt. That was absolutely essential. Even with its flaws, the United Nations has evolved into the world's premier organization for settling international disputes and quelling armed conflict. Without its efforts, the United States, as the world's only superpower, inevitably would take on a larger role in such conflicts.

However, in his showdown with hard-line anti-abortionists, President Clinton blinked first. He underestimated the power of his heretofore principled and just stand and may have endangered many programs that, in the poorest parts of the world, make real differences in real lives.

Perhaps a few ultra conservatives in Congress were willing to risk the nation's credibility and prestige for abortion. But mainstream Republicans, like mainstream Americans, are no more willing to be saddled this campaign season with labels like "isolationists" and "deadbeats" than are their Democratic counterparts.

If enacted as proposed, the "deal" ultimately would limit U.S. spending to \$15 million on foreign programs that perform or promote abortions. Mr. Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright say the cap won't be a problem because funding for these groups usually falls below that sum. But the devil lurks in the details. Much depends on how the groups and their work are defined and who monitors their activities.

Such a nebulous deal is bad in itself. But this one is worse because it undermines the administration's previously firm support of global family planning and birth control. Since his first term as President, Mr. Clinton has been a staunch defender of family planning, even rescinding the Reagan administration's "Mexico City" conventions that linked U.S. funding to family-planning programs that supported abortion-related activities.

In striking this deal, this President has helped the United States meet its obligation to the United Nations. But in the interests of pragmatism, he bargained away a valued principle.

THE DENVER POST

Voice of the Rocky Mountain Empire

★★25¢

November 17, 1999

America Loses Face

The petty politics surrounding Congress' belated payment of America's United Nations debt could haunt the nation well into the new century.

This week, President Clinton compromised with congressional foes, opening the way for the United States to pay more than \$ 1 billion it owes the United Nations.

If the United States hadn't paid its U.N. debt, it would have lost its vote in the General Assembly. But the proposed deal forced the White House to accept restrictions on family-planning groups. These organizations don't use U.S. aid to pay for abortions, but sometimes advocate legalizing abortion in other countries.

From the perspective of women's rights worldwide, the deal is damaging. While the compromise permits the president to waive the restrictions, a waiver would automatically bring down a \$ 20 million reduction in funds provided for international family-assistance funding. The arrangement could undercut important international family-planning efforts and force women in developing countries to seek unsafe, illegal abortions.

But the harm inflicted on America's leadership position is even more alarming. By jettisoning the decades-old tradition of stopping domestic politics at the water's edge, the Republican Party's anti-abortion faction caused the U.S. to lose face internationally. Such antics have left the United States unable to present a coherent foreign policy. Washington's mood swings have grown unpredictable, and unpredictability in a superpower is very dangerous.

At one time, it was the Republican Party that claimed expertise in foreign relations. The GOP's commitment to America's global leadership was showcased by Richard Nixon's bold gamble to open links with China, Ronald Reagan's uncompromising fight against world communism, and George Bush's masterful assemblage of the Persian Gulf War coalition.

But today's national Republican Party is enthralled to a narrow section of its membership, which puts its anti-abortion rhetoric ahead of the true national interest.

Since the Cold War's end, the United Nations has matured into the kind of institution the U.S. had hoped it would become, when America championed creation of the international body at the end of World War II. The U.N. rallied to fight the Persian Gulf conflict, created war crimes tribunals in Rwanda and the Balkans, mediated crises from East Timor to Kosovo, and, most recently, penalized Afghanistan for not surrendering suspected terrorist Osama bin Laden.

So by refusing to pay its U.N. obligations, the United States undermined the very institution on which it now relies. That damage, when coupled with America's own loss of face, may be unrecoverable.



November 17, 1999

A Bad Deal For Women

The Clinton administration shouldn't sell out fundamental U.S. principles when it comes to free speech, abortion and family planning overseas just to cut a budget deal.

Yet that's what the president will be doing if he puts his final OK on a Republican plan that would write into law the very ban on overseas family-planning activities that he wisely overruled when he took office.

