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CHINA

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a move that may derail U.S.-Chinese relations just when they seemed to be getting back on track.

The officers "sneaked into a number of restricted military zones in China's southeast coastal areas and illegally acquired military intelligence by photographing and videotaping," Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Shen Guofang asserted.

The Hong Kong-based officers, Col. Joseph Wei Chan and Capt. Dwayne Howard Florenzie, were "caught on the spot" by Chinese soldiers Saturday and were to be ejected by Wednesday night, he said.

Beijing's announcement came just after a meeting between China's Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who attempted to repair deteriorating U.S.-China ties.

The two countries have clashed recently over Washington's allowing Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui to visit New York, China's arrest of Chinese-American human rights activist Harry Wu and evidence of Chinese sales of missile parts to Pakistan. These matters have sent relations between the countries to their lowest point since the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown.

Significantly, both Qian and Christopher are believed to have known about the Air Force officers' expulsion before their meeting, though neither raised the issue, said White House spokesman Mike McCurry.

He explained that American diplomats in China were already in contact with Beijing officials and it is believed that Qian and Christopher, who were at a gathering of Asian leaders in Brunei, wanted to keep their meeting upbeat.

Both Qian and Christopher credited the discussion with bringing a modest improvement in relations between Washington and Beijing.

But the timing of the planned expulsion raises questions as to whether China's security apparatus, or some officials in it, were eager to sabotage the Qian-Christopher meeting, the first high-level summit between the two governments since tensions erupted over Taiwan last spring.

Military analysts say gathering intelligence about each others' forces is routine for both countries; those caught spying are usually dealt with quietly. To detain, then publicly eject the American officers, who hold diplomatic passports and are attached to the U.S. consulate in Hong Kong, during the top-level diplomatic efforts to bring about a U.S.-China detente signals that a disgruntled military wants to take a harder line with the United States and is flexing its muscles within China.

"The military has taken a tougher stance now that they have reached the conclusion that U.S. policy toward China is about containment," said Michael Swaine, a China military analyst at Rand Corp. who just had a round of consultations with army leaders in Beijing. "The Lee Teng-hui visit proved to them that the U.S. wants to restrain Chinese power."

McCurry downplayed the Air Force officers' upcoming expulsions, though he did not address the espionage charges against them.

"As far as I know, they were on authorized travel," he said. "We're not aware of anything out of the routine about their travel in China." He said China had granted them visas and they held diplomatic passports.

(Begin optional trim)

Scott Hallford Tuesday to report they had been caught Saturday. The report by the New China News Agency said the pair applied to enter China to hold consultations with personnel at the U.S. Embassy and consulates, but "the facts are clear and evidence irrefutable" that they were spying. Their activities "seriously undermined China's national security," it said.

The Chinese have not revealed where the two attaches were being detained, beyond saying they were somewhere on the southeast coast.

That is where China has been building up its forces and conducting military exercises as part of its demonstration of strength against Taiwan. The military attaches' trip coincided with China's tests of M-class missiles and movements of troops and advanced aircraft in that region.

(End optional trim)

McCurry said the United States plans no reprisals for the officers' ejection.

U.S. Delegation Vows to Attend Women's Conference in China By Stanley Meisler (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON Despite congressional calls for a boycott, U.N. Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright vowed Wednesday that the Clinton administration would send a delegation to China for the World Conference on Women.

"It will convene in China in 33 days and, let there be no doubt, the United States will be there," she said.

Both Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., and Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., are supporting bills that would rescind funding for sending a delegation to Beijing.

But after listening to testimony from Albright, Rep. Christopher H. Smith, R-N.J., chairman of a House international relations subcommittee, acknowledged that there was little chance for any of the legislation to pass before a congressional recess in mid-August. The conference begins before Congress returns for business in September.

"Obviously, you are going," Smith said. He added that he hoped she would speak out against the Chinese policy of compulsory abortions while she was in Beijing.

Albright, who has been chosen to head the delegation, used her own history to take a good deal of the bite out of Republican arguments that the United States would be turning a blind eye to Chinese human rights violations if American officials attended the conference. The argument has intensified because of China's recent detention of Harry Wu, a human rights activist who is an American citizen.

Reminding the subcommittee that her father, a Czech diplomat, had taken refuge in the United States after the Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1948, Albright said, "There is nothing more destructive to Communist governments than alternative ideas. They don't know how to deal with them. It would be a big favor to the Chinese for us not to show up."

Albright also said the White House had made no decision yet as to whether Hillary Rodham Clinton, who is the "honorary chair" of the delegation, would attend the conference. It is widely assumed that the first lady will not go to Beijing so long as the Chinese continue to detain

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Wu.

White House spokesman Mike McCurry, however, told reporters that a decision about the first lady's attendance did not depend on the state of U.S.-Chinese relations.

"That is always a consideration in decisions we make, but frankly this is a conference that is being held in China," he said. "This is not a question about going to have bilateral meetings with the Chinese government."

(Optional add end)

Although the issue of human rights was Smith's main focus as he tried to make the case for withholding American participation in the conference, two Republican members of his subcommittee raised the issue of what they called an extremist feminist tone to the conference.

Rep. David Funderburk, R-N.C., insisted that the conference "platform for action," now under preparation, described the world as made up of five genders: male, female, homosexual, bisexual and transexual.

Albright quickly dismissed the idea. "Nobody has talked about these five genders," she said. "It is a red herring. It is just not true."

A second congressman, Rep. Matt Salmon, R-Ariz., while citing the alleged extremist views of conference organizers, remarked that Hillary Clinton was ready to go. The comment provoked an angry defense of the first lady by Rep. Tom Lantos, D-Calif., who shouted that it was the previous Republican administration that had acquiesced to the U.N. decision to hold the conference in China.

"Your ire and anger should be addressed to George Bush and Dan Quayle and Jim Baker, not Hillary Clinton," Lantos said. He denounced what he called "Hillary-bashing," which he said he found "revolting and disgusting and inappropriate."

Convoys Add Protection to Travel in Bosnia By William D. Montalbano (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times

PAKBAT CHECKPOINT, Bosnia-Herzegovina Since cars or trucks traveling alone are the easiest mark for checkpoint crooks in Bosnia-Herzegovina, drivers form convoys in exactly the same way and for exactly the same reasons that settlers once moved by wagon train through the American West.

A convoy can be psychologically reinforcing. Usually it is also physically protective. But sometimes it is not enough.

"Pulling up to a checkpoint I was in a 4-by-4, the last vehicle. I thought nothing of it until a couple of criminals in uniforms stepped out in front of me," recalls Dirk van Gorp of Schroon Lake, N.Y., who directs Bosnian aid programs sponsored by American Methodists.

"As the convoy pulled out, they let off a few rounds, separating me. The message was clear. I jumped out and said, 'Please accept this gift from the United Nations through me to you.' After a while, the convoy realized I was missing and somebody came back to get me," van Gorp

cargo, convoy leaders for private aid groups often carry caches of German marks for bribes. They sometimes also are accompanied by young Bosnians, many of them women, who are nominally interpreters but are also diplomats in dealing with checkpoint soldiers.

"They know when to flirt, and when to wheedle. They are smart, and they are very brave," said Michael Taylor, British coordinator for an American aid group.

Sometimes, as the interpreter weaves her spell at a checkpoint, a convoy leader will relieve the tension he knows is building in the vehicles behind him. The soft-spoken radioed assurance "No problem here; they're just talkin'" is like a drink of sweet water on a hot afternoon.

When the hard-pressed Bosnian government is particularly angry at the United Nations, getting through a checkpoint becomes an endurance trial. The line of U.N. vehicles awaiting permission to clear a checkpoint can last for miles and days.

Israeli Soldiers Remove Jewish Settlers From Hilltop By Marjorie Miller (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times

JERUSALEM Israeli soldiers pulled more than 100 Jewish settlers off a hilltop near the West Bank town of Efrat on Wednesday during a third day of protests designed to impede Israeli troop withdrawal and expansion of Palestinian self-rule.

Although hundreds of activists have been detained since the demonstrations began, police for the first time pressed charges against two prominent leaders of the Efrat settlement, including its rabbi, Steve "Shlomo" Riskin.

They were charged with entering a closed military zone, as the hills around Efrat have been declared, and the other protesters refused to leave the detention center without them.

"You should know this is just the beginning," Eve Harow, an Efrat town council member, said in an interview on a mobile telephone, as she was briefly detained at army headquarters in nearby Bethlehem.

The weeks-long battle for control of West Bank hilltops is part of a hearts-and-minds campaign by the more than 120,000 settlers to erode fragile public support for the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

Efrat, often called the "yuppie settlement" for its population of American doctors and other professionals who commute to work in Jerusalem, is considered one of the more politically moderate settlements. It, therefore, is key to the settlers' efforts to win broad support among the majority of moderate and secular Israelis.

The government is negotiating a partial withdrawal of Israeli forces from the West Bank under the second stage of the 1993 peace accord that Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin signed with Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat. Palestinian police are to take over security in West Bank towns, and, possibly, in Arab villages, some of which are not far from settlements. Israeli soldiers will be in charge of protecting

Ambassador Albright says U.S. won't boycott women's conference in Beijing By Rachel L. Jones Knight-Ridder Newspapers

WASHINGTON Despite mounting calls for an official boycott of the Fourth World Conference on Women, U.N. Ambassador Madeleine Albright said Wednesday that U.S. representatives must attend and send a strong message to China.

"The presence of 10,000 American women in China speaking their minds is going to have a very loud resonance," Albright told members of the House International Operations and Human Rights Subcommittee.

Her statements confirmed that, even amid scorching criticism, the United States will send a top-ranking delegation to the conference in Beijing, rather than officially snub the meeting to protest China's human rights policy and the arrest of Chinese-American activist Harry Wu.

And though first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton still hasn't confirmed her participation in the governmental meeting, Sept. 4-15, Albright said American delegates will go "with their heads held high and with a strong voice" to protest Chinese policies.

State Department officials say Albright will be joined by State Department Undersecretary Tim Wirth, former Rep. Majorie Margolies-Mezvinsky and Secretary Donna Shalala of the Department of Health and Human Services. Other delegates are yet to be named by the Clinton administration.

But on Capitol Hill, resistance is mounting.

Rep. Chris Smith, R-N.J., has proposed a bill that would deny the State Department funding if officials go to Beijing while Wu is imprisoned and other delegates have been denied visas. To date, China has refused visas to groups from Tibet, Taiwan and Iran, among other groups.

At Wednesday's hearing, Smith repeated his belief that U.S. participation is wrong.

"Just what would a country have to do for the U.S. to NOT attend a conference?" he asked Albright. "Would we go to Iraq for a women's conference? Are infanticide and abortions at nine months reasons enough for us to say no?"

On Tuesday, the Senate postponed a vote on a bill to reform the State Department, which would have linked U.S. participation in the conference with China's release of Wu, who has been jailed since June 19.

Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., added an amendment that would withhold half of the State Department funds for international conferences if money is spent on travel to Beijing while Wu is still held. But the bill was pulled after the Senate failed to cut off debate on it.

U.S.-China relations are at their lowest ebb since the 1989 government crackdown on democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square. In recent months, groups like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have issued numerous negative reports, focusing on slave labor camps and political repression.

China's mandatory abortion policy and rising female infanticide, and its recently enacted eugenics law aimed at decreasing the numbers of physically and mentally disabled people, have left many U.S. delegates disturbed and uncomfortable about having the conference there.

The latest broken link in the U.S.-China chain was Wednesday's expulsion of two U.S. Air Force officers, accused of illegally gathering military intelligence.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

Beyond the political arena, opposition to the conference is taking on a decidedly conservative tinge as pro-life and religious groups weigh in.

Last week, the conservative advocacy group Concerned Women for America held a press conference condemning President Clinton's choices for the U.S. delegation to

China.

"Why is the official delegation of the United States, appointed by President Clinton, promoting radical ideas that do not represent most Americans?" asked Beverly LaHaye, the group's president and founder.

She joins groups like the Family Research Council and the Catholic Campaign for America in accusing the conference of promoting an anti-family, anti-motherhood and pro-abortion agenda.

They say the official draft document outlining the goals of the conference is filled with terms that promote an erosion of gender lines and depict men as little more than abusers.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

On Monday, another Republican presidential candidate joined the chorus. Patrick Buchanan called for a total U.S. boycott, calling the conference a "travesty and a farce."

"The Beijing conference, which gives China's communist government undeserved credibility, is an insult to American values and undermines our strategic interests," Buchanan said. "By participating in the Beijing conference, Bill Clinton would compound two great follies: craven appeasement and aggrandizement of the United Nations."

But Albright believes that the very presence of Americans and other delegates from democratic nations poses a bigger threat to China than a boycott would.

"There is nothing more destructive to communist societies than the introduction of alternative ideas," she said. "We must be there to promote freedom and democracy in that environment."

Colombian defense minister quits as crisis worsens By Mary Beth Sheridan Knight-Ridder Newspapers

Colombia's defense minister stepped down Wednesday, as the government was increasingly engulfed by charges that the world's top drug kingpins had financed the electoral campaign of President Ernesto Samper.

The resignation of Defense Minister Fernando Botero, the manager of Samper's campaign, marked the first time that a yearlong scandal over drug lords' contributions to politicians reached into the president's inner circle.

It raised even more insistently the famous question: What did the president know and when did he know it?

"This is a Colombian Watergate," said Tom Cash, former head of the Drug Enforcement Administration in Miami, who closely followed drug issues in Colombia.

Botero has denied in the past that he had taken drug money. But last week, Samper's campaign treasurer, Santiago Medina, dropped a bombshell in secret testimony on the campaign contributions from drug lords.

Botero and the president were directly involved, he reportedly testified before government prosecutors.

Swiftly, Attorney General Alfonso Valdivieso asked the Supreme Court to investigate whether Botero broke the law. Only that court can try government ministers.

On Wednesday, Botero said he was resigning because of the accusations.

"I resign ... from my post as minister of national defense," said the 38-year-old minister, a polished Harvard graduate who is son of the world famous painter of the same name.

"I cannot prolong this situation that has put in doubt my personal integrity and the honor of my family," he told a news conference, reading the resignation letter he had written to the president.

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*From wire sev.**247*

Date: 08/02/95 Time: 11:59

U.S. to Attend Beijing Women's Conference Despite Problems With

WASHINGTON (AP) The United States will send a full delegation to Beijing next month for a U.N. women's conference despite problems in relations with China, U.N. Ambassador Madeleine Albright said Wednesday.

Albright said she will head the delegation but added the administration has yet to decide whether first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton would attend. Senate Republicans on Tuesday tried to pass legislation to discourage U.S. participation by withholding funding for such conferences, but the issue failed to come to a vote.

"It just does not make sense, in the name of human rights, to boycott a conference that has, as a primary purpose, the promotion of human rights," Albright said in a speech to the Center for National Policy at the U.S. Capitol.

The latest sore point in U.S.-China relations came earlier Wednesday when China ordered the expulsion of two U.S. Air Force officers, accusing them of illegally gathering military intelligence. Albright said she'd heard the report but declined comment.

At the White House, press secretary Mike McCurry said he had no information to indicate the incident would have "negative repercussions."

Despite a cordial meeting between U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and China's foreign minister, Qian Qichen, U.S. relations with China have deteriorated to their lowest level since the 1989 crackdown against democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square.

Tuesday's move in the Senate to bar U.S. participation in the U.N.-sponsored conference was prompted by the June 19 arrest of China-born U.S. citizen Harry Wu.

"The United States should not be a party to what will surely be a propaganda exercise as long as Harry Wu is detained," said Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole.

Wu had made several trips to his homeland to gather evidence of human rights abuses in the Chinese prison system, where he spent 19 years before being allowed to emigrate in the 1980s.

Albright repeated U.S. calls for Wu's immediate release.

"I can understand why some would want to tie conference participation to Mr. Wu's release," she said, "but that assumes falsely that our attendance would be some sort of favor to Beijing."

She said there was no reason to believe that the U.S. decision on attending the conference would impact China's handling of the Wu case.

"American withdrawal would not stop the conference or cause it to be moved," she said. "It would lead, instead, to a conference in which 130 million American women would be unrepresented and in which our influence and leadership would not be felt."

U.S. goals at the meeting would be to promote and protect the human rights of women, end violence against women, expand participation of women in political decisions, assure equal access of women to health care and education, and strengthen families, Albright said.

"Despite recent gains, women remain an undervalued and underdeveloped human resource," she said.

Albright said the conference is being held in China because it

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underdeveloped human resource, she said.

Albright said the conference is being held in China because it

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was time for an international meeting of such scope in Asia, and China was the only country that offered when it was planned.

Makeup of the U.S. delegation will be announced by the end of the week. She said a decision on Mrs. Clinton's participation, probably as honorary chairman, will come "at the appropriate time."

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Nancy Pelosi

On to Beijing

As the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women approaches, there is strong support in the congressional leadership for withdrawing the U.S. delegation to the September conference, which is to be held in Beijing. The critics cite China's arrest of human rights advocate Harry Wu and its long history of human rights violations.

While the United States and other democratic nations must find ways to protest China's conduct, canceling U.S. participation in this year's largest and most important human rights gathering would be a mistake.

Many of the most pressing human rights challenges facing the world today—the economic, social, educational, health and political status of women—will be addressed at this critically important gathering of 40,000 people from every corner of the globe. Women and girls internationally face the gravest threats to the most basic human rights: the right to a clean environment, to a living wage, to full participation in political life, to be educated, to health, to freedom from violence.

Violence stalks women in war-torn areas such as Rwanda and Bosnia.

Rape, one of the most horrifying of all human rights abuses, has long been a systematic weapon of war. Survivors of rape not only face severe physical and psychological trauma and unwanted pregnancies, but many have also become infected with HIV, the virus that causes AIDS.

But AIDS threatens women in peacetime, too. In the field of AIDS prevention, the need to educate and help women protect themselves and their families from infection has become critically important. The course of the epidemic that has plagued both our country and the developing world has changed. The rate of HIV transmission for women is now higher than for men; by the end of the century, the number of women with HIV will have doubled. Worldwide, all women—including monogamous and married women—are becoming increasingly vulnerable to HIV infection. As women become ill, the families they care for suffer gravely, and the communities they support begin to unravel.

The destruction of family and social life has affected entire regions of Africa, where hundreds of villages have been decimated by AIDS. Asia,

hit later in the '80s by the epidemic, has a widespread commercial sex industry and now faces the epidemic in its full fury. And here in the United States, AIDS is now the number one killer of African American women in the 25-44 age group.

A broad coalition of U.S. and international organizations involved in HIV prevention is planning an extensive series of educational and outreach activities at the Beijing conference. Their purpose is to convince Beijing participants in all fields that the epidemic is a growing threat to the women of the world, and that HIV prevention can and must become an integral part of their efforts for women's rights and well-being. Because many Asian women community leaders and journalists will attend the conference, this coalition will have the opportunity to reach leaders and policymakers where the threat of the epidemic is now greatest. Prominent among these groups are organizations whose work is supported by the U.S. government and whose participation at the conference would be curtailed if this legislation is passed.

Some who testified last week against U.S. participation at the Bei-

jing conference have called it "anti-family." Nothing could be further from the truth. Those who work to improve women's lives are deeply aware that their efforts will fail unless they include the family context in which real women live their real lives. Finding ways to support the family in the face of AIDS has been the primary focus of many HIV prevention projects, particularly in the developing world.

We ask Congress for this: Support us in our efforts to improve the lives of the world's women and their families. We have critically important, life-affirming, family-supporting human rights work to do at the Beijing conference. As the country fights for the release of Harry Wu and for an end to human rights violations by the Chinese government, ensure that the United States takes the most active possible role in guaranteeing full human rights for all the citizens of the world by sending a delegation to the conference. For women, it is even more than a question of rights—it is a matter of life and death.

The writer is a Democratic representative from California.

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ID:
THE WASHINGTON POST
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 2, 1995

AUG 02 '95 6:57 PM No. 004 P. 05

First lady promotes conference in China

Hillary Clinton tells Denver audience that boycott of women's meeting makes no sense

by Katie Kerwin

Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer

Hillary Rodham Clinton hinted during a speech in Denver that she will attend the United Nations conference on women in China in September.

Protesters have urged her to boycott the conference because of China's poor human rights record. While their intentions may be proper, they are "missing the point," Clinton told 3,000 delegates to the national Summit on Women's Economic Security.

"Human rights cannot be separated from women's rights," Clinton said, as the crowd of supporters applauded. "Women's rights to economic opportunities and political participation should be a part of the human rights agenda."

Clinton said the United States



Hillary Rodham Clinton, left, listens to Ambassador Swanee Hunt at the head table before she addresses the women's economic summit at the Colorado Convention Center on Wednesday. President Clinton appointed Hunt, of Denver, ambassador to Austria.

Linda McConnell
Rocky Mountain News

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by Katie Kerwin 7-27-95 P. 4A
Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer

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Women's rights to economic opportunities and political participation should be a part of the human rights agenda.

Clinton said the United States must exert strong leadership at the conference, although she did not say specifically that she would attend. A spokesman for Clinton said the State Department and National Security Council, not Clinton herself, will decide next month whether she'll go.

The first lady made the comments about China during a luncheon at the Colorado Convention Center, where she pressed for women's rights, parity in the workplace, improved health care, a family friendly environment and

an end to age discrimination.

Earlier Wednesday, Clinton visited Mi Casa, a Denver training and counseling center that works to make women economically self-sufficient.

She sat in on a class where young single parents were learning about setting up businesses. She also participated in a roundtable discussion with female entrepreneurs who had established businesses with Mi Casa's help.

Clinton seized both forums to deliver an explicitly political message.

At the luncheon, she discussed affirmative action, saying women and minorities not only need affirmative action, but "affirmative thinking" as well.

Clinton also defended mothers on welfare, maligned in Washington since Republicans gained control of Congress. She said the government and private groups, like the Women's Foundation of Colorado which sponsored Wednesday's summit, must work together to help women rise from poverty.

Clinton even brought up health care, a topic she has avoided since the Clinton administration's health-care plan flopped last year.

"We have to view health care as an investment in people that enables them to achieve economic security," Clinton said.

She did not answer any questions. And she made no remarks about the Whitewater hearings or the death of her friend, White House lawyer Vincent Foster. While she was in Denver, senators

were questioning her chief of staff to learn whether the aide had taken documents from Foster's office the night he died.

Clinton appeared unruffled by the hearing, focusing on potential benefits from the Denver summit.

"If you are able to provide economic security for women," she said, "you are more likely to ensure that families and communities are also economically secure. That is something that we have learned all over the world."

Clinton shares a tale of genies and genius

RMN 7-27-95 P. 52A

Hillary Rodham Clinton may have been the keynote speaker at the summit, but her husband had his say.

Betsy Myers, director of Women's Issues and Outreach for the White House, said she bumped into President Clinton recently and let him know that she was attending the Colorado conference. She asked if he had anything to send along.

Clinton told Myers this: He was invited to go fishing a couple of weeks ago with House speaker Newt Gingrich and Senate majority leader Bob Dole.

They were out in the boat on the Potomac when the president reeled in an urn. They pulled the urn into the boat and unscrewed a cap on it. Out popped a genie.

The genie told the president she'd grant him any wish he wanted. "Make me 25% smarter," the president asked. "Poof, you're 25% smarter," the genie told the president.

Dole, not to be outdone, asked to be 50% smarter. "Poof, you're 50% smarter," the genie told Dole.

Gingrich wanted to be 100% smarter. "Are you sure, Mr. Speaker?" the genie asked. "I'm sure," Gingrich replied.

"Poof," the genie said. "Now you're a woman."

Women take over the men's rooms

At a conference catering to 3,100 women

SUMMIT, INC.

and only a handful of men, signs in front of many men's restrooms at the Colorado Convention Center

warned, "This is a women's restroom during this event." So it's not surprising that a rather desperate man was seen next to a volunteer, who was speaking on a cell phone to another volunteer asking: "Then what men's restrooms are actually for men?"

Seeking forgiveness for her senators

Betsy Considine, wife of conservative former state senator Terry Considine and the president of The Women's Foundation, helped introduce Hillary Rodham Clinton. But stayed away from partisan issues.

She started introductions by telling the story of her young daughter introducing her father to fellow kindergartners as a "state sinner." Most laughed, but Denver council member Dennis Gallagher didn't think it was a mistake. "His voting record supports that."

Women hold up half the vocabulary

Marjorie Margulies Mevinsky, director of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in September in Beijing, said China may not be prepared for the 50,000 women expected.

The Chinese character for peace, she says, is a woman with a little house over her head. The character for happiness is a woman with a child next to her. The character for trouble: three women.

'Dangerous minds' shake up the world

Hillary Rodham Clinton was the main speaker at Wednesday's event, but Coldradan Swanee Hunt also struck a chord.

heir and largest contributor to the Clinton campaign, introduced the first lady comparing her to an equally controversial predecessor — Eleanor Roosevelt. "It's dangerous being as smart and as competent as Eleanor Roosevelt was — or as Hillary Rodham Clinton," she said.

RUSSERT: But he may have broken Chinese law.

CHRISTOPHER: Well, I think it's really not profitable to get into that discussion. I don't know that he's done anything that would justify his prolonged detention, under circumstances that are very dangerous to him. He does a medical condition.

RUSSERT: Now his wife, Mrs. Wu, has said that the United States should not participate in the UN Woman's Conference in Beijing, until Mr. Wu is released, and number two, Hillary Clinton, the First Lady, should not go to Beijing as Chairperson of that delegation.

CHRISTOPHER: Well, first let me say that that's a very important conference. Women's issues are discussed there only once a decade. So, I think that a desirable conference to go ahead. I would try to separate the issues. At the present time, Ambassador Madeleine Albright is the chairman of our delegation. Mrs. Clinton has expressed an interest in that conference. Those are issues, of course, that are very important to her. No decision has been made as to whether or not she will go. But I would hope that the Wu episode is behind us well before that conference takes place. I think it'd be in everybody's interest if it is.

RUSSERT: It'd be very difficult for the First Lady to go to China while Harry Wu's in custody.

CHRISTOPHER: Well, I don't want to try to anticipate what the First Lady's decision will be, but let me just emphasize over again for a whole series of reasons, the women's conference, the meeting that I'm going to be having in Brunei with the Foreign Minister, I hope in a couple of weeks, it would be very desirable to put the Harry Wu episode behind us, so we can get our relationship back on a solid track.

RUSSERT: Most favored nation status, trade status for the Chinese, should we suspend that while he's in custody?

CHRISTOPHER: That probably will come up for discussion in the Congress in a week or two. The United States will strongly, strongly support the maintenance of the most favored nations for China. Under the present circumstances, I think we should condemn the taking of detention of Mr. Wu under these circumstances, but at the same time, I believe that most favored nation status is in our interest, as well as being in the Chinese interest.

Tim, in this situation, I think that it's important to emphasize that the United States has a great deal of need to keep engaged with China. It's a very powerful and

important country. We want to be engaged with them. We don't intend to try to contain them. We want to respect the three communiqués under which we operated in the past. And I think the United States will be able to manage these relationships. There've been some ups and downs in the past, but I think that at the present time, if we maintain a steady course with them, and get through these episodes, we can establish the kind of relationships we need with China and the other world's great powers.

RUSSERT: We have just a few seconds left, Mr. Secretary. The Middle East. The Syrians will not negotiate with the Israelis as they had promised. What message do you send to the Syrians this morning?

CHRISTOPHER: Tim, I think that what you say is an overstatement. The ambassadors will be talking here again in Washington, probably within a week or two. There's a technical issue as to whether or not military representatives will join them. But they're making real progress on that front. The two Chiefs of Staff of Syria and Israel met here in Washington. They had good meetings. Dennis Ross had some good meetings out there. Remember there's ups and downs in that particular negotiation. They're very tough issues and they're very experienced, tough negotiators. It's our job to try to keep that negotiation on an even keel. So I wouldn't over-react to one of the ups and downs and those negotiations will proceed forward on that, just as progress is being made on the Israeli-Palestinian track.

RUSSERT: Will you be going to the Middle East?

CHRISTOPHER: I may go to the Middle East. I have first to make a long trip to Asia for the conferences in Brunei and then to visit Vietnam, among other places. I may go to the Middle East after that. I'm always ready to go if it will advance the cause of peace there.

RUSSERT: Finally, Mr. Secretary, what can you tell us about the health of Russian president, Boris Yeltsin?

CHRISTOPHER: Well, we hear, of course, our information comes from the Russian government and they indicate that his health is good, that he's in the hospital, that he's working, and the other day, as you noticed perhaps, he called for Parliamentary elections this December.

CHRISTOPHER: So, our information is that he remains in charge, remains effective and will be coming out of the hospital in the near future. We don't have any independent knowledge of his health other than what is reported to us by the Russian government.

embargo, it's kind of an emotional luxury. But you have to ask yourself, what are the consequences of that. I think one of the principal consequences is that it is a way to draw the United States into the war, on the ground, in two respects.

First, the moment the arms embargo is lifted unilaterally, and that's what Senator Dole is talking about, UNPROFOR will come out, our allies will not stay under those circumstances -- we're committed to help them with up to 25,000 United States troops, to withdraw. But more important than that, if the arms embargo is lifted, no doubt the Serbs will launch an offensive against the Muslims. Our estimate is the Muslims will need help in that circumstance. They'll come to us, they'll ask for our help, and before long the United States will be in the picture with equipment, with training, and perhaps, if that doesn't work, with troops.

So, I think lifting the arms embargo, for all the attraction it has, if you do it unilaterally, it means we take a unilateral responsibility here in the United States and it Americanizes the war. So, it's a very bad idea, as I say, for all of its imperfections. A better approach to the matter is to try to strengthen UNPROFOR to enable the United Nations to do things better than they have in the past, to override some of the mistakes that have made them ineffective, at least in this respect.

RUSSET: Jacques Chirac, the head of France, said that this is similar to the appeasement of Hitler.

CHRISTOPHER: Well, I understand his frustration, and I understand his anger. The whole world condemns what's happened there. But the question is, what can we do about it. And that's what the Joint Chiefs of Staff are meeting on in London right now.

RUSSET: Let me turn to China. Were the Chinese within their rights to arrest Harry Wu?

CHRISTOPHER: I think that's not the, that question to ask, the real issue is, should they release Harry Wu, in the interests of U.S.-China relations. I think it would be very conducive to U.S.-China relations, that he be released. We urge his release, at the present time, immediately. I think that that would be a helpful matter for U.S.-China relations.

We don't know all the facts of the particular case, but we do know that he is very courageous man who has been a Human Rights activist over the years, done a great and very important things, and I think his detention is really a thorn in the side of U.S.-China relationship, and I hope he'll be released very promptly.

Bush/China

CAPITAL JOURNAL
BY GERALD F. SEIB

An Old Hand Who Might Ease Chinese Strains

WHAT FOREIGN POLICY problem looms as the most disastrous for President Clinton, carrying the potential to both damage his domestic political standing and undermine America's position in the world?

Hint: It isn't Bosnia.

It's China. The television footage



today may be of the disaster unfolding in Bosnia, but the downward spiral in U.S.-Chinese relations is, in fact, a more alarming development. At this moment, neither China nor the U.S. has an ambassador in the other's capital, a prominent U.S. citizen is being

held prisoner in China and there's talk in Congress of cutting off China's most-favored-nation trade status.

In sum, American relations with the biggest nation on the planet, the one with its fastest growing economy, are souring faster than Hugh Grant's reputation. Worse yet, the U.S.-Chinese relationship is gasping for the oxygen on which it has always depended: serious high-level communication. President Clinton needs help.

Here's somebody who might provide it. He's a former ambassador to China and is well-regarded in Beijing. He has experience handling this type of rocky patch in Sino-American relations. He just happens to have a trip to China scheduled for September anyway.

His name is George Bush.

TO UNDERSTAND HOW the former president might be helpful, even in a temporary and limited way, it's necessary to look at what is really going wrong in U.S.-Chinese relations. The problem isn't so much a disagreement on a series of issues, but a more profound misunderstanding. "The administration thinks their strategy is engagement; the Chinese think it's containment," says Brent Scowcroft, Mr. Bush's national security adviser who has long experience dealing with Beijing. "That's a pretty big gap."

In other words, China seems to have watched a series of isolated American

steps — the decision to allow a visit by Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui, recognition of neighboring Vietnam, comments about the obscure Spratly Islands chain, the quiet entry into China of naturalized U.S. citizen and human-rights activist Harry Wu — and fantasized them into a Clinton administration strategy of encircling and containing Chinese power.



George Bush

There's little reason to think this is, in fact, what the Clinton administration intends. Nevertheless, into this gap of misunderstanding fall all the individual issues that are fraying U.S.-Chinese relations. Chinese leaders badly overreact when they find that Mr. Wu, a veteran of China's prison labor system for dissidents, has returned on a U.S. passport to do human-rights research. Sensing a hostile environment developing, they ignore U.S. calls to rein in missile sales to China's friends.

It's folly to think that this ball of problems now can be quickly unwound. Rather, says Mr. Scowcroft, "the thing we need to do now is to stop the decline before somebody says or does something that makes the situation really bad." Yet there is a stunningly short list of Americans that China's top leaders actually trust, particularly at a time when paranoia is running deep. And unfortunately for Mr. Clinton, nobody on that short list happens to work for him.

EENTER PRESIDENT BUSH and Mr. Scowcroft, his adviser and friend. They both fit on the short list of Americans trusted in Beijing. Mr. Bush already is planning to be in China in September to make a speech. Mr. Scowcroft may be along for the trip.

Mr. Bush's mission wouldn't be to change China's arms or human-rights policies overnight. As a trusted figure who now rises above partisan politics, his role would be to start a serious discussion of what the U.S. and China expect from each other now that the Cold War is over — a discussion, Mr. Scowcroft notes, that has never really occurred because of the residue of anger left from the 1989 massacre at Tiananmen Square.

At a minimum, if Mr. Wu hasn't been released by the time Mr. Bush arrives, there's nobody better situated to demand his freedom.

No side would be completely satisfied with this idea. Having seen Jimmy Carter move into crises in North Korea and Haiti, the Clinton administration may chafe at using another former president (this one Republican). GOP conservatives think Mr. Bush is soft on human rights. The Chinese wouldn't know whether Mr. Bush could truly explain the Clinton team's intentions.

But somebody who isn't perfect for anybody may be just about right for everybody. As a former president, Mr. Bush hasn't really found his role. China may beckon him again.

ministration shows the definition of the word "principle," so trying to convey the idea that principle and integrity must prevail is fast becoming a lost cause.

Time to get tough with China

BETHESDA, Md. — For years, we've turned a blind eye toward China's human rights abuses, believing it was better to make a buck in the world's biggest potential market than to stand up to the tyrants who run China.

Now the Chinese have forced a confrontation.

They've arrested an American citizen, Harry Wu — a naturalized Chinese-American — and charged him with espionage for daring to expose their human rights record. How the U.S. responds will say much about our commitment to principle. It also may determine the course of world freedom in the 21st century.

Wu was born in China and became a human rights activist in the 1950s when he spoke out against the Communist Party while still a student.

In 1960, he was sent to prison for being a "counterrevolutionary rightist" and spent 19 years in China's infamous forced-labor camps.

After his release from prison, Wu came to the United States in 1985 and became a citizen. He might have lived out the remainder of his life here in peace. Instead, he chose to return to China

three times to expose the communist regime's brutal system of forced labor and imprisonment.

Wu's trips produced the best documentary evidence available that China remains one of the world's worst human rights abusers — despite its recent economic reforms.

In 1991, *60 Minutes* aired film footage of a Chinese forced-labor camp, which Wu took with a hidden camera while posing as a wealthy investor. The episode embarrassed not only the Chinese government but some American businesses that have been willing to import goods made by Chinese political prisoners under slavery-like conditions. Wu's exposé led to legislation prohibiting the importation of such products into the United States.

These activities made Wu the most wanted man in China. Still, he risked his freedom again in order to return to China for the fourth time last month. Now Wu may lose his life. His only hope is that his adopted country will force the Chinese government to abide by international law and release him. Wu, after all, was traveling to China on a valid visa issued by the Chinese government and



By Ben Rusnak, AFP

WU: Rights activist

1995 outlook for key U.S.-China issues:

- ▶ Human rights: Little progress expected.
- ▶ Intellectual property protection: Promising progress.
- ▶ Proposed Chinese nuclear technology sale to Iran: Going ahead.
- ▶ Chinese nuclear testing: Will continue.

Source: Heritage Foundation analysis

with a valid U.S. passport. He was taken prisoner at the border, so there is no question of whether he broke any laws.

If China can imprison American citizens with impunity, then no traveler can safely go there. At a minimum, the U.S. should take the following steps in response to Wu's arrest:

- ▶ Pull out of the U.N. International Women's Conference scheduled for September in Beijing. The U.S. should send no official delegation to this meeting and should discourage American non-governmental organizations from attending as well. Any American woman who goes to Beijing while Wu remains jailed there is an accomplice in her countryman's imprisonment.

- ▶ Halt the planned trade delegation to China headed by Commerce

Secretary Ron Brown and revisit most-favored-nation trading status for China. Candidate Clinton promised to demand an improved human rights record as a precondition to any trade concessions he might make as president. But President Clinton reneged, as usual. Delinking trade and human rights has only emboldened the Chinese. Wu is now the most famous — but hardly the only — casualty of the administration's policy.

- ▶ Recognize the government of Taiwan. House Speaker Newt Gingrich made the proposal last weekend. Unlike those who live on the mainland, the 21 million Chinese who live in Taiwan are a free people with a democratically elected government. Taiwan also has one of the world's strongest economies. Our "one China" policy makes no moral or practical sense.

But the future of Wu is not all that is at stake. China is home to more than one-fifth the world's population, has a 3.2 million armed force and nuclear weapons.

If China remains communist into the 21st century, it could pose the same threat to peace and freedom the Soviet Union did throughout the 20th. The United States must do all it can to see that does not happen.



COUNTERPOINTS

By Linda Chavez

USA
Today
7/12

its track
at a competi-

abble is the
ng mainline,



g, weed-strewn
n 1868

with reforms.
each defending such pro-
agencies are conducting "reviews"
but plan no fast changes. Dole will push his
bill this fall to kill many federal racial
preferences.

*By 47% to 41%, Americans think
the current national debate is a divisive
and negative development, a switch from
the view in March.*

8/4/95

GINGRICH'S HIGH PROFILE and book
tour don't help his image. Some 42% of
Americans have a negative view of the
Georgian, up from 31% in January when he
became House speaker. But 90% know who
he is; in October of 1990 nearly 70% didn't
recognize his name.

CHRISTOPHER FUMES at U.S. intelli-
gence officials after two U.S. Air Force
officers are caught in a restricted Chinese
area just as the secretary of state seeks to
mend U.S.-China relations. Still, Americans
by 55% to 33% think Hillary Rodham Clinton
should speak at next month's U.N. Confer-
ence on Women in China.

world by the end of the century.

"This industry has embarked on an
incredible boom," says Douglas Henton,
an economist at Joint Venture Silicon
Valley, a planning group based in San
Jose, Calif. "If you don't keep up, someone
comes along and eats your lunch."

The quest for cheap land, cheap labor
and tax breaks has led most of the
world's biggest chip makers here; more
than \$13 billion in high-tech construction is
either under way or proposed for the
100-mile swath of rural landscape stretch-
ing from Portland to Eugene. That is six
times the value of all the real estate
in downtown Portland, or, put another
way, the equivalent of stuffing a half-dozen
Saturn auto plants into a small corner of
Tennessee.

'Poster Child'

Oregon, says John Mitchell, chief econ-
omist for U.S. Bancorp in Portland, has
become "the poster child for industrial
transformation."

All this in a state where, until recently,
"chips" meant sawmill debris. Now, offi-
cially, high-tech is about to pass timber
industry

White House, Congress clash on China policy

GOP seeks hard line to free Wu

By Ben Barber
and George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Clinton administration and China sought yesterday to shore up relations that Henry Kissinger said were "in free fall," but Republican leaders threatened to reverse President Clinton's approval of favorable trade terms for China unless Beijing frees American human rights activist Harry Wu by next week.

White House spokesman Michael McCurry restated Washington's "one China" policy after repeated demands by Beijing to take "concrete actions" to repair the damage done by the Clinton administration's May 22 decision to allow Taiwan's president to visit the United States.

It is "the American view that there is one China," Mr. McCurry said. "... We accept the Chinese view that Taiwan is part of China."

China also softened its rhetoric in the dispute, which had escalated with the arrest last week of Mr. Wu, a naturalized U.S. citizen, on espionage charges.

"We hope the U.S. government can adopt a patient attitude and wait to see the result of investigations," Foreign Ministry spokesman Shen Guofang said in Beijing.

But attempts to quiet the rhetoric by Washington and Beijing were brushed aside in both houses of Congress.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich of Georgia and Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas asked Mr. Clinton to cancel U.S. participation in the fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in September "as long as Harry Wu is detained in China."

Congressional anger over Mr. Wu's detention is focusing on a scheduled House vote next Thursday on a resolution introduced by Rep. Frank R. Wolf, Virginia Republican, to block China's most-favored-nation (MFN) status, which permits billions of dollars of Chinese products to enter the United States at reduced tariffs.

President Clinton, as empowered by law, extended MFN to China earlier this month, but Con-

see CHINA, page A10

WT
A1
07/14

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CHINA

From page A1

gress has the right to block the approval within 60 days.

Republican leaders said the resolution will likely pass if Mr. Wu has not been released.

Mr. Wolf said Congress would never have granted MFN status to the former Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia or South Africa when human rights activists Andrei Sakharov, Nathan Sharansky, Vaclav Havel, or Nelson Mandela were jailed in their countries.

"Harry Wu is a Chinese Havel, a Chinese Mandela. The difference is, Harry Wu is an American citizen. When an American citizen languishes in a Chinese jail, we should never grant MFN," Mr. Wolf said.

Rep. Gerald B.H. Solomon, New York Republican and chairman of the House Rules Committee, said he would "help sec to it" that China's MFN status is lifted. "The Harry Wu situation just exemplifies all the [human rights] problems we have with China. We cannot have a rogue government like China, with all those violations, getting special treatment from the United States," Mr. Solomon said.

But some congressional Republicans said Mr. Wu's situation

should not be tied to continued MFN status for China.

"The greatest human right of all is the ability to feed your family, clothe your family and shelter your family," said Rep. Philip M. Crane, Illinois Republican. "China is the fourth-largest economy in the world right now and in 10 years will be No. 1. That's very exciting. If you cut off MFN, how will you have any influence?"

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms of North Carolina emerged from a meeting with Ching Lee Wu, Mr. Wu's wife, saying Congress should not "complicate the situation" by tying his release to other issues involving U.S.-China relations.

"I want to get Harry Wu out of there," Mr. Helms told reporters. "A serious mistake will be made [by the Chinese government] if any harm comes to him. I don't want to make any comments that would harm him."

Mr. Kissinger, the national security adviser and secretary of state under President Nixon, warned a Senate panel that Sino-American relations are "in free fall" and that a confrontation with the world's most populous nation would be catastrophic.

Mr. Kissinger, who pioneered the opening to Communist China in 1972, told the Senate Foreign

243

WT
07/14
A10

Relations Committee that he had just met Chinese leaders in Beijing and made a strong case for the "wisdom" of releasing Mr. Wu.

"We should try to avoid too much of confrontation in the immediate future to see whether — on reflection and in their assessment of the impact of the continued detention of Harry Wu on the overall pattern of Sino-American relations — they will not in the near future release him," Mr. Kissinger said.

"Conflict with China would tempt both [Washington and Beijing] to organize the rest of Asia against the other, encouraging virulent nationalism," he warned.

Mr. Kissinger said that "relations have steadily declined" beginning with the crackdown on the Tiananmen Square demonstrations in June 1989 right up to the unofficial visit to the United States of the Taiwan president. Beijing insists that the world treat Taiwan as a renegade province of China.

Mr. Gingrich earlier this week suggested that Washington extend diplomatic recognition to Taiwan.

U.S.-China relations have been maintained by presidents of both political parties over the past 20 years on the premise accepted officially in Washington, Beijing and Taipei that there is only one China and that Taiwan is a part of it.

"Having just returned from Beijing, I want to say in the most solemn way that our two countries are again on a collision course," said Mr. Kissinger.

U.S. officials hoping to calm the diplomatic fallout from the visit of Taiwan's leader, said privately, they will not make a blanket statement banning Mr. Lee from future visits, as China would like, but that he should not expect another visa anytime soon.

"To many Americans, the immediate issue appears as the sovereign American right to determine the entry of visitors," said Mr. Kissinger.

"Beijing perceives that American actions — starting with the sale of F-16s to Taiwan by President Bush and accelerated in the present administration — amount to a 'two China' policy.

"If China perceives that Washington is promoting a two-China solution, it would probably prefer to resist by force ...

"Beijing and Washington seem now on a collision course which, if continued, will prove extremely costly to both sides and threatening to international stability.

"The danger of the existing roller coaster towards confrontation to both China and the United States and to stability and progress in Asia is incalculable."

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07/14

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3+3

World women's groups angry that China sending conference out of town By Uli Schmetzer Chicago Tribune

HUAIROU, China This sleepy town near China's Great Wall has become the center of a bitter dispute between China's government and many worldwide women's organizations.