With a stroke of his pen in 1993, Clinton wiped out an executive order imposed by George Bush and Ronald Reagan. The order had foolishly barred U.S. funds from any organization that lobbied for reproductive freedom for women overseas, even if no American funds were used for the advocacy.

If reinstituted, the ban would be an affront to the very concept of free speech. It would deny overseas organizations fighting for women's rights the same ability to advocate that they would enjoy if they were in the United States. Beyond that, by cutting off all family-planning aid, it would undermine critical efforts to help women in poor nations gain control over family size and stem a population explosion that keeps some nations mired in poverty.

And at a more fundamental level, it threatens the very health of women because the family-planning funds at stake are used not only to prevent unwanted pregnancies and reduce the need for abortion. They're also used to educate women and stem the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, including AIDS, as well as unsafe "back alley" abortions.

Clinton is about to ignore all of that in capitulating to right-wing Republicans and approving a ban he, himself, overturned. Worse, he would now let Congress write into law something that his predecessors had only done by administrative fiat. Even the loophole that would let him waive the restrictions comes with a price tag -- a \$ 12.5 million cut in the measly \$ 385 million the United States plans to spend on overseas family-planning activities.

Either way, women lose.

The GOP is doing this by continuing to withhold America's U.N. dues and risking the U.S. vote in the General Assembly unless the administration agrees to the family-planning restrictions. It is, to be blunt, political blackmail. Clinton should never let the GOP start down that path. Abortion-rights defenders appreciate the president's dilemma. As one put it, "He had to make a deal with the devil."

But there are times when the United States must stand on principle. Clinton should reject a deal that deprives women of fundamental health-care knowledge and that will increase disease and misery in poor nations. He should reject an agreement that, instead of teaching nations about democracy and the free exchange of information in open societies, will teach them instead about political blackmail and gag rules.

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November 16, 1999

GOP Holds Women Hostage

The United States is in danger of losing its vote in the United Nations General Assembly because it has failed to pay nearly \$ 1 billion in back dues to the U.N. This is an embarrassing position for the world's richest country and sole superpower, especially because the United States has regularly used the U.N. to advance American interests. The non-payment of dues makes the United States look cheap and hypocritical.

Congressional Republicans, led by U.S. Rep. Chris Smith of New Jersey, have offered President Bill Clinton a no-win choice. They'll support an appropriation of money for U.N. dues in return for a global gag rule on international family planning organizations that get American aid. Rep. Smith and his cohorts already know that not a penny of American tax money can be spent to perform, promote or lobby for abortion at home or abroad. The gag rule would prevent foreign groups from using their own money to advocate for abortion.

It's a cynical maneuver from legislators that calls into question their compassion for women, sense of international responsibility and commitment to fair play.

Unfortunately, it looks as though Mr. Clinton, erstwhile champion of women's rights, is willing to capitulate. Mr. Clinton has tried to soft-pedal this decision, saying that the agreement is just for this year. The administration adds that Mr. Clinton still can issue waivers to family planning programs that believe that safe, legal abortions are a valid means of controlling fertility and that having fewer children dramatically improves the health, education and welfare of women and their families. But each waiver would trigger an automatic reduction in spending for international family planning programs - hardly a victory. The president, and congressional Democrats, should reject this regressive deal.

U.S. leadership in the United Nations and the world, and women's reproductive rights, are too important to be reduced to a trading card swap. Does anyone seriously believe that this restriction on family planning would be for one year once it is written into law? The battle next year would be twice as bitter.

Mr. Smith's provision is also antithetical to a cherished American principle, the right to free speech. The gag rule would punish private groups using private money to protect women from unsafe, illegal abortions that yearly take the lives of more than 70,000 women around the world - by making it harder for women to get information and contraception to prevent unwanted pregnancies in the first place.

Speaker Dennis Hastert has an opportunity to exercise true leadership. He should persuade the more extreme members of his party to do the right, honorable and fair thing. Pay the U.N. dues because we owe them, and keep women's health and rights out of it.