The women's groups are enraged by China's decision to move the upcoming Non-Governmental Organizations Forum on

Women from the capital to rural isolation. At least 20,000 women are expected to attend the late August forum, and thousands more to an overlapping United Nations conference on women in Beijing.

Although China pays lip service to Mao Tse-tung's quip that "Women hold up half the sky," nervous Chinese leaders apparently fear that activists from the global forum would stage camera-catching demonstrations on equal rights and the exploitation of women.

Such demonstrations, common in the West, might kindle protests in a country acutely sensitive to any outburst of dissent during the power struggle over the succession to ailing patriarch Deng Xiaoping.

Indignation over the choice of Huairou, 75 minutes north of Beijing, for the global forum may do more than tarnish the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women scheduled for Beijing on Sept. 4-15. It also could discourage prestigious delegates from attending the decennial U.N. convention, among them first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Electricity arrived in Huairou only a few years ago. Couples still dance at arm's length, and mule-drawn carts are a common means of transport. Moreover, accommodations for the first meeting are conspicuously scarce.

"No head of state or prominent person wants to attend a flop," said a senior United Nations official in China. "Mrs. Clinton hasn't cancelled yet, but her office has not reconfirmed. Other women leaders who initially said they would come also are on hold."

A 19-member committee representing Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs) around the globe has rejected the venue change for its forum. Last week, the governments of Australia, Canada and New Zealand, acting on behalf of women's associations at home, requested China to reverse the transfer from Beijing to Huairou.

A statement circulated by WomeNet, an umbrella group on the electronic mail circuit, urged China to relocate the meeting to Beijing, where it originally was to be held inside the huge Workers Stadium.

Chinese officials announced on April 4 the venue change after the stadium developed "structural problems," making it unsafe for the 1,300 accredited NGO delegates plus at least another 20,000 members of their delegations and the mass media.

A statement by Kathy Townsend, head of Australia's Office of the Status of Women, said: "We are taking the issue very seriously and are doing what we can to achieve a better outcome."

But Western diplomats agreed the request is almost certain to fall on deaf ears among a Chinese leadership far more sensitive to social stability at home than international women's rights.

"At best the Chinese may offer another village outside Beijing. But I am sure they don't want to see banner-waving activists running around Tiananmen Square," said a North American diplomat.

(EDITORS: NEXT 3 GRAFS OPTIONAL TRIM)

The dispute hasn't affected the construction fervor in dusty Huairou, where Zhang Xiaojie, manager of the town's top hotel, the two-star Dragon Hill Guesthouse, concedes that only 6,000 beds are available in the town for the 20,000 who have enrolled for the Forum.

Next to Zhang's hotel, the Dance Hall of the Fairies is being refurbished as a seminar site. Meanwhile, workers are swarming locust-like over the Dragon Cinema Theater, which is being renovated as the Forum Center but seats just 1,700 and was known in the past as a firetrap.

Beijing, which failed in its tender to host the Olympics 2000, had lobbied aggressively to become host for the September women's conference.

(END OPTIONAL TRIM)

Chinese leaders, however, may not have realized that the parallel NGO meeting from Aug. 30-Sept. 8 is a think tank intended to feed deliberations at the main U.N. conference. The forum also will have delegates from lesbian and prostitutes associations, and many of its activists are anxious to educate their Chinese sisters about women's rights.

Diplomats in China said the orders to move the NGOs out of Beijing apparently came directly from Premier Li Peng. He reportedly was horrified at demonstrations by women he witnessed during his recent visit to the Copenhagen, Denmark, conference on global poverty.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

In China, despite Mao's famous remark about women holding up half the sky, activists lament that most Chinese women don't realize they remain second-class citizen.

"Chinese women still have little understanding of their legal rights. In rural China, women are still sold to husbands they never met. One in three wives tell us she was beaten by her husband at one stage of their marriage," said sociologist Wang Xingjuan.

Wang operates Beijing's popular Hotline for women in trouble. Her phone-in service is funded by the Ford Foundation and the California-based Global Fund for Women.

Like most Chinese women involved with human rights, Wang looks forward to a conference that might contribute to the future of Chinese women.

"Nothing will change here until women rise up and do something for their own cause," she said.

Research by Wang and the Women's Research Center concluded that 70 percent of the 20 million workers laid off by Chinese state enterprises were women. More than two-thirds of children who don't attend school are girls. Among China's 80 million illiterates, 70 percent are women.

"Rural parents still feel girls don't need an education," she said.

Zhao Xiulan, on the other hand, is counting on the women's forum to bring fame and fortune to her community. Like many in Huairou, the 60-year-old farmer's wife believes it will be a festival of Chinese delegates. As for the underlying issue. ...

"Equality?" she asked. "We women are equal. Look around you: Women work everywhere now. We are allowed to work more than the men. Isn't that equality?"

Comparison of Washington, Hollywood on target By Michael Kilian Chicago Tribune

WASHINGTON Before his election last year, Sen. Fred Thompson, R-Tenn., was for years a big-time Washington lawyer and a frequently employed Hollywood motion picture actor ("Die Hard 2," "In the Line of Fire").

In these capacities, he developed an interesting theory, namely, that Hollywood and the nation's capital are in many ways mirror images of each other, and their inhabitants are interchangeable.

To be sure, you don't see members of Congress wearing black T-shirts, double-breasted jackets, Oakley shades and

The Vatican And China Seek to Bar Opponents

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

UNITED NATIONS, March 16 — Six months before an international conference on women opens in Beijing, the Chinese Government and the Vatican are maneuvering to silence critics by asking the United Nations to deny them credentials to attend the meeting.

At least 200, possibly up to 300, nongovernmental groups have been affected, according to American officials and human rights organizations.

Among those being denied the necessary documents to attend are Taiwanese and Tibetan exile women's organizations, which China wants barred, and several religious groups, including Catholics for a Free Choice, which opposes the Vatican's stand against abortion.

The Vatican's observer mission here acknowledged today that it had challenged the credentials of certain groups but declined to explain why, according to the Rev. Carl J. Marucci, a mission spokesman. Calls to the Chinese mission were not returned.

Representatives of some conservative groups, secular and interdenominational, were also refused credentials initially, said Christopher J. Check of the Rockford Institute's Center for the Family in America in Rockford, Ill., which describes itself as a traditional organization supporting family life. Some of these groups, including Rockford, which had been turned down because they were told they were not sufficiently focused on women's issues, have now been admitted on appeal.

Several lesbian organizations report that their delegates have also been turned down after applying for credentials.

The Clinton Administration is pressing the United Nations Secretariat to reveal the names of groups and individuals being denied credentials, and to explain the grounds for rejection, American officials say. The United States has also called for the establishment of an international committee to review denials.

Representative Nancy Pelosi, a California Democrat who is chairman of the international task force of the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues, said today that "many women are very concerned about freedom of speech and freedom of association at the conference."

"Accreditation should not be a politicized process," she said. On Wednesday, during a Congressional hearing, Ms. Pelosi asked Madeleine K. Albright, the chief United States delegate to the United Nations, to insist that a list of rejections be made public.

The dispute over free access to the Beijing meeting — where issues of women's rights in health, education, politics and economic development will be discussed — follows a confrontation last week in Geneva between China and the United States over a resolution at the United Nations Human Rights Commission critical of China's human rights practices.

In choosing Beijing as the site of the Fourth World Conference on Women, the United Nations and Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had been given assurances that the meeting would be open to all relevant unofficial groups involved in women's issues, in addition to official government delegations. Large international conferences attract thousands of such groups.

But this week, as delegates began arriving here to discuss the agenda for Beijing, some were told they had been denied accreditation.

Among them was Frances Kissling, president of Catholics for a Free Choice, who attended the United Nations Conference on Population and Development in Cairo last September without facing accreditation problems. Three similar Catholic organizations from Mexico, Uruguay and Brazil have also been denied accreditation to the Beijing conference.

"This is the same misuse of the Holy See's status as an observer at the United Nations that they were so roundly criticized for in Cairo — that they would take an internal church dispute between some adherents to Catholicism and the hierarchy and turn it into a U.N. matter," she said.

Tsering Norzom of the Tibet Women's Association, which is based at the Dalai Lama's exile headquarters in Dharamsala, India, said today that she had planned to take a group of about 80 Tibetans to Beijing, but had been told unofficially that the only Tibetans who could take part in the conference would be in the official Chinese delegation. China occupied Tibet in the 1950's, and many Tibetan leaders fled into exile after an abortive uprising in 1959.

"Our Tibetan women face two problems," Mrs. Norzom said. "One is accreditation. But we also have the problem of getting access to Beijing, because Tibetan women in exile carry an identity certificate that isn't a passport." Mrs. Norzom believes that the Tibetan exiles would almost certainly be denied visas.

Clinton Meets With Bosnian and Croatian Chiefs

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

WASHINGTON, March 16 — President Clinton met today with Bosnian and Croatian leaders in an effort to give new life to a languishing political federation that his Administration says is vital to helping Muslims and Croats stand up to their joint enemy, the Serbs.

Clinton Administration officials acknowledge that the agreement that formed the federation of Bosnian Muslims and Croats, signed a year ago in Washington, had accomplished virtually nothing beyond getting the two groups to stop fighting each other.

Tensions between the two sides remain high, and they have done little to forge effective political or military links that would deter the Bosnian Serbs from fighting.

To mark the first anniversary of the agreement, President Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher met with President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia; Kresimir Zubak, the Bosnian Croat who is president of the federation; and Ejup Ganic, its Muslim vice president.

The United States pledged \$30 million in economic aid to the federation while the European Union promised about \$120 million. Including pledges from Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey and other Muslim nations, a new group called Friends of the Federation has pledged more than \$300 million so far to help the Muslim-Croat political alliance.

The United States has also promised to provide Bosnia's Muslims and Croats with some military advisers to help them coordinate their armies, a move that American officials say is designed to deter future

Seeking to buoy a political grouping and halt fighting.

Serbian aggression.

For their part, leaders of Bosnia's Muslims and Croats vowed to set up joint Muslim-Croat governments at the canton and town level. They also promised to unblock efforts to create an integrated police force in the southwestern city of Mostar and to allow displaced Muslims and Croats to return to their homes in that divided town, which was supposed to be a showcase for integration in Bosnia.

"The federation is the way to build Bosnia and Herzegovina from the inside," said Mr. Ganic. Up to now, he said, "we have succeeded in building the federation house from the roof; we have built less on the ground."

While many of the steps pledged by the officials today are small, they said they would be crucial to healing ethnic tensions between the two groups and restoring peace and a sense of community to the 30 percent of Bosnia controlled by Muslims and Croats.

"The federation one year later is a fragile vessel at best, and it needs revitalization," said Assistant Secretary of State Richard C. Holbrooke.

At the same time, Mr. Holbrooke showed little optimism about persuading Bosnia's Serbs, who control about 70 percent of Bosnia, to make peace with the country's Muslim-dominated Government. He urged the Serbs again today to accept an international peace plan under

which they would reduce their holdings to 49 percent.

President Tudjman said that President Clinton told him today that the United States would back Croatia's application to join the Partnership for Peace, a group of former Soviet-bloc nations that cooperate politically and militarily with NATO. Admitting Croatia to the partnership would be unusual because almost one-third of his country is occupied by rebel Serbs.

Mr. Tudjman said that he had asked Vice President Al Gore for such support last Saturday in Copenhagen before he announced that he would allow a scaled-down United Nations force in Croatia.

At the same ceremony, President Tudjman complained about the disappearance of Gen. Vlado Santic, a Bosnian Croat commander who Croats say was kidnapped by members of Bosnia's mostly Muslim army.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, MARCH 17, 1995

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Global Women's Forum Fights China's Barriers

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

UNITED NATIONS, May 10 — Organizers of an international forum on women that was expected to draw more than 40,000 people to Beijing this summer are balking at a Chinese demand to move their conference 32 miles away from the Chinese capital and will ask Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's help.

The meeting, called the NGO Forum on Women, a nongovernmental organization, is scheduled to be held almost simultaneously with the official United Nations-sponsored Fourth World Conference on Women, also in Beijing. All large United Nations conferences now have parallel sessions for nongovernmental organizations, and no host government has tried to control them like this, organizers said today.

Diplomats and United Nations officials say that Beijing appears to be wary of demonstrations by nongovernmental groups on political or human rights issues. In addition to trying to isolate the nongovernmental forum by relocating it to Hualou, a tourist area near the Great Wall, China is blocking delegations of Tibetan women, women from Taiwan and lesbian groups and is expected to deny visas to others.

"We have set a deadline of May 24 to resolve this," Irene M. Santiago, executive director of the forum, said.

Ms. Santiago has just returned from four days in Beijing, where she and Khunying Supatra Masdit, a Thai politician who will preside over the nongovernmental forum, were invited by the Chinese to look at

alternative sites after they protested the move to Hualou.

When the General Assembly decided in 1990 to give the conference to China, it was stated explicitly in the agreement that nongovernmental groups play an important part in the deliberations by offering expertise and lobbying on various issues.

Two years ago, a site closer to the United Nations conference, the Workers' Sports Service Center, was selected. But in March, the Chinese informed the forum organizers that there were structural defects in a gymnasium at the sports center and that the forum would have to be relocated.

"We went to Beijing because we had been given two alternative sites along with Hualou," Ms. Santiago said today. "We visited the two sites, but then were told that they were not in fact available. Hualou was our only option."

She described Hualou as a scenic town that "doesn't have any of the facilities we need to have a successful forum." She said that meeting rooms and accommodations were scattered all over the town, which took them 50 minutes to reach in a car with a police escort. Although they protested that they would be out of reach of official delegations and journalists covering the conference, they were told the site was better because they would have more space and more meeting rooms in Hualou.

Forum organizers listed several other possible sites, including an Olympic center, the Beijing Sports University and the original site minus the faulty gymnasium.

HERMÈS TIME MAKES THE DIFFERENCE

OPTIONAL FORM 99 (7/90)

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of pages 1

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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

World's Women Questioning Site of Conference in China

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIJING, May 1—When China enticed the Fourth World Conference on Women to meet in Beijing, it seemed like a great boost for China's international prestige. But now, four months before opening day, the meeting seems like a big headache.

Worried Chinese leaders appear to dread the prospect of an army of outspoken women—with various views on abortion, homosexuality, Tibet, Chinese politics, and other touchy issues—turned loose in the capital with thousands of journalists at a sensitive moment for Chinese politics. The scenario summons visions of spring 1989, when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev landed in Beijing with hundreds of reporters in the midst of student demonstrations in Tiananmen Square.

To avoid a replay of that public relations disaster, the Chinese government wants to banish nongovernmental women's organizations to Huairou, a former garrison town near a portion of the Great Wall and almost an hour's drive from the center of Beijing. The government has reneged on a commitment to hold the conference at Beijing's centrally located, 1950s vintage Workers' Stadium, which it now says is structurally unsound.

A four-woman negotiating team representing nongovernmental organizations was in Beijing last week to inspect Huairou and look at alternatives, but they made little progress, said people familiar with the talks.

With 25,000 foreign and 5,000 Chinese women, plus 5,000 reporters, scheduled to descend on Beijing in August, the "four-star hotel" meant to house many of the participants at the dusty crossroads of Huairou is still a hole in the ground and the plenary-session meeting place currently is a school sports field with bleachers. "There is no site," said a U.N. official, noting that the main awaited modification is a canopy over the grandstand.

To the dismay of nongovernmental conference organizers, the Chinese government proposes to spread half of the delegates among 140 hotels, schools and recreation halls within a three-mile radius, while the rest would be bused in from Beijing hotels—provided they hold passes to get through road checkpoints.

The location would keep these attendees mostly cut off from the simultaneous women's conference in Beijing attended by government-appointed representatives.

The nongovernmental and official forums overlap. Some delegates from the former attend governmental meetings and try to influence their agenda and policy statements. The official conference is set to take place at a hotel and conference center in Beijing.

Organizers told diplomats last week that they wanted to change the nongovernmental conference site, but Chinese government officials refused to offer alternatives. The place that organizers said could satisfy both the forum's needs and the government's concerns about public gatherings was the site once used for the Asian Games on the north edge of Bei-

jing. But the government told them it was booked—for an intra-ministerial volleyball competition. Every other place the organizers suggested was also booked, the Chinese government told the women leaders.

Other problems include:

- Customs procedures. Thousands of participants expect to bring publications and videos to show, sell or give away. But China maintains strict controls over the importation of such materials. China has not established any policy on items brought to the conference.

- Conference newspaper. According to a memorandum of understanding that China signed to woo the conference to Beijing, three newspapers will be printed at the conference—two by the Chinese government and one independently. It is unclear whether there are any facilities for the independent newspaper in Huairou. Some conference organizers suggest Premier Li Peng was offended by sharply worded criticism of him in a newspaper at a Copenhagen conference on poverty he attended in March.

- Volunteers. Expatriates living in Beijing had planned to organize various activities, including a "Send a Sister" drive to raise money and find hosts for poor delegates from developing countries. Four hundred volunteer women attended an organizing meeting in Beijing a few weeks ago. But the Chinese organizing committee said expatriates could not raise money in China, even from other expatriates—whom the Chinese organizing committee wants to solicit.

Until recently the nongovernmental organizing committee had been dealing with a Chinese counterpart that is similar at least in name. But as tension has mounted over the political situation here, the Chinese women's organization has lost whatever clout it might have had. Sources involved in negotiations last week said that Foreign Minister Qian Qichen had taken over from the woman who heads the State Family Planning Commission, Peng Peiyun.

In addition to battling the Chinese government, foreign women preparing for the conference have been bickering among themselves.

Many people involved in the preparations for the meeting accuse the conference organizers of bending over backward to avoid offending the Chinese side. For example, the head of the negotiating team here last week, Supatra Masdit, would not meet with French Embassy officials who wanted to discuss a European Union protest treatment of the nongovernmental forum. Masdit reportedly wanted to comply with a Chinese request that she only meet with Chinese officials.

Masdit ruled out the possibility many people had floated of moving the conference to Australia, a decision that would take Beijing out of the spotlight but would also be a major "loss of face" for the Chinese. Many people helping with preparations for the conference fear that without the threat of such a relocation, the Chinese government will not budge from its current position.

million in savings to be negotiated in fringe-benefit and work-rule changes from municipal employees. He will almost certainly have to achieve more savings — and demand that they be permanent. His current plan calls for the \$600 million to last only a year or two and then be given back in future benefit or wage increases.

The guiding principle should be that any increases in wages or benefits must be paid for out of savings in other labor areas. That principle was not followed by Governor Pataki in last month's agreement with unions representing about half the state's 200,000 workers. Mr. Pataki did win the right to

ment and in... agencies, reassign workers and private... the government. Only last month, the workers who install and repair street signs outbid private companies, saving the city \$1 million. The city's unions have proved that they understand, perhaps more than anyone, the urgency of the city's fiscal crisis.

But the financial pressures are so great that the Mayor and the unions must redouble their efforts. Since half the city's costs are in wages and benefits, neither side can afford to wait for a state budget mired in partisan wrangling in Albany to deliver unexpected miracles.

Tremors in China

April 10, 1995

Chinese leaders declare the looming succession to Deng Xiaoping as China's paramount leader a nonevent. Mr. Deng has already retired, they say. His successor, President Jiang Zemin, is already in place, surrounded by a collective leadership team.

Few serious China watchers take these declarations seriously. Judging by their actions, neither do the Chinese leaders who make them. Behind the facade of collective leadership, they are already positioning themselves for an uncertain future.

There is not much the United States can do to affect who comes out on top in Beijing. But Washington needs to think now about how American interests might be affected by a troubled succession or the abrupt policy changes it could produce.

Last month's session of China's nominal legislature, the National People's Congress, provided tantalizing signs of political ferment. For years, the congress tamely ratified the policies and appointments submitted by the Government and Communist leadership. This year, more than a third of the delegates broke ranks to vote against a Jiang Zemin nominee for vice premier and almost as many voted against a major banking law.

This show of dissent reflected the efforts of the congress's chairman, Qiao Shi, to pry open China's airless political system. Besides Mr. Qiao, other well-known figures have conspicuously raised their political profiles, as if to remind colleagues that potential alternatives exist should Mr. Jiang falter.

Competing factions also seem to be reviving the Stalinist ploy of targeting corruption investigations to damage rivals. The Beijing political world was startled recently when one probe brought down a close family friend of Deng Xiaoping.

Washington is largely a spectator to these events, but it need not be a helpless one. While doing

all it can to keep present relations with China on a smooth course, it needs to respond quickly to signs of personnel and policy change.

The Clinton Administration should resist the entreaties of Jiang Zemin for a Presidential visit in the near future. This would be seen as an endorsement of Mr. Jiang's leadership. The Administration should also avoid committing itself to high-level representation at the United Nations women's conference in Beijing this fall. Washington should offer no encouragement to China's crude attempts to restrict participation on political grounds.

No matter who emerges at the top, there is little chance of regression to Mao-style socialism. But while economic reform will continue in name, there could be important variations in content. Washington should continue working to integrate China into the world trading system under equitable rules. Still, as Mexico has taught, it is foolhardy to assume that any "emerging market" will enjoy uninterrupted growth, doubly so when that market is yoked to a rigid, personality-driven political system. The Administration errs when it subordinates other interests, like human rights, to the mirage of boundless commercial opportunities.

China's foreign and military policies could also be affected by succession politics, since military leaders are likely to be key political power brokers in the next few years. With this in mind, Washington needs to assess carefully Beijing's recent burst of belligerence in the disputed waters of the South China Sea. America is not directly involved in the boundary dispute but has an interest in discouraging Beijing from reckless behavior.

It is, of course, possible that the succession to Deng Xiaoping will turn out to be a nonevent. Washington would be foolish to count on it.

To the Editor:

Thomas L. Friedman, he fir speak of "the o Jewish grouping "no positive visio Jews on the ce American Jewish of Israel-Diaspor I take offense — ual Orthodox Jew of the Orthodox The Jewish estab concerned over assimilation, and ing to reverse the "continuity" prog By contrast, th past half-century work of 600 Jewis high schools acc scores of institut Jewish study. Attrition and lo lation is near ze vision?" Then, I have my Five of my nine live in Israel, wher involved in Je We are not unique Jewish communiti tive" regarding th Diaspora relations make amends for slander? (Rabb Editor, The New

Mountain B

To the Editor:

Re your April 3 n- clash between hike bicyclists:

Despite the obvio rain, pollution and deer population, it mountain biking cr that the underbrush ated in Eagle Rock tain Reservations New Jersey.

I am a runner w parks daily for 20 have I seen the wo shape. This spell the steep slopes o Mountains, particul little or no mainten lands.