The Fresno Bee

November 16, 1999

Extortion on Abortion; U.S. Foreign Policy Is Held Hostage to Personal Agendas

Faced with the prospect of an indefinite hold on U.S. funds owed the United Nations and a further blow to U.S. credibility as a global leader, President Clinton has agreed to compromise with anti-abortion forces in the House. In doing so, he has provoked the ire of family-planning groups that accused him of "capitulation." In these circumstances, he has little choice.

Final details remain to be worked out, and those need to be clarified before the White House agrees to what is nothing less than extortion. As outlined by both sides, Clinton would accept language banning U.S. aid to foreign family-planning groups that promote abortion rights even with their own money. But the law would "sunset" after one year.

In the meantime the president could grant waivers to allow such groups to receive funds, but those funds would be offset by corresponding cuts in overall U.S. family-planning aid of \$ 385 million for the fiscal year ending next Sept. 30. Presumably that means cuts could be made in programs deemed less critical than others, though that is not yet clear, as it must be before any final deal is reached.

U.S. officials say the consequences in practical terms would be negligible, perhaps a few million dollars less in overall aid. But symbolically, it would be a serious blow to abortion rights, in effect banning free speech by foreign agencies over which the United States has no authority.

That was the intent, and effect, of a presidential order by former President Ronald Reagan when he imposed such a "gag rule" in 1984 during a population conference in Mexico City. Clinton rescinded that order when he took office in 1993. Now, for a year, he has agreed to abandon that policy.

Ordinarily, such a compromise with principle should be rejected. But the negative effect on U.S. foreign policy of three years of stonewalling on this country's debt to the United Nations have been severe, and continued failure to pay at substantial portion of the U.S. arrears by Dec. 31 will result in the loss of the U.S. vote in the U.N. General Assembly. Even more critical is the further damage to this country's reputation as it presumes to lead the world while refusing to pay its fair share.

In that context, Clinton's best course is first to ensure that there are no hidden hooks in the deal, then pay the extortionate price demanded by those who have held U.S. foreign policy hostage to their personal agenda.

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November 16, 1999

Abortion Foes Threaten Our World Role

After three years of seeing U.S. payment of its \$ 1 billion-plus arrears to the United Nations held hostage by anti-abortion absolutists and with America about to lose its vote in the General Assembly as a result, the Clinton administration is offering to give ground. The territory it would yield is small but still constitutes a symbolic setback.

At the insistence of House Republicans, the White House has agreed to language in this fiscal year's budget agreement that would bar U.S. government funds to international groups that promote abortion overseas.

Federal law already forbids the use of U.S. funds to perform or lobby for abortions abroad. The altered language would bar funding for other activities: family planning, maternal health care, disease prevention, etc. Clearly, this is meant to pressure groups overseas into silence on the subject of abortion choice --- a sorry policy for a nation that professes to cherish free speech.

In playing down its concession, the White House notes the ban would apply only through the rest of this fiscal year. Moreover, Clinton could waive the ban, although the compromise would require a 6 percent cut in U.S. family- planning funding overseas each time he does.

Even if the ban has little practical effect, there's a principle involved. Intolerance for the slightest utterance in favor of abortion choice is about to be codified, however marginally, in U.S. law --- an open invitation for abortion foes to demand even more drastic action later on. That's a steep price to pay to stay in good standing at the United Nations, but Clinton couldn't work his way out of the House GOP's trap.

The deal isn't final. Anti-abortion zealots in the House haven't signed off on it yet; they could make more demands. After all, they don't think highly of the world body anyway --- a myopic attitude on their part.

This week Americans are witnessing vivid examples of U.N. usefulness in furthering U.S. objectives --- U.N. sanctions on the terrorist-tinged Taliban regime in Afghanistan and serious new U.N. talks toward settling the potentially explosive Cyprus dispute. For one-issue extremists to risk forfeiting this nation's leadership in the world organization is irresponsible.

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