The increased use walkers also has put these bucolic preserv since the attacks

Topics of The Times

Wetland Politics

In the waning months of the Bush Administration, William Reilly, then Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, devised a clever strategy to head off Vice President Dan Quayle and others who wanted to turn over millions of acres of valuable wetlands to developers and oil companies. He acknowledged that nobody could agree on which wetlands, ranging from prairie potholes to huge tidal estuaries, were truly worth preserving. So he ordered up a definitive study from the National Academy of Sciences.

That study, over two years in the making, is nearly complete. But the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee has chosen to ignore it. Last week, the committee approved a bill that would weaken many of the basic protections provided by the Clean Water Act of 1972, recognized by experts in both parties as a major environmental

tee with the support of half the Democratic members.

For now, it looks as though the full House will rubber-stamp the bill, leaving it to the Senate to block it. But the Easter recess gives House Speaker Newt Gingrich and his colleagues a chance to reflect on whether their mid-term mandate gave them the latitude they claim to elevate politics over science.

A Vindictive Cut

When House Republicans packed a 10 percent funding cut for the Federal Election Commission into their \$17 billion rescissions package last month, the motive was revenge. The small, underfunded agency had aroused bipartisan anger by approving new rules limiting the ability of lawmakers to use their campaign treasuries for personal expenses. Rather than openly defend the abuses, House Republicans retaliated with

Open the Books on Newt Inc.

Speaker-designate Newt Gingrich is entitled to boast that the Republican resurgence in Congress is the product of "ideas." But as Stephen Engelberg and Katharine Seelye detailed in *The New York Times* on Sunday, the G.O.P. takeover was helped by Mr. Gingrich's success in raising money — much of it in large, still-undisclosed gifts from special interests.

The money, and there was lots of it, flowed to support the interlocking set of political and financial entities dubbed "Newt Inc." by Washington insiders. (See chart.) Mr. Gingrich's refusal to disclose fully this financial network raises the ugly possibility that he will copy the seedy tendency of the Democrats in Congress to stall on campaign finance reform.

Beyond Mr. Gingrich's own re-election committee, the centerpiece of Newt Inc. is Gopac, the big political action committee Mr. Gingrich has used to recruit, train and finance Republican House candidates. Many lawmakers maintain such "leadership" PAC's. But Mr. Gingrich has relied on a uniquely goofy rationale to shield his PAC from reporting fully to the Federal Election Commission. Gopac, he contends, is required to reveal only a handful of its donors because only 10 percent of its budget goes directly to Federal candidates.

Mr. Gingrich now says that the secrecy was a mistake and that future Gopac donors will be made public. That is progress, but the public also needs to know the identity of all past donors who helped out, some with gifts of \$100,000 or more. The list, which has been dribbling out in press accounts, includes a predictable array of bankers, health-care executives and other benefactors whose contributions could raise conflict-of-interest questions when the Republicans act on proposals governing business.

Sharing an overlapping pool of undisclosed donors with Gopac is Mr. Gingrich's Progress and Freedom Foundation. This think tank, founded in 1993, underwrites his weekly call-in program on National Empowerment Television and raises money for his college course, "Renewing American Civilization," which is televised to more than 130 classrooms across the country.

A complaint filed with the House Ethics Committee by Mr. Gingrich's Democratic opponent in

the last election raises credible questions about whether the foundation's activities are truly academic and nonpartisan and about whether Mr. Gingrich improperly used his House office and employees to support the course. He has resisted having the complaint handled by an independent counsel — the sound process he insisted upon when the Ethics Committee addressed his more serious charges against former Speaker Jim Wright.

Mr. Gingrich needs to wake up to the full meaning of his mandate. The Republican sweep was, in part, a rejection of Whitewater secrecy at the White House and the Congressional Democrats' old-boy approach to campaign financing. The Speaker-designate's claim that interest in his finances is politically motivated is delusional. He promised Congressional reform, and that means open account books and curbs on influence money just as surely as it means reform of an encrusted committee system.

The Republicans are right to argue that the public deserves a full look at the Clintons' finances. Voters deserve the same look at the millions behind Newt Inc. If Mr. Gingrich wants to see what financial secrecy and fudging on political reform will do to his bright hopes, he has only to look at the Democratic wreckage all around him.

The Gingrich Connection

Money raised by Newt Gingrich's various political groups

Gopac

Raised \$7.8 million
from Jan. 1, 1991, to Nov. 28, 1994

Friends of Newt Gingrich Campaign Committee

Raised \$6.3 million
from Jan. 1, 1987, to Nov. 28, 1994

The Progress and Freedom Foundation

Projected to raise \$2.3 million
from March 31, 1994, to April 1, 1995

Sources: *Common Cause*,
Federal Election Commission and Roll Call

Harsh Wind From Beijing

It is extraordinary and more than a little alarming. The world's most populous country, a nuclear power with a booming, internationalized economy, is frozen into hard-line immobility on a wide range of policies because its nonagenarian supreme leader lies dying and those beneath him fear jeopardizing their own political futures by appearing too flexible.

Some of the effects of this succession crisis are now being felt throughout the world. But the primary and most brutal effects are felt in China itself. Crucial reforms of state industry have been postponed repeatedly. Arbitrary challenges and revisions have left foreign investors questioning the reliability of their contracts. Most recently, human rights and democracy activists have been subjected to a new round of repression that is ferocious even by China's harsh standards.

Last week, nine defendants drew cruelly excessive sentences for distributing four articles on human and workers' rights. One man was condemned to an incredible 20 years' imprisonment, seven years more than was imposed on the alleged masterminds of the Tiananmen Square movement.

These sentences form part of a pattern that includes the re-arrest last spring of China's most famous democrat, Wei Jingsheng; the six-year sentence imposed last month on an internationally respected journalist, Gao Yu, and the menacing harassment of a former student leader, Wang Dan.

The roots of this crackdown are domestic, but its severity reflects Beijing's perception that it can now ignore international human rights pressure.

The trial that brought last week's sentences had twice before been postponed: in 1993 when China was seeking the 2000 Olympics, and last spring when President Clinton was weighing extension of China's low-tariff access to the U.S. market. Turning down that Olympic bid and extending trade access without human rights conditions reduced the outside world's leverage.

Despite President Clinton's conciliatory policies, the U.S. too has felt the new chill from Beijing. Washington's favorable tariff decision brought no honeymoon but a fresh burst of Chinese threats. Beijing warned it would retaliate if the U.S. persisted in holding China to reasonable standards for joining the new World Trade Organization, and in demanding that it crack down on copyright piracy.

Meanwhile, as the U.S. hastens to re-establish military cooperation, Beijing has escalated its rhetoric over a minor naval surveillance incident earlier this year.

Given this present touchiness, Washington needs to avoid gratuitous provocation. But it cannot avoid asserting legitimate U.S. interests from trade to security to human rights.

Republicans who have criticized the Clinton Administration's overly accommodating China policies will soon hold key committee chairs. The Administration, which is considering sending either Vice President Gore or Hillary Rodham Clinton to Beijing next year, would be wise to consult first with Republicans and seek bipartisan agreement on how to stand up to today's Chinese bullying without wrecking a valuable long-term relationship.

A Welcome Respite in the School Feud

After weeks of public criticism aimed at getting New York City's Schools Chancellor to leave town, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani now says that Ramon Cortines should get a one-year extension on a contract that expires next June 30. The Board of Education will offer Mr. Cortines a new contract this week that runs for at least another two years. For the good of the school system, he should stay and Mr. Giuliani should endorse the board's two-year extension.

The essence of Mayor Giuliani's criticism is that Mr. Cortines has failed to squeeze more fat out of the board's bureaucracy. The Mayor's attacks, particularly in recent days, left him increasingly isolated as parents and civic and business leaders rallied around Mr. Cortines.

Mr. Giuliani has forcefully and rightly taken on many entrenched interests in an effort to cope with budgetary problems. But he has been particularly tough in his treatment of Mr. Cortines.

At the center of this struggle lie issues of power and control. Like many mayors before him, Mr. Giuliani wants greater influence over a powerful semi-independent agency that accounts for 25 percent of the city's budget. That is why Mr. Giuliani is still trying to set conditions, even though he accepts the reality of his situation: he does not control the

board, and the board wants Mr. Cortines to stay.

The Mayor's main condition was that Mr. Cortines be given only a one-year extension. Though he may now have to swallow two years, Mr. Giuliani nevertheless wants assurances that the Schools Chancellor will ask the city's 1,100 schools to develop their own budgets, rather than accept fiscal mandates from central headquarters; that he will try to adjust disproportionately high spending on special education; that he will adopt an accounting system clarifying the distinctions between administrative and other school costs and, finally, that he will make further reductions in middle management.

Mayor Giuliani's diagnosis of the system's ills is largely correct. The Chancellor has made progress on some of the issues the Mayor raises, but on others he is not moving fast enough.

But it is the board's role to decide on the Chancellor's tenure, now and in the future. Five of the seven members have rightly announced their intention to offer him the two-year extension. Mr. Cortines arrived on the scene in 1993; if he decides to stay on until 1997, he will have a total of four years to turn the schools around — the same amount of time the voters gave Mr. Giuliani to turn the city around.

Truce? Expect a Wider War

By Robert Kagan

WASHINGTON

Jimmy Carter's success in getting a renewable four-month cease-fire between the Bosnian Serbs and Muslims is no great accomplishment. The Balkan winter imposes a virtual truce — and warmer weather is sure to bring renewed Serbian aggression. Besides, the Serbs had been willing to agree to a truce before Mr. Carter arrived.

The Serbs have conceded little by declaring a willingness to renew talks on dividing Bosnia and to stop harassing United Nations peacekeepers. The big issue is whether they will accept the so-called contact group's plan that gives them 49 percent of Bosnia and the Muslims 51 percent. Mr. Carter's intervention may well have made such an agreement less likely.

Since the Serbs stared down NATO in Bihac, their appetite for more territory has deepened. With Mr. Carter suggesting yesterday that Americans had not fully heard the Serbs' side of the story, the Serbs may believe their military and political stock is rising. They will probably end up demanding more territory than the contact group has proposed. But the Muslims are unlikely to agree to yield 60 to 70 percent of Bosnia to the Serbs.

The crisis will return full blown. And the question of American involvement will face us again. Will we find ourselves at war in 1995? Americans have gone to war when they least expected to do so. Woodrow Wilson, who "kept us out of war" in 1916,

took us into it in 1917. In the 30's, we tried to stop Japanese aggression in the Far East without risking war, only to be attacked at a time of Japan's choosing, not ours. In 1950, we went to war to defend South Korea five months after Secretary of State Dean Acheson declared it outside our defense perimeter.

We have a tendency to harbor illusions that international crises will somehow resolve themselves tolerably with the least exertion on our part. Then the illusions are shattered by the reality of events we had studiously tried to ignore. In the end, our protestations of indifference caused adversaries to miscalculate and press too far, only to discover we had misled them — and ourselves.

Although the U.S. has avoided the complete collapse of its irresolute Balkan policy, the prospect that we will eventually become more deeply involved in the war remains high.

Two Administrations have declared the crisis beyond our responsibility, but both have been unable to extricate themselves from involvement. Democrats and Republicans in turn have made political capital of the moral failure of American policy, forcing reluctant, politically besieged Presidents into futile actions of dubious wisdom, like Mr. Clinton's halfhearted threat to unilaterally lift the arms embargo against the Bosnian Government.

Twice in the last four years the U.S. has sent troops into action after foreign leaders miscalculated the limits of our tolerance. If Serbian leaders misread our professions of reticence the way Saddam Hussein and Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega

did, a point will come when Washington swiftly reaches those limits.

Last February, it took only one mortar shell fired into an open-air market in Sarajevo, killing 68 people, to force the Administration and NATO to expand the use of force. An even more deadly Serbian assault on the city would be seen on TV around the world. Would Bill Clinton, striving to overcome the devastation of November's election, allow himself to be the President who fiddled while Sarajevo burned?

More fighting among Bosnians, Serbs and perhaps Croats will inevitably place the peacekeepers in harm's way again. Mr. Clinton has approved a plan to deploy as many as 30,000 combat troops to help evacuate the peace force — a mission that the Pentagon acknowledges could lead to armed conflict.

When appeasement today leads to aggression tomorrow — when a plan

Croats resume their fighting, and when issues like the fate of Kosovo's Albanian population return to center stage, bringing about possible conflict between Serbia and Albania, perhaps involving Greece and Turkey.

The Serbs, who read our every move with care, have been encouraged to believe that there is nothing we will not tolerate. Dispelling this illusion would be the starting point of a more effective policy.

Recognizing our inability to stay out of the Balkan conflict would require us to explore the most fundamental question: what kind of military intervention would be most likely to succeed in supporting a diplomatic settlement?

Rather than spend time explaining what they cannot accomplish, U.S. strategists should devise the possible military strategy to support the Administration's political objective: establishment of stable and enforceable boundaries that the Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims respect.

When the next crisis arises, the U.S. should have more in its arsenal than just a plan for evacuating the U.N. troops. President Clinton would be wise to prepare the nation and our allies for what may prove unavoidable. A public debate about America's military options might just convince the Serbs that they had better not press their luck too far.

Robert Kagan is author of a forthcoming history of United States policy in Nicaragua.

The Serbs are likely to demand more territory.

for a Greater Serbia goes beyond acquiring a few thousand square miles of Bosnia — the Administration and NATO will face the widening war that they claim to be trying to avoid.

There will be no mistaking the threat to our interest in European order and stability when Serbs and

Clinton tells world he's in charge

CLINTON

From page A1

But he downplays
tussle with China
over human rights

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A1

JAKARTA, Indonesia — President Clinton opened a delicate round of diplomacy this morning after assuring doubtful world leaders that he, not the new Republican majority in Congress, controls U.S. foreign policy.

"I believe that the position of the United States is certainly just as strong as it ever has been," Mr. Clinton said, adding that the Constitution clearly vests the president with authority to deal with other nations.

Despite that assertiveness and a stated desire to show continuity, Mr. Clinton is taking a low-key approach in his second confrontation with Chinese President Jiang Zemin over touchy human rights issues.

State Department spokesman Michael McCurry said the president would raise the question of human rights but not "dwell" on it.

Since last week's election switched congressional control to the GOP, world leaders have been asking Secretary of State Warren Christopher about the consequences for their countries.

The ascension of conservative Jesse Helms, North Carolina Republican, to the chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is expected to affect non-military foreign aid programs and toughen America's stance with some nations, including China.

"They want to hear that we intend to remain engaged and were interested in what Christopher had to say about points of commonality on foreign policy between us and the Republicans," Mr. McCurry said.

When Philippine President

Fidel Ramos raised the issue publicly at a luncheon yesterday, he advised Mr. Clinton not to despair over election results and said Mr. Clinton's Manila stopover eased his concerns.

"Your visit... declares America's intention to remain engaged in this region. It renews America's commitment to the peace, stability and progress of our part of the world," Mr. Ramos said.

At a news conference in Manila, Mr. Clinton said he didn't expect the election to affect foreign policy, which he contended has broad support from congressional centrists in both parties. He did not address Mr. Helms' views, however.

"The United States will and must remain engaged in the Pacific region for security reasons and for economic reasons," Mr. Clinton said.

Mr. McCurry said Mr. Christopher has been asked about the confidence factor on his travels since Tuesday, particularly in South Korea, where he made a speech stressing continuity.

The Japanese and South Korean governments also have asked for similar assurances, officials said. Mr. Clinton meets separately today with Japanese Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama and South Korean President Kim Young-Sam before holding a news conference.

The president is expected to complete arrangements with Japan and South Korea by the end of next month to create the Korean Energy Development Organization. It will replace North Korea's nuclear-power-generating capability with a process that does not produce the byproduct of fissile weapons-grade plutonium.

He made no public statements when he arrived last night for a meeting of the 18-nation Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC), which opens with a ceremonial dinner tonight.



President Clinton toasts Amelita Ramos, the Philippine first lady, while Mrs. Clinton exchanges pleasantries with President Fidel Ramos.

But in Manila he said "Absolutely!" when asked if he would raise human rights issues with China and Indonesia.

"Human rights is too important, particularly now, to pass by us, so it will be a point of discussion in those bilateral meetings," he said, using the diplomatic term for meetings between two nations on their own relationships outside the context of the larger conference.

Failure to show a tough front to China could weaken Mr. Clinton's position in Wednesday's talks with Indonesian President Suharto, in which human rights also will be Topic A.

Mr. Clinton has been forced into discussing the cause of 27 East Timor protesters who climbed a wall and occupied the U.S. Embassy here. Mr. Christopher already has obtained a promise from the Indonesian government of no reprisals against the protesters.

State Department and White House officials said they expect little progress with China here, despite recent overtures from Beijing for the president to visit.

"They seem to want it real bad," said a White House official who asked not to be identified. "They're not going to get a trip to

China for free. We need to see some movement."

Another official who briefed reporters refused to say just what China must do to show sufficient movement on the issue, which has been a major sticking point in relations since the massacre of pro-democracy forces in Tiananmen Square in June 1989.

"We have not given the Chinese a road map or said, 'If you release these three individuals and do that, we'll make a visit.' We've said at some point the president would like to go to China and left it at that," the official said.

"I would not expect the bilateral meeting to make big news," said David Gergen, a counselor to both Mr. Clinton and Mr. Christopher.

If administration officials are not simply trying to lower expectations to make any concession appear more dramatic, that means the president expects to fail again. He dropped the threat of trade sanctions, as Mr. Zemin demanded in the last top-level meeting at Seattle in November 1993.

"Relations are in better shape but won't reach their full potential until we settle human rights," Mr. McCurry said.

see CLINTON, page A14

- Clinton tries to liven up staid state visit with saxophone. A14
- President plans trips to Hungary and Haiti in December. A14

Clinton to visit Hungary, Haiti next month

THE WASHINGTON TIMES

JAKARTA, Indonesia — President Clinton is planning more jet diplomacy — to Haiti and Hungary — after Thanksgiving, but both trips are expected to be very brief, a senior administration official said yesterday.

The Hungary trip will last just 18 hours, departing from Andrews Air Force Base late Dec. 4 and returning to Washington the next afternoon. The president will spend a few hours at the Confer-

ence on Security and Cooperation in Europe, meeting in Budapest.

The trip will be squeezed between a Sunday night Kennedy Center reception and a Monday night Christmas party at the White House for members of Congress.

The Haiti trip to visit U.S. troops and congratulate President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in his own land will be tacked onto a Miami journey already planned for Dec. 8-10 to attend the Summit of the Americas with leaders of every nation in

the Western Hemisphere except Cuba. Mr. Aristide will be in Miami as well.

Mr. Clinton is expected to fly from Miami to Haiti on Dec. 11 and return to Washington the same day, the official said.

The visibly tired president, who only recently returned from a whirlwind three-day journey to the Middle East, is due back from Indonesia on Sunday after a few days' rest in Hawaii.

— Frank J. Murray

Glendening stays ahead in vote count

By Lisa Nevans
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Democrat Parris Glendening was expected to widen his thin lead in Maryland's closest gubernatorial election in 75 years as absentee ballot returns from Montgomery and Baltimore counties trickled in last night.

With absentee votes from all but

those two counties reported, Mr. Glendening held a 3,160-vote lead over Republican challenger Ellen Sauerbrey, about half of the 6,100-vote lead he held after polls closed Tuesday.

Attorneys for both sides agreed to speed the process last night by counting absentee ballots in Montgomery and Baltimore counties in batches while workers continued

the tedious process of checking and sorting the ballots, instead of waiting until all had been checked to begin counting.

With 40 percent of the Baltimore County absentee ballots counted last night, Mrs. Sauerbrey had picked up 1,837 votes to Mr. Glendening's 1,186, a gain of 651, said state Sen. Howard Denis, Montgomery County Republican,

an attorney for the Sauerbrey campaign.

But, said Mr. Denis, with absentee ballots from 100 of Montgomery County's 218 precincts counted, Mr. Glendening had bounced back with 2,334 votes to Mrs. Sauerbrey's 1,580, a gain for him of 754 votes.

see COUNT, page A15

COUNT

From page A1

"I guess, basically, it's a wash," Mr. Denis said.

Baltimore County officials were to resume counting today, but Montgomery County officials were pledging to go all night.

But even after the absentee counting is done, the long-awaited results could change. Overseas ballots will not be counted until Friday, and the "canvass" — when election officials spot-check precinct counts and look for possible errors — could change some numbers.

GOP officials already have gone to court to challenge 2,000 Montgomery County ballots, and the Sauerbrey campaign continues to investigate claims of "irregularities," said Carol Hirschburg, a campaign spokeswoman.

"This is an extremely close election — less than two one-hundredths of a percent out of 1.3 million votes cast," Ms. Hirschburg said. "It would be ridiculous to sit back at this stage and say this is over."

While Mrs. Sauerbrey has chipped away at Mr. Glendening's lead, she has said she does not think absentee ballots will allow her to overcome it.

At the Montgomery County Board of Elections yesterday, the atmosphere had the hushed intensity of a library. Election workers sat at long tables in teams of four — two workers and two watchers — inspecting every absentee ballot, about 8,700 in all.

Workers ran their fingers up and down the edges of each card, then turned the cards over and ran their hands over them again, looking for marks and feeling for improper punches.

"If somebody writes on them other than a write-in vote — signing their name or any identifying mark — that's illegal," said Administrator Carol S. Evans. "If somebody writes an obscenity, as they

EVERY VOTE COUNTS

Maryland elections officials are counting absentee ballots that will determine the governor's race, where Democrat Parris Glendening has been holding a slim lead over Republican Ellen Sauerbrey. Here's a county-by-county breakdown of tallied absentee votes.

	Glendening	Sauerbrey
Starting vote	683,995	677,808
Allegany	318	360
Anne Arundel	1,482	2,323
Baltimore City	2,121	910
Baltimore Co.*	1,186	1,837
Calvert	269	411
Caroline	95	172
Carroll	475	1,008
Cecil	275	418
Charles	342	523
Dorchester	127	188
Frederick	493	790
Garrett	105	307
Harford	714	1,349
Howard	1,268	1,604
Kent	168	233
Montgomery*	2,334	1,580
Prince George's	2,239	1,717
Queen Anne's	168	309
St. Mary's	318	455
Somerset	167	307
Talbot	196	369
Washington	521	777
Wicomico	287	407
Worcester	269	507
Absentee totals	15,937	18,861
Total votes	699,932	696,669
Leading/(Trailing)	3,263	(3,263)

* Incomplete

Source: State Board of Elections

The Washington Times

frequently do, that's illegal."

Such ballots are set aside and are not counted, she said.

Other ballots must be re-punched because they cannot be read by the machine, she said. Instead of following the instructions and punching out the perforated circles with a pencil to indicate their choice, some voters "get fancy" and use a hole punch, which may be the wrong size or shape, Ms. Evans said. Others make a mistake and try to tape the hole back in, or smear bubble gum or peanut butter on the ballots in

handling them, she said.

Mr. Denis was among those punching new cards for ballots that were valid but could not be machine-read. Watchers from both parties check each newly punched ballot to see that it matches what the voter intended, he said.

After all the absentee ballots are inspected, Ms. Evans said, the cards are fed into a machine that reads them onto a tape, which is then read by the county's main-frame computer.

Montgomery elections officials originally hoped they would have absentee tallies by 8 p.m. last night, but challenges slowed the pace into the night.

Normally, the entire process of opening absentee ballots, comparing ballot signatures with those on the application, inspecting and tallying would have been finished by 10 p.m. Wednesday, the day after the election, Ms. Evans said. But challenges by both camps, as they fight for each vote in a tight election, kept election officials working all weekend.

In tallying the absentee ballots, officials were first counting those that were not opposed by either side, Ms. Evans said. The challenged ballots were to be counted separately, she said.

Mr. Denis, who served as Mrs. Sauerbrey's chief watcher at the Montgomery County count, said he had a personal victory of sorts during his 16-plus-hour day.

"I got a write-in vote here today for governor, so that made my day," said Mr. Denis, who was an unsuccessful candidate for lieutenant governor on Republican Rep. Helen Delich Bentley's ticket. "It's something to build on, anyway."

That vote won't count, but Mr. Denis said he does not know why it was disqualified.

"It shows you the type of year I've had, that that ballot had to be thrown out for other reasons," he said.

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

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NGOs & FORUM

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NGOs: They're everywhere, but what are they?

By CAROLE COLLINS
Diplomatic Correspondent

Since its founding 50 years ago, the United Nations has largely been a club of governments. A club largely dominated by a few "big boys" from the capitalist, industrialized North — the United States, Britain and France.

But the rapid growth of global civil society — widely credited with ending the Cold War and lighting a brushfire of democratization across Africa — has begun to change the form, functioning and now the gender balance of this multinational country club.

It has also secured a new actor on the international diplomatic stage to supplement governments: the nongovernmental organization, or NGO. (In the United States, NGOs are generally referred to as "private voluntary organizations," or PVOs.)

A decade ago, NGOs were fairly marginal to major international diplomacy. Today, NGO participation in intergovernmental negotiations has been mainstreamed. Even multilateral development banks like the World Bank, desperate to shore up their shrinking legitimacy among the public, have turned to soliciting NGO input on their policies and programs.

As U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and other U.N. officials have noted, the involvement of NGOs in making decisions on the environment, sustainable development, human rights and women has increased the legitimacy and transparency of intergovernmental deliberations.

But it has made U.N. decision-making much more complex. It also has highlighted a dilemma of democracy at the United Nations — its continued domination by the "big boys" and inclusion of oft-repressive governments, as U.N. members, in deciding international policies of vital importance to grassroots people.

Of PINGOs and BNGOs

What exactly is this exotic-sounding entity known as an NGO?

NGOs come in all sizes, shapes, ideologies, nationalities, organizing structures and styles. Some focus on nothing but local issues. Others, like the Federation of African Voluntary Development

Organizations, span whole continents. Still others, like the 50 Years Is Enough! campaign to reform the World Bank, span the globe. Their very diversity reflects the increasing differentiation of civil society around the world.

They encompass everything from charities and relief agencies, such as Oxfam and Caritas, to political parties; think tanks and academic centers to community organizations; cultural associations to continent-wide farmers' networks; women's groups to environmental federations; social movements to human rights and religious groups.

Some NGOs provide expertise on specific issues that governments or the United Nations lack. Others represent significant constituencies with a direct stake in the outcome of U.N. decisions.

Still others are little more than entrepreneurial in nature. Taking advantage of the current emphasis on privatization of government services and functions, they are cashing in on the credibility that NGOs often have as ostensible expressions of civil society.

Some transnational corporations, whose powers and resources often exceed those of governments, have taken to trying to portray themselves as NGOs, as some tobacco company donors did recently at a UNICEF meeting. Such "BNGOs" — business NGOs — have outraged activists who feel the not-for-profit nature of "PINGOs" — public interest NGOs — is essential to their credibility.

Even governments, eager for the cachet of greater popular legitimacy sometimes lent by NGO status, have taken to portraying some of their agencies or projects as NGOs. During the Rio earth summit, activists denounced the Brazilian government for including several government-owned corporations in the NGO Forum, the series of NGO workshops and panels paralleling the official U.N. conference.

Governments have sometimes insisted that NGOs be organized in government- or ruling-party-approved federations, the better to control their activities and membership. But such supposed "NGOs" lack the legitimacy of authentically civil — that is, nongovernmental — society.

This surfaced as an issue at a recent meeting for NGOs organized by the All China Women's Federation, official host for the NGO Forum in Beijing. Federa-

tion statements that suggested they had been approved by the Chinese government raised activists' concerns that the access and freedoms NGOs have enjoyed at recent U.N. summits might not be allowed in Beijing.

NGOs are not immune from their own divisions. NGOs from the industrialized North have long dominated international NGO activities and presence at the United Nations. On May 8, the Group of 77, or G-77, a U.N. caucus of about 135 developing countries, issued a statement calling for better balance between North and South as well as national and international NGOs.

Evolving relationship

International agreements and treaties were traditionally the fruit of protracted negotiations among U.N. member nation-states, from which the public was largely excluded.

But transnational institutions such as the International Monetary Fund have effectively stripped away some elements of national sovereignty, such as setting exchange rates for the national currency. Globalization of information, technology and economies have further undermined the power and relevance of national governments' decision-making.

Many nation-states have fragmented into microstates during the past decade as a result of ethnic and religious conflicts. When such conflicts shatter or delegitimize governments in countries like Somalia, Rwanda and Yugoslavia, the United Nations has often been left to pick up the pieces. A key ally in this process may be NGOs.

As a recent issue of the *Earth Negotiations Bulletin* argues, recent debates on accreditation and access at the Beijing PrepComm reflected "the U.N.'s evolving role as the facilitator of an unprecedented dialogue involving the representatives of sovereign states and global civil society."

"Since (the) Nairobi (U.N. Conference on Women in 1985)," it says, "women have been in the vanguard of this promising but difficult marriage of an essentially American model of democratic lobbying and a forum with a built-in democratic deficit" reflecting current global power relations.

The marriage has sometimes been difficult. "There's resistance to having

NGOs in the negotiating sessions," former Congresswoman Bella Abzug told *NCR*, "because some fear them as the growing voice of civil society." And single-issue NGOs often have little understanding of the role governments play in balancing or reconciling civil society's often competing priorities and interests.

New challenges

On May 8, the United Nations convened a weeklong meeting to better define its relationship to NGOs. It hopes to replace the series of ad hoc arrangements that have hitherto governed NGO accreditation and access to U.N. meetings with a formally agreed upon process.

The meeting is trying to "catch up with how the world has really changed, to make the rules catch up with reality," said a U.N. staffer who works extensively with NGOs. Governments realized that many NGOs had contributed greatly to the earth summit and other meetings but were barred from follow-up because they lacked formal consultative status with the United Nations.

Accreditation rules were last reviewed in 1968, at the height of the Cold War, when most NGOs were based in the North. Since then, the number of NGOs from developing countries has exploded.

Most NGOs active at the United Nations have been accredited until now through the Economic and Social Council, and are largely excluded from deliberations by other parts of the United Nations. In its May 8 statement, the G-77 called for NGOs to have access to and provide input into all parts of the United Nations, including those bodies dealing with finance, trade, disarmament, law and humanitarian intervention.

Perhaps the most challenging aspect of NGOs' more prominent role in international diplomacy is the potential they hold for building binding commitments among governments from below, rather than through political elites at the top.

Fr. Jim Hugg, head of the Washington-based Center of Concern, noted recently that NGOs in many ways form "unique experiments in global democracy focused on issues, not elections."

As such, they may have a lot to teach both the United Nations and its member governments. ■

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U.N. planning process angers some women

Groups excluded from affecting Beijing report

By CAROLE COLLINS
Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW YORK — Odd things are happening on the way to the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women, to be held in September in Beijing, China.

Reminiscent of the failed attempt of the U.S. bishops to write a pastoral letter about women, the U.N. seems to be finding it difficult to empower women, even at a conference focused on them.

During four weeks in March and early April, the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women met in New York to complete plans for the world conference to be held September 4-15 in the Chinese capital.

But at this final Beijing "PrepComm" — preparatory committee meeting — women's and nongovernmental organizations found themselves effectively

of gender issues.

Active NGO involvement at the United Nations on women's issues — as on the environment, sustainable development, population and human rights — has grown steadily over the past two decades.

The first World Conference on Women in Mexico City in 1975 — which launched the U.N. Decade for Women and Development — attracted more than 6,000 women and men representing NGOs. Ten years later, more than 15,000 attending the third world conference — in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1985 — assessed the decade's

achievements and set new benchmarks for advancing women. By this April, an estimated 32,000 women reportedly had applied to go to Beijing.

But serious flaws in the planning process eroded much of the access NGOs won at earlier U.N. conferences. Financial constraints led the United Nations to cut back on the usual number of preparatory committee meetings for such a major conference, forcing delegates and NGOs to rush deliberations. Because the draft platform was released late, governments had insufficient time to analyze it.

The draft itself, hurriedly done, failed to incorporate many U.N. commitments adopted at earlier conferences, or the recommendations from regional preparatory

meetings held during 1994. Governments were also distracted by the very number of major U.N. conferences organized preceding Beijing.

As a result, there was little consensus reached in advance, even on the less contentious issues of the Beijing agenda.

PrepComm deliberations were tense and excruciatingly slow. During the third week, delegates spent almost an hour discussing each paragraph.

Even many official delegates felt shut out of the process. "Much of my time was spent helping Latin American delegations find out where to get documents, and helping translate English-language

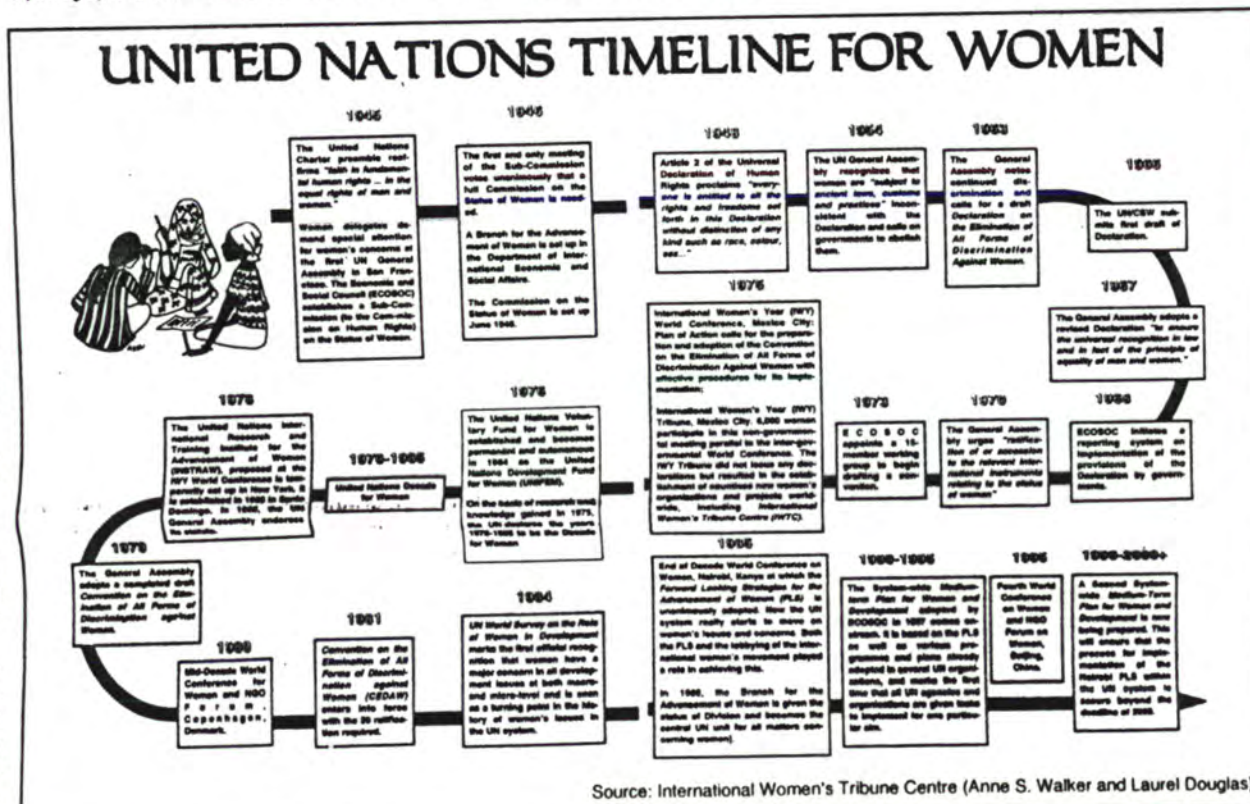
Continued on page 6

Analysis

barred from providing input to delegates drafting the "Conference Platform for Action for Women." Most were unable to obtain draft texts on time or gain access to official delegates to propose additional or alternative language.

This was in sharp contrast to other recent U.N. conferences — the 1992 Rio earth summit, 1993 Vienna human rights conference, 1994 Cairo population conference and March 1995 Copenhagen social development summit — where nongovernmental organizations, NGOs, and women steadily expanded their participation in official meetings.

The irony of women being marginalized at a U.N. conference focusing specifically on their concerns and needs was not lost on the many activists attending the meeting. It seems to have been the product of two major factors: inadequate U.N. processes and the sensitive nature



Source: International Women's Tribune Centre (Anne S. Walker and Laurel Douglas)

Women

Continued from page 5

into Spanish," a Catholic Latina member of the U.S. delegation told NCR.

Denying accreditation to 490 NGOs wishing to go to Beijing — and refusing to specify the reasons for denial or notify the excluded groups — sparked additional controversy. The excluded groups ranged from academic and local community organizations to lesbian and human rights groups. NGOs at the PrepComm successfully pressed for a more transparent and accountable review and appeals process for those NGOs denied accreditation.

Contested terrain

Nowhere was the lack of political consensus more evident than in the exceptionally high amount of text — 40 percent — left bracketed (that is, not agreed to and still in dispute) in the draft platform.

Even language reflecting commitments on reproductive rights and health care adopted at the Cairo conference were bracketed (at the urging of Malta, several Central American countries and the Holy See). Several NGOs warned in a press release that obstruction by this tiny minority of delegations threatened to reverse "commitments to women's human rights already made by governments and the U.N. over the past decade."

Incomprehensible to many was the effort by the Holy See, Guatemala and Honduras to delete the word *gender* — a term used for decades in U.N. documents without challenge — from the entire platform. They argued that it carried a hidden agenda implying toleration of lesbian and homosexual behavior. (During the ensuing floor debate, one frustrated European delegate asked if those objecting to the word also sought to bracket the word *women* in the text as well.) A special group was asked to seek agreement on a common accepted meaning for the word *gender*.

Several countries, notably China, Indonesia and Malaysia, sought to weaken language on women's human rights. Fundamentalist Muslim countries used cultural and religious differences to argue against language asserting the universality of women's human rights.

Even the three conference themes, equality, development and peace, did not emerge unscathed. Iran objected to the term *equality*, arguing that males and females are inherently unequal. But it affirmed the right of equity of access to resources according to need, a stance opposed by other governments averse to raising distributive justice issues.

Maria Reilly of the Washington-based Center of Concern decried the lack of emphasis in the platform on major macroeconomic issues. While the effects of structural adjustment on women were detailed at some length, virtually all the recommendations for action — such as reform of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank — were bracketed.

"The European Community and the U.S. have been good on the microeconomic issues — such as access to credit and land — which have kept women on the margins of society," Reilly noted. "But they have opposed any language on the negative effects of free trade on women or any language focusing on transnational corporations. So one of the world's major economic actors on women's lives is absolutely invisible in the document."

The Holy See's adept manipulation of U.N. procedures and what one activist

termed its "unholy alliance" with the repressive Guatemala and Honduras governments in opposing reproductive rights sparked deep anger among virtually all women's groups. Several NGO representatives who slipped unnoticed into official sessions told NCR that the Holy See, which as an observer cannot participate in official discussions, visibly used some delegates as its proxies. Representatives of the Holy See frequently dispatched messengers with notes to the Guatemalan and Honduran delegates, who would immediately raise their flags to challenge parts of the text deemed objectionable to the Holy See.

Former Congresswoman Bella Abzug, current head of the New York-based Women for Environment and Development Organization, which has played a leading role in U.N. conferences since the 1992 Rio earth summit, decried what she saw as the Holy See's effort to impose Catholic religious beliefs on a religiously diverse international community.

Other activists told NCR that the conference chair, Tanzanian Gertrude Mongella, was hesitant to challenge the Vatican because she is Catholic. A Canadian activist told NCR the intensity of the Vatican's effort was "frightening and intimidating to women, especially those from Catholic countries," and even to some Canadian delegates, who had been surrounded and harangued by antiabortion activists.

Efforts by the Vatican to introduce language on the family as the basic unit of society were largely blocked by European governments and developing countries. "The Vatican doesn't address women in other areas of life outside the family," Bene Madunagu, of the Coalition of Nigerian NGOs on Human Rights and Development, told NCR. "They are distracting us from other important issues," she added.

China, denied the Olympics because of its widespread abuse of human rights and coercive population control policies, especially in Tibet, lobbied hard to host this U.N. conference. But it generated new controversy by announcing, just as the PrepComm concluded, plans to relocate the NGO Forum — the series of NGO workshops and panels paralleling the

6 National Catholic Reporter

official U.N. meeting — to an inaccessible site far from the official deliberations.

This "raises dramatic questions about NGO access to government delegates during the conference," said the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee's Heather Foote. "The irony is that this is happening at a women's conference, which is supposed to focus on women becoming central decision-makers, and on tapping the expertise of NGOs."

Some women are now beginning to ask — as feminist theologian Madonna Kolbenschlag did in a public statement late last month — "Why are we going to Beijing?"

Criticizing China's women's rights record and efforts to bar Tibetan and Taiwanese as well as lesbian and religious women's groups from the conference, Kolbenschlag said the Fourth World Conference on Women risks being "exploited to serve nonhumanitarian ends." She echoed concerns that China will try to limit distribution of NGO literature and access to media, and carefully control which Chinese women attend.

Rumbling in the ranks

Despite their energy, the mood among the 1,500 activists who attended all or part of the four-week PrepComm was one of frustration with the slow pace of official deliberations, the lack of available draft texts and the blocking of consensus by a handful of delegates.

"The whole process was meant to trash and insult women," one religious activist told *NCR* last week. "This would never have happened at a conference for men," another told *NCR*.

Once hopeful that the conference would significantly advance women's rights beyond previous commitments at Cairo, many now feel women will be lucky if they can "hold the line and prevent backward movement," one woman religious told *NCR*. Words like *fiasco*, *paralysis* and *damage control* peppered other NGO comments. "Beijing is the glass ceiling of U.N. conferences," one speaker concluded at an NGO caucus.

"Women represent the most difficult issue for the U.N. because they raise serious issues of power," Reilly argues. "Women

were exceedingly successful in bringing their agenda to Rio and to Cairo and to Copenhagen. ... They were recognized as a political force to be reckoned with. The chaos around planning for Beijing has to do with governments' recognition that women now are a significant power. They want to give women lip service but not allow them to get out of control or take control."

Despite such problems, many women remain committed to going to Beijing.

"As a Latina and woman of color, I have been so busy at the grassroots all my life," said Maria Antonietta Berriozabal, a former San Antonio, Texas, city councilwoman participating in the official U.S. delegation. "But I see, reflected in the conference documents, what I've been saying for years in my local community."

For others, the value of Beijing lies in the opportunity it provides "to connect with women sharing their own struggles elsewhere around the world, to network," notes Janet Gottschalk, a Medical Mission Sister representing the American Public Health Association at the PrepComm.

"Many grassroots women want to go so Beijing isn't just the white middle class talking about their agenda only," the Center of Concern's Maria Reilly said in an interview. "At Beijing, they'll be connecting with indigenous women, all sorts of grassroots women from all over the world."

And by being there, she says, they are saying, "We don't need people to speak for us. We can speak for ourselves." ■

Women of world meet, mingle at U.N., get ready for Beijing

By CAROLE COLLINS
Diplomatic Correspondent

Reaching agreement at the United Nations is the result of hard lobbying and negotiating by governments and, increasingly, nongovernmental organizations. But most hard bargaining takes place months before the actual event, at conference preparatory committee meetings, called "PrepComms."

During the Beijing PrepComm, from March 15 to April 7, the long, drab basement hallways of the U.N. Secretariat building in New York — normally the exclusive preserve of pinstriped male diplomats — were packed with women.

Old women from Harlem, lined faces of incredible dignity topped by African-cloth turbans, cautiously navigated the gray linoleum corridor using canes. Three young sari-clad Indian women sprinted by, one in high-topped canvas sneakers. At midday, 25 African women — sitting in a circle of chairs in the middle of a side hallway — animatedly discussed health and reproductive rights issues, in sharp contrast to the subdued tenor of the official Commission on the Status of Women meeting nearby.

In a room further up the corridor, a young Kenyan woman pointed out a format error on the computer screen to a stiletto-heeled Latino colleague. "Unusual linkages happen here, as well as a lot

of informal 'over the shoulder' networking," said Judith Mayer, the "tech manager" of the NGO computer operation. Across the room, an Ecuadorian village woman edited a draft petition next to a woman from Kuwait's ruling Sabah family. Nearby, a Tibetan activist typed furiously while a young Suriname woman used E-mail for the first time.

Around the corner at the diplomats' coffee bar, two men — embassy officials from Russia and the Ukraine — were fish out of water amid clusters of women intently scanning thick U.N. documents, bulging briefcases at their feet. A quiet young Somali woman claimed a chair just vacated by a vivacious Filipina. Two tables away, former Congresswoman Bella Abzug, her trademark wide-brimmed hat tipped back, talked intently to three coffee-sipping young women before pulling out a cellular phone to make a call.

Five regional and more than 10 issue-oriented caucuses helped focus NGOs'

attention on specific areas of the official draft text. In sharp contrast to the slow pace of official deliberations, these caucuses managed to produce a joint lobbying document of suggested changes by the second day of the PrepComm, after a line-by-line review of the unwieldy, 68-page working paper.

The Holy See was not without its NGO proxies as well. Antiabortion activists — in contrast to other caucus gatherings, overwhelmingly white — congregated with several priests every day at the farthest end of the hallway.

The Canadian group Real Women distributed press statements denouncing the Canadian government delegation for its alleged "all-out war against the traditional family" and support for "a radical feminist agenda that aggressively promotes and defends lesbian rights." Other antiabortion activists preferred to distribute anonymous leaflets attacking feticide and the use of condoms. ■

'WE MUST BE RESPONSIBLE IN USING OUR
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, SKINHEAD,'

'TRUE, LANGUAGE
TO STIR UP THE IDIOT PRINCE.'

Should we go to Beijing?

As the Fourth U.N. World Conference on Women, to be held in September in Beijing, China, draws near, warning signals are emerging and serious questions are being asked (NCR, May 19). Some women wonder aloud — as feminist theologian Madonna Kolbenschlag did in a public statement late last month — “Why are we going to Beijing?”

Their list of concerns begins with China's dismal women's rights record, China's woefully apparent lack of free speech and its efforts to bar Tibetan and Taiwanese as well as lesbian and religious women's groups from the conference.

For years the Chinese government has abused women. These instances include forced population control with forced abortions. Recently Chinese athletes have been banned from international competition for testing positive for illegal drugs. It appears the athletes were systematically drugged by Chinese officials without their knowledge.

Then there's the matter of China's plans to marginalize nongovernmental organizations' voices by locating NGO representatives far from official conference deliberations. Many NGO representatives have been told they will not be allowed into the country.

What's going on here?

It has long been the argument that holding the U.N. gathering in China would provide encouragement to oppressed Chinese. But this assumes visitors feel they can speak freely — and do! If censorship or timidity ends up curtailing openness, it would be better for visitors to stay home. If women find they cannot advance the causes of dignity and human rights, starting with the dignity and rights of Chinese women, then participating in the deliberations may not be prudent.

These will be difficult judgment calls, but seriously addressing these issues in the coming weeks may have its own benefits, not least of which will be to send warnings to Chinese and U.N. officials.

Women have made major advances

on the world scene in recent years.

Many fear-driven forces want to put these advances back. The deftness with which women handle these growing pressures and the decisions that emerge in the process will give us all a better understanding of the form this new women's leadership will take.

It has long been the hope that in the process of winning new rights, women will advance the causes of justice and compassion for the larger human family. In this light the challenges of Beijing become increasingly clear.

Going in, the odds appear stacked against a successful advance in the women's agenda. Time will tell. One thing for sure: Women know this is nothing new. ■

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VATICAN

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EDITORIAL

IS THE PATRIARCH A FEMINIST?



ON JULY 10, the Vatican released a "Letter to Women" by the Patriarch of the West, one of the ancient titles by which popes are known. The letter stands in stark contrast to the hostile approach taken by the Holy See at last year's Cairo Conference on Population and Development. "I am writing this letter to each one of you," the Pope writes, "as a sign of solidarity and gratitude on the eve of the [United Nations'] Fourth World Conference on Women to be held in Beijing this coming September." In both tone and content, the letter marks a major shift of attitude toward the global women's movement.

Women's advocates expected a smooth ride to Beijing. But at the final Preparatory Committee session in New York City last March, a coalition of Catholic countries, joined by the Vatican and certain Islamic states, succeeded in challenging one third of the draft Platform of Action, including all references to "gender" and "gender equality." Debate at Beijing, which bids to set the agenda for women's empowerment into the 21st century, is thus likely to be hot and heavy.

John Paul's letter comes as a surprise. It pays tribute to women's often hidden role in making history, past and present. Addressed directly to "the heart and mind of every woman," the letter begins by profusely thanking mothers, daughters, sisters, consecrated women and working women, "present in every area of life," for their "contribution to the growth of a culture that unites reason and feeling." Then, invoking the vision of the Book of Genesis, the Pope affirms that men and women share equally in the task of responsibly transforming the face of the earth—and in this regard, he finds the specific "genius of women" not only in the spiritual and cultural sphere (called "primary" for women), but on the sociopolitical and economic level as well. Accordingly, the Pope aligns himself with the struggles of women everywhere "for equal pay for equal work, protection for working mothers, fairness in career advancements, equality of spouses with regard to family rights and the recognition of everything that is part of the rights and duties of citizens in a democratic state."

In two respects, the letter is unprecedented. First, John Paul publicly acknowledges the sin of sexism and apologizes to women for the church's historical complicity in denigrating women, misrepresenting them, relegating them to the margins of society and even reducing them to servitude. ("[F]or this I am sorry.... Jesus treated women with openness, respect, acceptance and tenderness.... As we look to Christ at the end of this second millennium, it is natural to ask ourselves how much of his message has been heard and acted upon.") Warily, Catholic feminists will take such words as demanding of the church itself no

less than the Pope demands of secular society—a profound change of attitude and organization that brings women into all decision-making processes.

Second, the Pope cheers feminist pioneers. He expresses his personal "admiration for those women of good will who have devoted their lives to defending the dignity of womanhood by fighting for their basic social, economic and political rights, demonstrating courageous initiative at a time when this was considered extremely inappropriate, the sign of a lack of femininity, a manifestation of exhibitionism and even a sin!" Bella Abzug, Frances Kissling and Sister Theresa Kane, please take note; despite his sharp disagreement with you on some (but not all) matters, the Pope extends you his respect—and invites civil discourse. This looks like a real opening.

The generous spirit of this new papal letter can only be welcomed. Yet "gender equality" remains a sore point—and nowhere is this more evident than when the Pope, defending an exclusively male priesthood, blithely champions a "complementary" diversity of roles for men and women as if this were not, at least in our culture, a hornet's nest. "Womanhood expresses the 'human' as much as manhood does," the Pope insists, "but in a different way." The "presence of a certain diversity of roles is in no way prejudicial to women, provided that this is not the result of an arbitrary imposition, but is rather an expression of what is specific to being male and female." But what are the roles specific to the different "genius of women"? And who defines them? Women themselves are authorities in this matter.

FEMINISTS unanimously reject crude biological determinism ("anatomy is destiny"). But they are divided about how deep gender differences go—some stressing difference as a way of valuing women or gaining special legal protection for them, others declaring gender an arbitrary social construct too often used to keep women subordinate and powerless. Pitfalls lie in both directions: the "difference" party prone to romanticize women and denigrate men, the "constructionists" prone to ignore the links between biology and psyche in both women and men. The Pope belongs to the "difference" party of scholars like E. O. Wilson, Carol Gilligan and Deborah Tannen, but roots gender even more deeply than they do. The "equal treatment" position of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg is not enough for him; like the "radical feminists," he demands special protections for women. As a differentist, though, even he concedes in this letter that "historical conditioning" has misled us all in defining women's work too narrowly. It will be women themselves who set us straight.

U.N. document on women source of discord

FROM NCR'S WIRE SERVICES

VATICAN CITY — The Vatican said last week that the U.N. conference on women set for September in Beijing, China, should concentrate more on motherhood and less on sexual rights.

Vatican spokesman Joaquin Navarro-Valls said the Vatican believed the conference should not impose Western feminist values. He called parts of the conference's draft document "ideologically unbalanced."

Additionally, he said Pope John Paul would probably appoint a woman to head the Vatican's 20-member delegation and she would "not be a figurehead or token appointment." At a Vatican press briefing on the conference, Navarro-Valls said women will make up a majority of the Vatican's delegation.

The names of the delegates are expected to be announced in August.

He made it clear that while the Vatican supported women's rights in many areas, it was prepared for a battle with militant feminists, particularly those who want unrestricted abortion rights and regard motherhood and the family as repressive.

He said Islamic countries had approached the Vatican to discuss their concerns about the draft but "substantial differences" over the role of women excluded "an accord on an operative level" with

these countries.

The United Nations' draft document for the women's conference makes praiseworthy efforts to promote women's equality and protect their dignity, Navarro-Valls said. However, the document also contains proposals on abortion, family issues and health care, which the Vatican sees as reflecting the agenda of a small group of feminists from industri-

While the draft document for the women's conference makes praiseworthy efforts to promote women's equality, it also reflects the agenda of a small group of feminists, Joaquin Navarro-Valls said.

alized countries, he said.

"The Holy See sees in this document an ideological pressure that seems to want to impose on women around the world a particular social philosophy belonging to certain sectors of the Western countries," he said. The philosophy, Navarro-Valls said, ignores the natural differences between women and men, downplays or even degrades women's roles within the family and advocates universal access to abortion — even for minors without parental consent.

Navarro-Valls said the Vatican is disappointed that in the draft document

every reference to the equal dignity of women with men and their full sharing in the internationally defined set of universal human rights has been placed in brackets, meaning the preparatory committee could not reach a consensus on their inclusion in the document. The Vatican is insisting that the term "universal human rights" is used in reference to women "to clarify that these go beyond

the rights recognized by individual cultures. They are rights women are born with as persons."

The second item of the Vatican's agenda is support for the draft document's call to halt all forms of violence against women and girls "on the physical, sexual, psychological and moral level," Navarro-Valls said. "For the Holy See this is a priority theme," he said.

In addition to condemning domestic violence and rape, the Vatican is calling on the conference to condemn prostitution, violence against women as a weapon of war, genital mutilation or female cir-

cumcision, the killing of female fetuses and baby girls, "forced sterilization, forced contraception and pressuring a woman to have an abortion," the spokesman said. He said the Vatican is also concerned that maternity and family life, major concerns for the majority of the world's women, are given "scarce attention and little space" in a draft document that is 120 pages long.

He said the family appeared in the draft document only a few times and most references were in a negative light.

"The Holy See certainly shares the great attention given to the full participation of women in all the activities of social life. However, it is against all reason to think that this emphasis must cancel the unique role of women within the family," Navarro-Valls said.

To stress its opposition to abortion, the Vatican wants the phrase "the right to life itself" inserted in a section of the document that speaks of the rights of female children.

Frances Kissling, president of the Washington-based Catholics for a Free Choice, said she regarded Navarro-Valls' comments as "a continuation of the Vatican's politics of divide and conquer."

"They always have to put forward an enemy and in this case it is women. It's an attempt to polarize the issues in a way I don't think women experience," she said. ■

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Letter to Women

'Your womanhood enriches the world'

CATHOLIC NEWS SERVICE

In a letter addressed to the women of the world, Pope John Paul II praised women's historic contributions as mothers, wives and social leaders, and said they need greater protection against persistent forms of violence and exploitation.

The letter, made public Tuesday, endorsed women's liberation as a substantially positive process that must go forward. At the same time, the pope said men and women rightly have a "diversity of roles" — in society and in the Church — that reflect their complementary natures.

Here is the Vatican text of Pope John Paul II's letter to women, dated June 29 and released July 10 at the Vatican.

I greet you all most cordially, women throughout the world!

1. I am writing this letter to each one of you as a sign of solidarity and gratitude on the eve of the Fourth World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing this coming September.

Before all else, I wish to express my deep appreciation to the United Nations for having sponsored this very significant event. The Church desires for her part to contribute to upholding the dignity, role and rights of women not only by the specific work of the Holy See's official delegation to the conference in Beijing, but also by speaking directly to the heart and mind of every woman. Recently, when Mrs. Gertrude Mongella, the secretary-general of the conference, visited me in connection with the Beijing meeting, I gave her a written message which stated some basic points of the Church's teaching with regard to women's issues. That message, apart from the specific circumstances of its origin, was concerned with a broader vision of the situation and problems of women in general in an attempt to promote the cause of women in the Church and in today's world. For this reason I arranged to have it forwarded to every conference of bishops, so that it could be circulated as widely as possible.

Taking up the themes I addressed in that document, I would now like to speak directly to every woman, to reflect with her on the problems and the prospects of



GUATEMALAN WOMAN/CNS PHOTO

'You are present and active in every area of life — social, economic, cultural, artistic and political. In this way you make an indispensable contribution to the growth of a culture...'

what it means to be a woman in our time. In particular I wish to consider the essential issue of the dignity and rights of women as seen in the light of the word of God.

This "dialogue" really needs to begin with a word of thanks. As I wrote in my apostolic letter *Mulieris Dignitatem*, the Church "desires to give thanks to the

most Holy Trinity for the 'mystery of woman' and for every woman — for all that constitutes the eternal measure of her feminine dignity, for the 'great works of God,' which throughout human history have been accomplished in and through her" (No. 31).

2. This word of thanks to the Lord for his mysterious plan regarding the vocation and mission of women in the world is at the same time a concrete and direct word of thanks to women, to every woman, for all that they represent in the life of humanity.

Thank you, women who are mothers! You have sheltered human beings within yourselves in a unique experience of joy and travail. This experience makes you become God's own smile upon the newborn child, the one who guides your child's first steps, who helps it to grow and who is the anchor as the child makes its way along the journey of life.

Thank you, women who are wives! You irrevocably join your future to that of your husbands in a relationship of mutual giving at the service of love and life.

Thank you, women who are daughters and women who are sisters! Into the heart of the family, and then of all society, you bring the richness of your sensitivity, your intuitiveness, your generosity and fidelity.

Thank you, women who work! You are present and active in every area of life — social, economic, cultural, artistic and political. In this way you make an indispensable contribution to the growth of a culture which unites reason and feeling, to a model of life ever open to the sense of "mystery," to the establishment of economic and political structures ever more worthy of humanity.

Thank you, consecrated women! Following the example of the greatest of women, the mother of Jesus Christ, the incarnate Word, you open yourselves with obedience and fidelity to the gift of God's love. You help the Church and all mankind to experience a "spousal" relationship to God, one which magnificently expresses the fellowship which God wishes to establish with his creatures.

Thank you, every woman, for the simple fact of being a woman! Through the insight which is so much a part of your womanhood you enrich the world's understanding and help to make human relations more honest and authentic.

3. I know of course that simply saying thank you is

To the Women of the World: An Affirmation of 'Feminine Genius'

It is a rare day that Pope John Paul II strikes a chord that echoes fairly well with Roman Catholic feminists. Only about a year ago he infuriated many church liberals by telling the faithful to abandon any thought of women becoming priests.

But last week, the Pope issued a letter to women that was notable not just for its clarity but also for a personal apology for those in the church who had contributed to the oppression of women.

The Pope endorsed "real equality" between the sexes, condemned sexual violence and expressed admiration for women who had struggled for their rights. Although he ceded nothing on the all-male priesthood, he chose not to dwell on it.

In its timing, the document was hardly a thunderbolt from the blue. It was intended to help shape the debate leading up to the United Nations' conference on women, to be held in Beijing in September, which the Vatican fears will be influenced by Western feminist ideas with which it does not agree.

Church officials have already criticized the draft document for the conference as "unbalanced," saying it slights motherhood. They have said they want to change a section condemning "forced pregnancy" so that the words don't appear to condone abortion in cases of rape.

The Pope's letter, excerpted below, sought to stake out ground on which church and many women can stand together. In its directness and affirmative tone, the 16-page letter follows the page-and-a-half chapter on women in the Pontiff's best-selling book, "Crossing the Threshold of Hope" (Knopf, 1994). GUSTAV NIEBUHR

Women's dignity has often been unacknowledged and their prerogatives misrepresented, they have often been relegated to the margins of society and even reduced to servitude. This has prevented women from truly being themselves and it has resulted in a spiritual impoverishment of humanity. Certainly it is no easy task to assign the blame for this, considering the many kinds of cultural conditioning which down the centuries have shaped ways of thinking and acting. And if objective blame, especially in particular historical contexts, has belonged to not just a few members of the Church, for this I am truly sorry. May this regret be transformed, on the part of the whole Church, into a renewed commitment of fidelity to the Gospel vision. When it comes to setting women free from every kind of exploitation and domination, the Gospel contains an ever relevant message which goes back to the attitude of Jesus Christ himself.

Motherhood Penalized

Yes, it is time to examine the past with a view to assigning responsibility where it is due. In a review of the long history of humanity, women have contributed to that history as much as men and, more often than not, they did so in much more difficult conditions. I think particularly of those women who loved culture and art, and devoted their

lives to them in spite of the fact that they were frequently at a disadvantage from the start, excluded from equal educational opportunities, underestimated, ignored and not given credit for their intellectual contributions. . . . To this great, immense feminine "tradition" humanity owes a debt which can never be repaid. Yet how many women have been and continue to be valued more for their physical appearance than for their skill, their professionalism, their intellectual abilities, their deep sensitivity; in a word, the very dignity of their being!

long and degrading history, albeit often an "underground" history, of violence against women in the area of sexuality? At the threshold of the Third Millennium we cannot remain indifferent and resigned before this phenomenon. The time has come to condemn vigorously the types of sexual violence which frequently have women for their object and to pass laws which effectively defend them from such violence. Nor can we fail, in the name of the respect due to the human person, to condemn the widespread hedonistic and commercial culture which encourages the systematic exploitation of sexuality. . . .



Associated Press

Keepers of the faith: a recent mass in Bratislava, Slovakia.

Preceding a U.N. conference on women this fall, the Pope acknowledges the oppression of women, apologizing for any church complicity.

And what shall we say of the obstacles which in so many parts of the world still keep women from being fully integrated into social, political and economic life? We need only think of how the gift of motherhood is often penalized rather than rewarded, even though humanity owes its very survival to this gift. Certainly, much remains to be done to prevent discrimination against those who have chosen to be wives and mothers. As far as personal rights are concerned, there is an urgent need to achieve real equality in every area: equal pay for equal work, protection for working mothers, fairness in career advancements, equality of spouses with regard to family rights. . . .

Then, too, when we look at one of the most sensitive aspects of the situation of women in the world, how can we not mention the

Heroic Love

In contrast to these sorts of perversion, what great appreciation must be shown to those women who, with a heroic love for the child they have conceived, proceed with a pregnancy resulting from the injustices of rape. Here we are thinking of atrocities perpetrated not only in situations of war, still so common in the world, but also in societies which are blessed by prosperity and peace and yet are often corrupted by a culture of hedonistic permissiveness which aggravates tendencies to aggressive male behavior. In these cases the choice to have an abortion always remains a grave sin. But before being something to blame on a woman, it is a crime for which guilt needs to be attributed to men and to the complicity of the general social environment. . . .

Here I cannot fail to express my admiration for those women of good will who have devoted their lives to defending the dignity of womanhood by fighting for their basic social, economic and political rights, demonstrating courageous initiative at a time when this was considered extremely inappropriate, the sign of a lack of femininity, a manifestation of exhibitionism, and even a sin! . . .

We then are told that, from the very beginning, man has been created "male and female" (Genesis 1:27). Scripture itself provides the interpretation of this fact: even though man is surrounded by the innumerable creatures of the created world, he realizes that he is alone (cf. Gen 2:20). God intervenes in order to help him escape from this situation of solitude: "It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helper fit for him" (Gen 2:18). The creation of woman is thus marked from the outset by the principle of help: a help which is not one-sided but mutual. Woman complements man, just as man complements woman. . . .

In this vast domain of service, the Church's 2,000-year history, for all its historical conditioning, has truly experienced the "genius of woman"; from the heart of the Church there have emerged women of the highest caliber who have left an impressive and beneficial mark in history. . . . The life of the Church in the Third Millennium will certainly not be lacking in new and surprising manifestations of "the feminine genius."



**ADVOCATE FOR DISABLED
SAYS CHANGE OF HEART
IS NEEDED MOST**
Page 24



**NEW PAULIST MOVIE
EXAMINES LIFE AND
WORK OF DOROTHY DAY**
Page 17

Catholic Standard

ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

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the participate worldwide

Vatican prepares for upcoming conference on women

Official says Church will support human rights and family life issues and oppose violence and abortion

CS PHOTO BY MICHAEL ALEXANDER

2

By Cindy Wooden
CATHOLIC NEWS SERVICE

Vatican efforts at the upcoming U.N. Conference on Women will focus on promoting the human rights of women and avoiding the imposition of a narrow feminist agenda on the international community, a Vatican spokesman said.

"In too many social and geographical contexts, the dignity of women is far from being fully recognized," said Joaquin Navarro-Valls, Vatican spokesman.

At a recent Vatican press briefing on the conference, to be held in Beijing in September, Navarro-Valls said women will be a majority on the Vatican's 20-person delegation, and the head of the delegation will most likely be a woman.

The names of the delegates are expected to be announced in August.

The U.N.'s draft document for the women's conference makes praiseworthy efforts to promote women's equality and protect their dignity, Navarro-Valls said.

However, the document also contains proposals on abortion, family issues and health care, which the Vatican sees as reflecting the agenda of a small group of feminists from industrialized countries, he said.

"The Holy See sees in this document an ideological pressure which seems to want to impose on women around the world a particular social philosophy belonging to certain sectors of the Western countries," he said.

The philosophy, Navarro-Valls said, ignores the natural differences between women and men, downplays or even degrades women's roles within the family and advocates universal access to abortion — even for minors without parental consent.

But combatting those ideas and proposals is not the Vatican's only aim for the conference, he said.

"Our agenda is very broad.

"For the Holy See, the point of depar-

ture for every consideration is the human dignity of women, which is the foundation of the concept of universal human rights recognized in the charter of the United Nations," he said.

Navarro-Valls said the Vatican is disappointed that in the draft document every reference to the equal dignity of women with men and their full sharing in the internationally defined set of universal human rights has been placed in brackets, meaning the preparatory committee could not reach a consensus on their inclusion in the document.

The Vatican is ~~insisting that the term~~ "universal human rights" is used in reference to women "to clarify that these go beyond the rights recognized by individual cultures. They are rights women are born with as persons."

"For the Holy See, the point of departure for every consideration is the human dignity of women..."

The second item of the Vatican's agenda is support for the draft document's call to halt all forms of violence against women and girls "on the physical, sexual, psychological and moral level," Navarro-Valls said.

"For the Holy See this is a priority theme," he said.

In addition to condemning domestic violence and rape, the Vatican is calling on the conference to condemn prostitution, violence against women as a weapon of war, genital mutilation or female circumcision, the killing of female fetuses and baby girls, "forced sterilization, forced contraception and pressuring a woman to have an abortion," the spokesman said.

He said the Vatican is also concerned that maternity and family life, major concerns for the majority of the world's women, are given "scarce attention and little space" in a draft document that is

Beijing

From page 1

120 pages long.

Navarro-Valls said the word family is used only five times in the document, and in three of those instances it is used in a negative context, such as in discussing domestic violence and pressures on young girls to leave school.

"The Holy See certainly shares the great attention given to the full participation of women in all the activities of social life. However, it is against all reason to think that this emphasis must cancel the

unique role of women within the family," he said.

Being a wife and mother, he said, "does not exhaust all of the personal resources of a woman, but it is specific to her."

"The fundamental right to be mothers" must be legally guaranteed to all women, he said.

Navarro-Valls listed as other areas of Vatican concern:

— Emigration. The needs of women outside their native countries, the economic, social and physical hardships they and their children face and the rights they have to move with their husbands must be recognized, the Vatican said.

— The rights and responsi-

bilities of parents. In promoting the education and health of underage girls, the Vatican insists that the Beijing conference recognize the rights of parents to educate and protect their children. It especially opposes calls to allow minors to obtain abortions without parental consent.

— Abortion. The Vatican opposes attempts to reverse the international consensus reached at the 1994 U.N. Conference on Population and Development regarding abortion. It has asked that the draft include the previous affirmation that abortion must not be promoted as a means of birth control.

Beijing: Round Two?

Upcoming U.N. conference on women could revive feminist agenda from Cairo meeting

By Gail Quinn

SPECIAL TO THE STANDARD

The controversy that erupted last year over the International Conference on Population and Development may well have been Round One in a continuing international debate about the role of the family in society, the role of government in "development," and indeed, about the very meaning of human life itself.

Round Two began in March when delegates to the Fourth World Conference on Women met in New York to draft a Platform of Action for the nations of the world. This conference, sponsored by the United Nations, will take place in Beijing in September.

The draft platform calls attention to many problems that affect women. For example, it focuses on the feminization of poverty, the fact that most of the world's illiterate adults are women, and that millions of girls are denied primary education. It expresses concern about prostitution and pornography, and it highlights the fact that women in many parts of the world do not have access to even basic health care.

Insight

Then what's the problem? The problem lies in solutions offered and the relentless effort by some — generally developed nations and non-governmental organizations — to mainstream worldwide acceptance of a radical feminist agenda. The stated goals of the platform are "gender equality" and the "empowerment" of women. It claims that "only...a radical transformation of the relationship between women and men to one full partnership will enable the world to meet the challenges of the next century." Its assumption is that participation of women in the labor market is the necessary condition for sustained development in poor countries. Such an assumption, unsupported by empirical data, is both ideological itself and designed to advance an ideological agenda. Thus, in a very real sense, abortion becomes a keystone in this platform because full participation in the labor force is only possible by convincing women to subordinate childbearing and childrearing to the demands of employment.

According to the platform, the number one health priority for women is not basic health services, including sanitation — a problem in many countries — but imple-



A Bangladesh mother attempts to feed her undernourished child. The feminization of poverty will be a key focus of the upcoming UN conference on women, to be held in Beijing.

mentation of the Population Conference Plan of Action. This includes abortion and the redesigning of health services to include sexual and reproductive "interventions" for women and girls. Attempts by some nations to state that "reproductive services" for girls should be provided only with the knowledge and consent of parents or legal guardians were continually rebuffed. The platform supporters' intention seemed to be to provide contraceptives, sterilization and abortion to minors as if doing so were of no concern to their parents.

It would affirm "sexual rights" (a concept promoted but rejected at the Population Conference). At the same time, there is a desire by some nations, e.g., the European Union — to talk of "rights" and "human rights," while refusing to define such rights as "universal" — which would include basic rights defined in UN documents (e.g., food, shelter, basic health care, education) — but would not include such things as abortion if

abortion is seen by so

There is a continuing "family" to include lifestyle. Although the innocuous — changing diversity of families" plish this goal. Attending fundamental unit of serious UN documents

While marriage mental reality worldwide, and the focus is virtually unmentioned. ly is the focus, it is to against women and violence is often told by the Holy See to that through the family members, to their own they personal' being part of a family. No attention is given marriage or even to advance the dignity, does the Platform of much less propose solving poverty which grows following divorce.

As with childrearing family take a back employment. High on agenda is "gender sensitive affirmative action program necessary to achieve women leaders, executive decision-making position.

In Cairo, the United Nations pressing agenda. We should all States and the U.S. State delegates who will affirm the critical nature of society, and who will or the provision of "services" for minorities.

Gail Quinn is executive for Pro-Life Activities Catholic Bishops.

Cairo meeting

abortion is seen by some as a "right" in a given country.

There is a continuing effort to broaden the concept of "family" to include affirmation of a homosexual lifestyle. Although the words used to do so may seem innocuous — changing "the family" to "families" or "a diversity of families" — they are code words to accomplish this goal. Attempts to state that *the family* is the fundamental unit of society (something affirmed in previous UN documents) meets with continuing rejection.

While marriage and family life remain the fundamental reality for the great majority of women worldwide, and the focus of their daily lives, marriage is virtually unmentioned in the document. When family is the focus, it is to assert that "most of the violence against women and girls occurs in the family, where violence is often tolerated and encouraged." Attempts by the Holy See to have the document *acknowledge* that through the family women contribute to family members, to their community and to society, and that they personally derive benefit and happiness from being part of a family, continue to be strongly rejected. No attention is given to strengthening the institution of marriage or even reforming divorce laws which would advance the dignity, rights and status of women. Nor does the Platform of Action even allude to the fact, much less propose solutions to alleviate, the devastating poverty which grips millions of women and children following divorce.

As with childrearing, the needs of children and the family take a back seat to the demands of female employment. High on the list of priorities for governments is "gender sensitive" training. Calls for increased affirmative action programs permeate the document as necessary to achieve such goals as "a critical mass of women leaders, executives and managers in strategic decision-making positions."

In Cairo, the United States was one of the most influential nations pressing for an anti-family, pro-abortion agenda. We should all urge the president of the United States and the U.S. State Department to send to Beijing delegates who will affirm *universal* human rights and the critical nature of the family as the foundation of society, and who will *not* seek affirmation of abortion, or the provision of "reproductive education and services" for minors without their parent's knowledge.

Gail Quinn is executive director of the Secretariat for Pro-Life Activities at the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Women's conference leader calls pope an ally

CATHOLIC NEWS SERVICE

Recent statements by Pope John Paul II have shown him to be "one of the best allies" of the Fourth World Conference on Women, the secretary-general of the meeting said.

Gertrude Mongella, who met with the pope in May to discuss the agenda for the U.N.-sponsored conference, said the pontiff has demonstrated a capacity to listen to others and a determination to defend the rights of others.

"The Church in general, and the pope in particular, have been painted as the toughest adversaries of the conference. But I went to Rome and met the pope, and

discovered in him one of the best allies," she said in an interview published last week by an Italian newspaper.

"If everyone thought like he does, maybe this conference would not be necessary," she said.

Mrs. Mongella was interviewed the day the Vatican published the pope's open letter to women in anticipation of the conference, which will be held in Beijing.

She said the letter's treatment of abortion — in which the pope highlighted the male's responsibility for the pregnancy — reflected the tone of the message he gave her during their meeting at the Vatican.

She said the pope had spoken of the need to get at the

root causes of abortion: the conditions that create unwanted pregnancies.

She noted that at the U.N.'s conference on population in Cairo, Egypt, last year, the consensus was that abortion must never be promoted as a means of family planning.

"I think at Beijing some further steps could be taken, especially if the delegations, including that of the Vatican, come with a spirit of collaboration," she said.

In June, Vatican spokesman Joaquin Navarro-Valls, while emphasizing that the Vatican's interest in the conference was not focused on a single issue, said the Holy See was concerned about efforts to promote universal access to abortion in the name of women's rights.

Letters to the Editor

Now we await the paper

I want to congratulate the staff of the *Catholic Standard* for a job well done. I was so awed by the front page of the July 6th issue and felt I was seeing history in the making. The picture was wonderful and drew me right into the story. I was touched at Patriarch Bartholomew's words, "We are not yet worthy of the grace of the common Communion cup." Let's pray for healing there.

Our Holy Father, John Paul, exclaimed, "We cannot remain separated! We must walk together because this is the will of our Lord."

What magnificent words and sentiments are expressed by these two church leaders. How I wish that each and everyone of us would also concentrate on our similarities and look for ways to find union among peoples.

Richard Szczepanowski's comments in the previous issue were also so positive, and I was thrilled to empathize with his excitement at the dedication of Mother Teresa's new Missionaries of Charity home for babies awaiting adoption. Mrs. Clinton attended the dedication of the home, and Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton was recently covered by your paper too. Richard, don't ever lose your enthusiasm or joy. It keeps us reading!

You have been criticized for covering those stories and running pictures of these women who speak out in support of abortion rights. I disagree with those who criticized you. As you stated so clearly, "We would have been remiss in not covering a District leader — speaking at a Catholic institution on the city's financial crisis, a crisis that could affect tens of thousands of families throughout the area." It is also wrong to ignore the First Lady's comments or to crop her out of the picture, as some suggested.

Certainly, we are all aware that not everyone agrees with us on all issues particularly on abortion, but that does not mean that we cannot listen courteously and hope that by reasoned words we may someday change the minds and hearts of others. I often quote, Father James Keller, Maryknoll founder of the Christopher Movement as he repeated many times: "It's better to light a candle than to



Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I and Pope John Paul II celebrate a historic liturgy together at St. Peter's Basilica June 29. The liturgy ended a three-day visit by the patriarch to the Vatican.

curse the darkness." We must keep the lines of communication open and treat others with utmost courtesy as we gently respond to their words.

Two priests whom I admire and respect greatly have both often said, "Never silence your enemy or refuse to listen to her/his words." In my opinion we must always try to be healers even if we fear it will be futile.

In your June 6th issue Linda Chavez describes herself as a "renegade" who was an "Easter and Christmas Catholic" whose Jewish husband encouraged her to return to her faith as a "religious Catholic." She did and said how happy she was to have come home. I am happy that no one had turned her off or cropped her out of her Catholic world. It's easy to be so confident of our correctness and someone else's error or "sin" that we turn away and refuse to dialogue. Keep those lines of communication open.

We have been subscribers to the *Standard* since moving to Maryland in 1968 but for a while lost interest in reading it. However, now we await the mail carrier eagerly each Thursday for an improved and interesting paper. God bless.

Mary Kyne Maze, Bethesda

Euthanasia "omitted" in symposium

On June 8, a little known and unreported event took place: The National Policy Forum held a symposium on Medicare reform. Because this group contains many Republican Congressmen who are legislatively active, this Forum may have important con-

sequences for the future of Medicare, and for the rights of the elderly in America.

There was one glaring omission in the symposium: the entire day passed without the word "euthanasia" being used once. What this shows is that a lot of people are pretending not to see the problem.

The present Medicare system has been termed "broken" by all sorts of observers: hospital administrators, Congressional representatives of both parties, insurance companies, doctor's organizations, etc. In seeking to repair Medicare, Americans are about to take a look at their entire relationship with the elderly, especially the sick elderly.

Just about every old person hates to be a burden to his/her own immediate family, but elderly people do not seem to mind that Medicare in nearly bankrupt and Social Security is a giant Ponzi scheme — what the heck, they'll be gone before it collapses, and in the meantime, they have tremendous political power.

There's a fundamental abrogation of the American "social contract" going on here. The old people are heading on a collision course with the active taxpayers. Already the young workers expect to get zero from Social Security. As the years pass and the problem worsens, there will be increasing pressure for old people to "get out of the way."

Separately, it's a known fact that on average, half the medical expenses of your entire life occur in the final six months. If Medicare continues unchanged, then as bankruptcy looms closer

and closer, somebody (with all the Christian charity of a federal agency) will observe that the way to save half the costs is to terminate people a mere six months early. With respect for human life cheapened by over a generation of easy abortion, this is going to make good sense to a lot of people.

What can be done? One leading spokesman on Medicare reform is Pete duPont, former Governor of Delaware; he proposes a Medical Savings Account (MSA) plus big deductible. In this plan, you play the game with your own money for the first \$3,000, which comes out of your MSA. (Above that, catastrophe insurance kicks in.) What you don't spend, you get to keep. The objective is to put the consumer back into the payment loop, and thus cause people to think twice about getting one more test from their doctor. This would probably go a long way toward reducing unnecessary tests.

The other major think that's needed is to make it much more difficult to sue a doctor. Basically, too many people (who, unfortunately, get seated on juries) think of doctors as gods, and delight in huge financial awards whenever their gods fail them. The objective of tort reform should be to restore the doctor to the status of a fairly smart human being who's doing his best; but only when he deliberately hurts you could you successfully sue. That would allow doctors to do a lot less "defensive medicine" (fewer unnecessary proce-

dures), and would restore an essential element of honesty and dignity to the doctor-patient relationship.

In any national discussion of Medicare reform, our side should bring out the similarities between abortion (already with us) and euthanasia (just around the corner). I would hope that pro-life voters would agree that reforming Medicare will be necessary to avert an acceptance of euthanasia. That means a large number of elderly Catholics have to come to their senses about the runaway costs of Medicare. Even then, it still won't be easy getting malpractice laws reformed. The lawyers in Congress tried it this year, and they watered it down to just covering product-safety issues. It will take a major effort by both the medical community and the pro-life, anti-euthanasia community to overcome the power of entrenched lawyers who strive to maintain the lucrative lawsuit business.

The Supreme Court stepped twice before (*Dred Scott*, *Roe v. Wade*, 1973) that it can cave in to political expediency and come up with words to justify their actions. They will do it again unless Medicare is reformed soon, and we'll have euthanasia forced upon us. The growing acceptance of Kevorkian-style assisted suicides is a warning. Someday it may be expected of the elderly to be "put to sleep" without complaint — all just because we didn't repair the Medicare system before it went belly up.

Tom Sheahan, Derwood

Premarital sex, problems

I really appreciated the article by Tom Rowan entitled "Accepting What Once Brought Shame" and the companion article by Father Charles Pope entitled "Premarital Sex is Fornication." As these authors say we can just look around us and see all the problems in society that have arisen due to the acceptance of premarital sex. It is important for the modern-day prophets to speak and emphasize that God does not change His mind. What used to be sinful is still sinful. Also as Jesus said, you can judge something by its fruits and the fruits of premarital sex are unquestionably bad.

Deacon Carl Kube,
Silver Spring

'Let us find a new, common ground'

In visit to his alma mater, President Clinton urges political leaders to work together

By Gerard Perseghin
CATHOLIC STANDARD

It began sounding like a talk on responsible citizenship, but President Bill Clinton's talk at Georgetown University last week ended up sounding like a campaign speech.

"Today I want to have more of a conversation than deliver a formal speech..." said the president who was introduced by Jesuit Father Leo J. O'Donovan, president of Georgetown.

President Clinton, a member of Georgetown's class of 1968, visited his alma mater Thursday. He is the first graduate of a Catholic university to become U.S. president.

Standing in wood-paneled Gaston Hall, Father O'Donovan said the president "has chosen to return here to talk about responsible citizenship, civil discourse and bipartisan commitment to a common good." And the president did. For a while.

Standing in front of a large American flag, he talked about responsible citizens and the American dream and its elusiveness for many lately. He said that as the world approaches the 21st century, "I believe we face challenges of truly historic dimensions." Among those things being threatened, he mentioned middle class values, strong families and faith.

The President also listed a "stagnant economy, increasing insecurity in jobs and retirement and health care" as being among the threatening things. He spoke of "30 years of social problems of profound implications — family break-ups, a rising tide of violence and drugs, declining birth rates among successful married couples, and rising birth rates among young people who are not married."

The problems were not new, the president said. He talked about them at Georgetown in 1991. "I called it the New Covenant," he said, comparing it to the Republi-

cans' Contract with America which they offered last year after winning a majority in Congress. "In their view most of our problems were personal and cultural; the government tended to make them worse because it was bureaucratic and wedded to the past..."

The president said the Contract with America did not compare favorably with his plan:

Under his New Covenant, he said, "I think we have to create more opportunity and demand more responsibility. I think we have to give citizens more say and provide them a more responsive, less bureaucratic government."

The president applauded community initiatives referring to the many Catholic social agencies in the Washington area. The pro-choice President also praised pro-life efforts, saying, "People who feel very strongly about one of the most contentious issues in our society, abortion, ought to look at the United Pentecostal Church. They'll adopt any child born, no matter what race, no matter how disabled, no matter what their problems are."

President Clinton told how he grew up poor in a poor state and a segregated society. "My whole political philosophy is based on what works," he said. "Although not perfect, we always seem to be moving in the right direction."

Enumerating problems and accomplishments of recent years, the president appeared to be asking the American people for more time to put his ideas in place.

"Government is struggling to change," he said, "and I'm proud of the changes."

He said that Americans again are interested in moral values and "we do a better job of dealing with racial and ethnic diversity ... We have an environment that is cleaner and safer and healthier than it used to be. We still have the lead in many important areas that will determine the shape of societies in the 21st century... So there

CS PHOTO BY MICHAEL ALEXANDER



President Clinton speaks at Georgetown last week. At left is Jesuit Father Leo J. O'Donovan, the university's president.

is reason for hope."

To make things better, he said, "We've got to have this debate that is looming over Washington... We are now back to fundamental issues that were debated like this 50, 60, 70 years ago. Gun control, drug testing, welfare reform, AIDS research funding, affirmative action, and the economy were all among items mentioned by the president. He said already his administration has reduced the number of federal employees by 150,000, reduced regulations, and reduced "hundreds of programs." He pointed to the Small Business Administration as a "shining star" which "today has a budget that's 40% lower than it (was) when I took office, that's making twice as many loans..."

Clinton said political leaders have to offer "more conversation and less combat," and alternatives. And ultimately, he said, "Let us find a new, common ground."

Pope praises women's contributions in letter addressed to world's women

By John Thavis
CATHOLIC NEWS SERVICE

In a letter addressed to the women of the world, Pope John Paul II praised women's historic contributions as mothers, wives and social leaders, and said they need greater protection against persistent forms of violence and exploitation.

The letter, made public July 10, endorsed women's liberation as a substantially positive process that must go forward. At the same time, the pope said men and women rightly have a "diversity of roles" — in society

and in the Church — that reflect their complementary natures.

The all-male priesthood, for example, does not detract from the role of women and is not a sign of male domination, he said.

He condemned abortion as a grave sin, but stressed that responsibility for abortion can extend far beyond the woman involved.

The pope said his unprecedented letter was an attempt to speak "directly to the heart and mind of every woman" before the start of the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing in September.

Vatican officials expect tough debate during the conference over issues of abortion, gender difference and women's role in the family. The papal letter, however, avoided controversy and took a strictly positive tone.

It included thanks for all that women have done, an apology for the Church's failure to always recognize these contributions, and a condemnation of what the pope called the "long and degrading history" of sexual violence against women.

"The time has come to condemn vigorously the types of

Letter to women, page 12

Letter to women

From page 1

sexual violence which frequently have women for their object and to pass laws which effectively defend them from such violence," he said.

The pope then discussed rape and the questions it raises about abortion. He said the issue presents itself not only in cases of war but in permissive societies marked by "aggressive male behavior."

He praised "those women who, with a heroic love for the child they have conceived, proceed with a pregnancy resulting from the injustice of rape." Even in cases of rape, he said, the choice to have an abortion always remains a grave sin.

"But before being something to blame on the woman, it is a crime for which guilt needs to be attributed to men and to the complicity of the general social environment," he added.

The pope urged changes to make women's equality a reality in today's world, calling for equal pay for equal work, protection for working mothers, fairness in career advancement and equal family rights for men and women.

In various times and places, he said, women have been unacknowledged, misrepresented, relegated to the margins of society and even reduced to servitude. He said assigning blame for this is not easy, considering how people's attitudes are shaped by their culture.

"If objective blame, especially in particular historical contexts,

has belonged to not just a few members of the Church, for this I am truly sorry," he wrote. These shortcomings do not reflect the Church's teaching about women's equal dignity, he said.

"When it comes to setting women free from every kind of exploitation and domination, the Gospel contains an ever relevant message which goes back to the attitude of Jesus Christ Himself," who treated women with openness, respect, acceptance and tenderness, he said.

The pope said it is time to examine the past and look at how women have influenced the history of humanity.

"Women have contributed to that history as much as men and, more often than not, they did so in much more difficult conditions," he said. Often they were excluded from educational opportunities, underestimated, ignored or not given credit for their achievements.

While time has largely buried the evidence of women's contributions, humanity owes a debt which can never be repaid to this "immense feminine tradition," he said.

"Yet how many women have been and continue to be valued more for their physical appearance than for their skill, their professionalism, their intellectual abilities, their deep sensitivity," he said.

The pope emphasized that while the Church upholds the equal dignity of men and women, this does not translate into a "static and undifferentiated equality" between the two sexes. Men and women are complementary, and were created to help each other, he said.

St. Mar

From page 1

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Su

na Terman

Sometimes, it takes a letter to express the depth of love and respect you feel for another person.

That is what Pope John Paul II did with his letter to the women of the world, which the Vatican issued Monday.

He wrote it, he said, to speak "directly to the mind and heart of every woman" and "as a sign of solidarity" to women on the eve of the upcoming U.N. Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing in September.

The world's press in recent years has often painted women and the Church in adversarial roles. But the fact is, most of the workers and volunteers in the Church's outreach throughout the world are women. In the name of the Church, these women provide a sign of Jesus' love and healing in countless ways, every day of the year.

It would be naive and wrong to pretend that many women do not have difficult questions about the Church's teaching on issues like sexuality and the priesthood.

And in his letter, Pope John Paul II does not avoid these questions. He reaffirms that the Church's prohibition against abortion is based on the belief that every human life has God-given dignity and should be respected. He even addresses the agonizing situation of pregnancies resulting from rape. Aborting the unborn child "remains a grave sin" in that case, he said, but he said that before considering abortion as "something to blame on the woman, it is a crime for which guilt needs to be attributed to men and to the complicity of the general social environment."

Abortion, then, is not just a women's issue. It is a societal problem for which men bear an equal responsibility.

The pontiff also addresses the issue of ordination, saying that the Church must follow the example of Christ, who in the Gospel entrusted that ministry to men. But he noted that all people are called to a "common priesthood" of loving and serving as Jesus did, in a variety of ways. Pope John Paul II said authority in the Church, in the family and in society should not be seen as a question of

Pope's letter to women is must-reading for both sexes

an opinion by Mark Zimmermann

power or dominance, but as a way to serve others. He pointed to the example of Mary, who offered "a service of love." Her title of queen, said the pope, was a matter of service: "For her, 'to reign' is to serve."

Critics will pass off the pope's letter as rhetoric, because they think that Church teaching inhibits sexual freedom and obstructs women from equal ministerial roles. They will challenge the Church to practice what it preaches.

Helen Alvare, the U.S. bishops' pro-life spokeswoman, disagrees with critics who see women's equality only through the prism of abortion rights or of equal access to ordination. The Church's teaching on the dignity of all human life and the sacredness of marriage leads to true freedom.

And she has noted that many who promote women's ordination seem to think that is the only worthwhile role to play in the Church. Anyone who has been educated in the nation's Catholic schools or treated in its Catholic hospitals knows firsthand the vital roles that women play in the Church today. Most were founded by orders of women religious and continue to be staffed largely by women.

As to the question of the Church practicing what it preaches, Alvare has noted that the Catholic Church has the world's largest private network of schools and social outreach programs, all of which promote the dignity and equality of women.

In his letter, the pope said that the Church promotes women's dignity and equality because that is what Jesus did: "Transcending the established norms of his own culture, Jesus treated women with openness, respect, acceptance and

tenderness."

And Pope John Paul noted that God, in the act of creation, made woman not as a subservient being to man, but as an equal partner, each with different gifts and talents: "The creation of woman is thus marked from the outset by the principle of help: a help which is not one-sided, but mutual. Woman complements man, just as man complements woman... It is only through the duality of the 'masculine' and the 'feminine' that the 'human' finds full realization."

Throughout the document, Pope John Paul II praises the historic and everyday contributions of women, who he said have helped build "a civilization of love" throughout the world.

He personally thanks mothers, wives, daughters and sisters, women who work, and consecrated women. He notes that too often, women have been relegated to the margins of society, which has "resulted in a spiritual impoverishment of humanity."

The pontiff then apologizes for any role the Church may have played in this over the centuries: "And if objective blame, especially in particular historical contexts, has belonged to not just a few members of the Church, for this I am truly sorry."

Importantly, the pope makes eloquent statements on many different issues related to women. He decries sexism, saying, "Yet how many women have been and continue to be valued more for their physical appearance than for their skill, their professionalism, their intellectual abilities, their deep sensitivity; in a word, the very dignity of their being!"

Pope John Paul said that women must attain equality in society: "equal pay for equal work, protection for working

Letter to women is a challenge for both sexes

Opinion by Mark Zimmermann

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Pope John Paul said that women must attain equality in society: "equal pay for equal work, protection for working

mothers, fairness in career advancement, (and) equality of spouses with regard to family rights..."

The pope strongly condemns violence against women, and he praises the women's liberation movement for "defending the dignity of womanhood by fighting for their basic social, economic and political rights." He praised women for fighting for these rights, even when their advocacy was not considered to be feminine "or even (considered) a sin!"

He noted that in the Garden of Eden, men and women were called to transform the world, and he said that women have done just that, working selflessly throughout the centuries to help and serve others. He especially praised women's contribution to education, noting that "in this work they exhibit a kind of affective, cultural and spiritual motherhood which has inestimable value for the development of individuals and the future of society."

Throughout the document, Pope John Paul II praises the special gifts of women, which he refers to as the "genius of women." That genius has manifested itself not only in the lives of "great and famous women of the past and present, but also those ordinary women who reveal the gift of their motherhood by placing themselves at the service of others in their everyday lives. For in giving themselves to others each day, women fulfill their deepest vocation."

Alvare praised the pope's letter, saying it "affirms women in a huge variety of roles."

The pope's letter is addressed to women of the world, but it is important that both men and women read it. (See pages S1-S4). The issues of equality and human dignity that the pope raises are matters of concern for all people. Only when men and women truly recognize their shared, God-given dignity will they be able to transform the world into a "civilization of love."

That is at the heart of the pope's letter, written to the world's women — and men — from his heart.



Prize join hands June 25 at a symposium in San Francisco marking the 50th are Polish President Lech Walesa, former Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, y Williams and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa.

Father Kearns elected new superior general

CATHOLIC NEWS SERVICE

Father Robert M. Kearns, a Boston native who has been pastor of St. Pius V and St. Peter Claver parishes in Baltimore since 1983, has been elected superior general of the Josephites.

His election came at the general conference of the Josephite Society June 19-23 at St. Joseph's Seminary in Washington.

Father Edward J. Chiffriller, born in Woodside, N.Y., was re-elected as vicar general and Father Roger J. Caesar, a native

of Eunice, La., was re-elected as consultor general. Both were first elected in 1991.

The officers will direct the mission of the society for the next four years from the Josephites' headquarters in Baltimore.

Father Kearns has been actively involved in pastoral, social and ecumenical programs in the City of Baltimore, including Baltimore United for Leadership Development, which promotes better housing, and the Interdenominational Alliance of Baltimore.

In Washington, DC, the Josephites staff five parishes, Church of the Incarnation, 880 Eastern Ave., NE; Our Lady of Perpetual Help, 1600 Morris Rd., SE; St. Benedict the Moor, 320 21st St. NE; St. Luke Church, 4925 E. Capitol St. SE; and St. Vincent de Paul, 14 M St. SE.

Vatican to promote rights of women at U.N. conference

By Cindy Wooden
CATHOLIC NEWS SERVICE

Vatican efforts at the upcoming U.N. Conference on Women will focus on promoting the human rights of women and avoiding the imposition of a narrow feminist agenda on the international community, a Vatican spokesman said.

"In too many social and geographical contexts, the dignity of women is far from being fully recognized," said Joaquin Navarro-Valls, Vatican spokesman.

At a June 20 Vatican press briefing on the conference, to be held in Beijing in September, Navarro-Valls said women will be a majority on the Vatican's 20-person delegation, and the head of the delegation will most likely be a woman.

The names of the delegates are expected to be announced in August.

The U.N.'s draft document for the women's conference makes praiseworthy efforts to promote women's equality and protect their dignity, Navarro-Valls said.

However, the document also contains proposals on abortion, family issues and health care, which the Vatican sees as reflecting the agenda of a small group of feminists from industrialized countries, he said.

"The Holy See sees in this document an ideological pressure which seems to want to impose on women around the world a particular social philosophy belonging to certain sectors of the Western countries," he said.

The philosophy, Navarro-Valls said, ignores the natural differences between women and men, downplays or even degrades women's roles within the family and advocates universal access to abortion—even for minors without parental consent.

But combatting those ideas and proposals is not the Vatican's only aim for the conference, he said.

"Our agenda is very broad.

"For the Holy See, the point of departure for every consideration is the human dignity of women, which is the foundation of the concept of universal human rights recognized in the charter of the United Nations," he said.

Navarro-Valls said the Vati-

can is disappointed that in the draft document every reference to the equal dignity of women with men and their full sharing in the internationally defined set of universal human rights has been placed in brackets, meaning the preparatory committee could not reach a consensus on their inclusion in the document.

The Vatican is insisting that the term "universal human rights" is used in reference to women "to clarify that these go beyond the rights recognized by individual cultures. They are rights women are born with as persons."

The second item of the Vatican's agenda is support for the draft document's call to halt all forms of violence against women and girls "on the physical, sexual, psychological and moral level," Navarro-Valls said.

In addition to condemning domestic violence and rape, the Vatican is calling on the conference to condemn prostitution, violence against women as a weapon of war, genital mutilation or female circumcision, the killing of female fetuses and baby girls, "forced sterilization, forced contraception and pressuring a woman to have an abortion," the spokesman said.

He said the Vatican is also concerned that maternity and family life, major concerns for the majority of the world's women, are given "scarce attention and little space" in a draft document that is 120 pages long.

Navarro-Valls said the word family is used only five times in the document, and in three of those instances it is used in a negative context, such as in discussing domestic violence and pressures on young girls to leave school.

"The Holy See certainly shares the great attention given to the full participation of women in all the activities of social life. However, it is against all reason to think that this emphasis must cancel the unique role of women within the family," he said.

Being a wife and mother, he said, "does not exhaust all of the personal resources of a woman, but it is specific to her."

"The fundamental right to be mothers" must be legally guaranteed to all women, he said.

Charles

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He (anne)!

Editor's Desk

'Healthy' Choice?

What menu will be served to First Lady Hillary Clinton when she leads the U.S. delegation as honorary chairman to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing this fall? This conference looms on the horizon of a country which violates virtually every human rights agreement known to man — or woman. Hillary will be leading a "choice" delegation to promote a "choice" portion of the platform for action: abortion. But is this a "healthy choice"?

In the midst of preparing for the Beijing conference, a Hong Kong newspaper has revealed some disturbing allegations which just recently came to light in the U.S. The Rep. Frank R. Wolf (R-VA) wrote to three human rights groups and President Clinton requesting an investigation into reports that aborted fetuses are sold as "health food" in China by government-run hospitals and private clinics. The charges appeared in the April 12 issue of *The Eastern Express* in Hong Kong and its sister publication, *Eastweek*.

"Cannibalism is the word some would use to describe this practice," Wolf said. "Other appropriate words would be despicable, vile, immoral, inhumane and profoundly exploitive."

"The fact that the fetus sales are linked to government-run hospitals is something that we should be concerned about in light of China's strict one-child policy," he said.

According to the article, aborted fetuses are sold for about \$1.25 each. They are used as a cure for asthma and other common illnesses. One reporter was offered "fetuses that had reached full-term and which, it is claimed, contain the best healing properties." It was further reported that hospital cleaning women fought over the "treasured human remains."

Several Chinese doctors and human rights advocates in Hong Kong were quoted denouncing such use of aborted babies, but others spoke of the bodily healing they have received and even provided recipes for such consumption of humans by humans.

One 32-year-old doctor, who claims to have eaten more than 100 aborted babies in the past six months, attributes her well-preserved looks to a diet of fetuses. This doctor further explains that her sister's children were very weak, so she made them fetus soup. "I wash them (fetuses) with clear water until they look transparent white and then stew them. Making soup is best," the article said. She admitted that the stench can be a drawback and offered an alternative recipe of "meat cakes." She suggested mixing fetuses with trimmed meat, adding ginger and chives "to get rid of the smell."

Last year, the Clinton Administration decoupled the coveted Most Favored Nation (MFN) trade status from human rights. Thus, they can yield favorable trade activity with China while keeping blinders on human rights' violations. Will the administration retain these blinders as MFN status is reviewed this year?

China has been serving a number of inhumane entrees for quite some time — but this recent allegation takes the cake. What will this Most Favored Nation offer the First Lady in September? Perhaps "reproductive freedom stew" — the ultimate "choice" in abortion gourmet cooking. — M.F.F.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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WOMEN

Divider Title: _____

AID distributes 'tool kits' to build equality of sexes

Backs U.N. goal of 50-50 representation

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Taxpayers just paid for an Agency for International Development "tool kit" like no other. There's no hammer. If there were, it would be for nailing men.

As part of the "Gender in Economic and Social Systems" (Genesys) project funded by its Office of Women in Development, AID produced 3,000 "Gender Analysis Tool Kits" in glossy purple-and-green cardboard cases.

Production cost of these cases, nicely outfitted with Velcro fasteners and plastic handles: \$175,400, plus hundreds of thousands more to conduct research for the "tool kit" in such places as Bolivia and Burkina Faso.

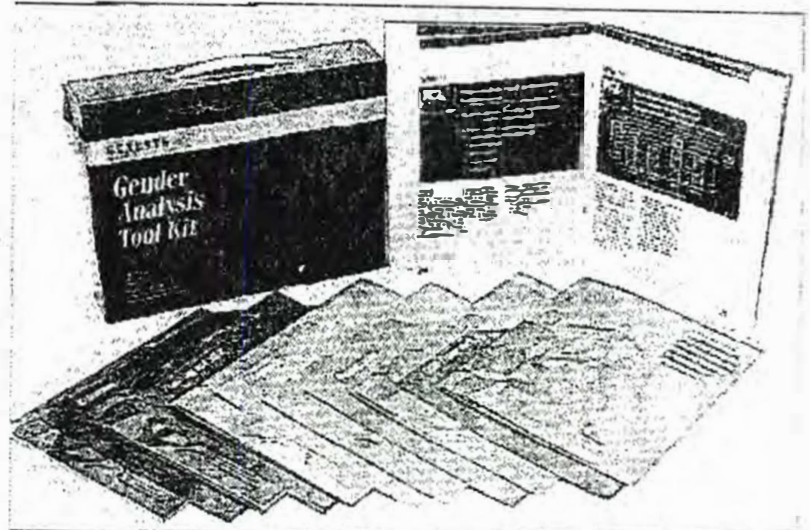
The kit and the effort that went into it support the United Nations' worldwide goal, spelled out in a platform for the Beijing U.N. Conference on Women, of 50-50 representation of men and women in all occupations, governments and diplomatic posts around the world.

The "tool kit" promotes methods to collect and analyze demographic data in foreign countries to determine the number of men and women in all sectors of the economy.

Inside the kit, one of the 10 booklet "tools" declares that a major aim of the project is to get policy-makers to think in terms of "gender differences" rather than "sex differences."

Promoting that distinction is also a goal of feminist groups and those U.N. leaders who prepared the "Platform for Action" for the much-discussed Beijing conference.

A slide show with the kit says "sex differences" are "biological -- unchangeable, universal" but "gender differences" are "cultural -- changeable, variable."



The Washington Times

AID spent \$175,400 to produce 3,000 copies of this "Gender Analysis Tool Kit," which supports equality by sex in all occupations.

A person's biological sex can be changed only "through the intervention of the most modern methods of medical science," the kit declares. "Gender differences, on the other hand, are culturally determined and enforced."

"They typically include virtually all aspects of the division of labor and distribution of resources based on cultural perceptions of differences in men's and women's natures, tastes, preferences, thought processes, physical characteristics and capabilities, and so forth..."

"Differences in men's and women's rights involve differences in the distribution of a society's rewards and resources."

The kit encourages development planners to focus on cultural factors in the division of labor and distribution of resources between men and women that "affect their chances for survival and long life."

Another booklet explains the importance of charting a country's cultural, social, religious and political conditions and laws that might be barriers to "gender" balance. The kit urges "policy interventions" and "intervention strategies" when needed to eliminate such barriers.

Cecelia Acevedo Royals, president of the National Institute of Womanhood, complained, "It certainly smacks of cultural imperialism."

"If the emphasis is to determine what barriers are there (to equal male-female representation globally), it is a tool in the imperialist aspects of the Cairo [population] conference and the [Beijing] women's conference."

Margaret Lycette, director of

Policy-makers are targeted to think "gender differences" rather than "sex differences."

AID's Office of Women in Development, was not available for comment. Howard Salter, an AID spokesman, said she has been involved for more than a year in preparations for the Beijing conference.

From June 1993 through January, Ms. Lycette's office gave \$1.6 million in grants to the United Nations and nongovernment organizations preparing for the conference, according to government records.

Mr. Salter said the AID "tool kit" was not directly tied to the women's conference. He said it was produced as "guidance for policy-makers in designing and implementing [foreign aid] development projects."

"It is a teaching, technical assistance device ... to look at how women can be positively accessed into the development arena." He said the kit is "just a micro-component" of "a very large project."

AID Director J. Brian Atwood has defended the "tool kit." But in a recent letter to Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman, chairman of the House International Relations Committee, Mr. Atwood said, "The expensive look and design of this publication was a mistake of over-enthusiasm

... and this glossy approach will never be repeated."

One "tool kit" booklet outlines household, employment and income data needed to evaluate "gender profiles" and trends in various countries, in order "to graphically depict sex imbalances for use in policy decisions."

The slide presentation instructs policy-makers "on the uses of sex-disaggregated data in identifying gender imbalances that may have implications for development activities."

One booklet, "Gender and Policy Implementation: A Tool for Assessment of Policy-Derived Impacts on Women and Men," includes "a low-cost rapid appraisal technique, originally developed for agricultural projects, for identifying gender-specific effects of macro-economic and sectoral policies and legal and regulatory statutes."

The slide show targets changes in population-control programs to achieve a better male-female population balance.

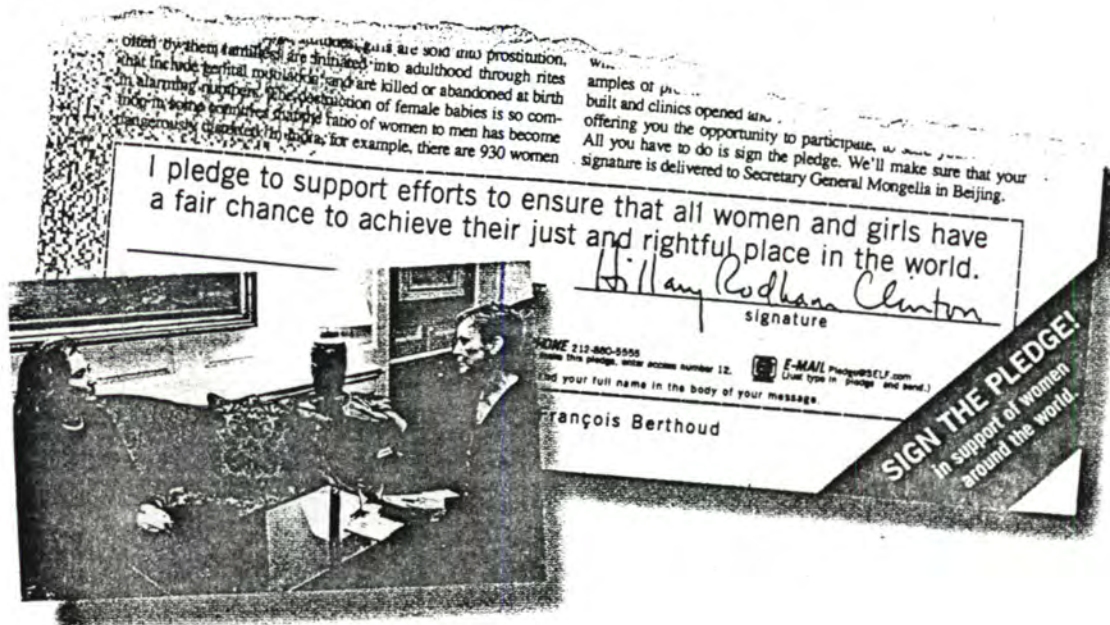
Citing Egypt, the slides note "that male dominance of household decisions is still strong in Egypt, but especially strong in [rural] Upper Egypt. These patriarchal gender relations also correspond with the areas where fertility rates remain too high for sustainable development."

"We can incorporate this knowledge into intervention strategies to help increase the demand for family planning services in the areas where they are most needed."

"If husbands are the main fertility decision makers, they should be the primary targets of family planning promotion programs."

Sign the pledge!

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and SELF Executive Editor Nancy Smith at White House interview. Do American women expect anything special from the Beijing conference? "Women I met around the world want for themselves and their daughters what I want for my daughter," Mrs. Clinton said, "a happy and fulfilling life." The First Lady signed the pledge, and you can too. Just turn to page 127, and send your support for women and girls everywhere to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.



You can make a difference—and you have! In the past three years, hundreds of thousands of SELF readers have joined together to support issues that are vital to women. Our first commitment was back in 1992, when we gave you the opportunity to send a message to the United Nations Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, where health concerns for women were a significant issue. We received more than 43,000 signatures from SELF readers, pledging to help save the Earth and make it a healthier place. We took them to the conference's Secretary General in Rio that June.

That fall, we vowed to make breast cancer awareness a primary concern for Americans. SELF originated the pink ribbon campaign, and with the help of partners from the beauty indus-

try, we gave away 700,000 ribbons and collected more than 250,000 signatures from women who wanted to encourage more funds for research and to promote breast cancer awareness. We presented every one of those signatures to Hillary Rodham Clinton at the White House in May 1993.

Now we're asking SELF readers and American women to show their support for women and girls worldwide. After a committee from the United Nations called on us to join the global conference on women in Beijing this September, we went to work. On page 126, you'll find a story by Executive Editor Nancy Smith on vital issues facing women today. Her first step in researching the story was to interview Mrs. Clinton. The First Lady was also the first woman to sign our pledge, which you'll find on page 127. Please sign it and mail it, fax it or E-mail it to SELF's Pledge for the Fourth World Conference on Women, 350 Madison Ave., 20th fl., New York, NY 10017. Or go to any Lady Foot Locker store, where you will find a pledge book to sign. (Call 800-877-5239 for the location nearest you.) Get your friends, families, coworkers or schoolmates to sign. We'll take the signatures to Beijing to show American women's support of women worldwide. *Together we can make a difference—and we will!*



Breast cancer: 250,000 signatures delivered to the White House in 1993.

A healthier world: 43,030 pledges delivered to the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

**43,030
PLEDGES**



Alexandra Penney
Alexandra Penney, Editor-in-Chief
Alexandra@SELF.com

a woman's place

Female infanticide is on
the rise in India and China.
Genital mutilation is
still practiced in the Sudan.
Too many girls in too
many countries are
forced into prostitution.
The Fourth World
Conference on Women
plans to change all that.

by Nancy F. Smith

In 1972, a small group of women in India joined forces to form the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA). Their goal was to help improve conditions for women holding largely invisible jobs as agricultural laborers, vendors, household workers and rag pickers. SEWA now has 143,000 members and is the country's leading women's organization. It has its own bank, which offers credit to women who otherwise could not get loans; it organizes cooperatives to support small businesses; and it provides job training, health insurance and legal aid. But the power comes from more than economic support. It comes from the community, from the sense of what they can accomplish if they work together. One day this past April, First Lady Hillary Rodham

Clinton paid a visit to the village where SEWA first began, and hundreds of these women gathered to tell of their experiences. Woman after woman stood up and, in a clear, even voice, said: "I used to be afraid of my husband" or "I was afraid of my mother-in-law" or "I was afraid of the police. I was always afraid. Now I am not afraid."

As representatives from around the world prepare to convene in Beijing, China, on September 4 for the last United Nations Women's Conference to be held in the twentieth century, they are faced with a classic good news/bad news story. SEWA is part of the good news. Today, more women have access to education, jobs, health care and legal protection than ever before in human history. Women have banded together in record numbers to promote their causes and the causes of their children. And the fruits of their labors have generated ample data demonstrating that when women are better off, families are better off; when women are educated, entire populations fare better economically.

Yet, the overall statistics on the status of women remain intransigent to the good news. In fact, the 1980s saw a decline in many areas where the previous decade had marked progress. In 1975, women were a third of the world's poor; today they remain a third. Women and girls still represent two thirds of the world's illiterate. And cultural traditions continue to bar women and girls in many parts of the world from education, from equal access to health care, and from full participation in economic and political life. In spite of efforts to change attitudes, girls are sold into prostitution, often by their families; are initiated into adulthood through rites that include genital mutilation; and are killed or abandoned at birth in alarming numbers. The destruction of female babies is so common in some countries that the ratio of women to men has become dangerously distorted: In India, for example, there are 930 women

for every 1,000 men, according to the 1991 census, and a 1993 study of five of China's provinces found a startling 800 females to every 1,000 males. By comparison, there are 1,050 women to every 1,000 men in the United States. This, in spite of three previous United Nations conferences. The first, in 1975 in Mexico City, launched the Decade for Women; the second, in Copenhagen, was held midway through the decade; and the third, in Nairobi in 1985, closed it. After three conferences, 20 years and three documents approved by representatives from 157 countries proposing to improve the position of women, the United Nations concluded that a fourth conference was necessary if meaningful change was to occur before the end of the century.

In Pakistan, women who report they have been raped are jailed for adultery. Only 20 women in 100 there can read and write.

This time, says Gertrude Mongella, Secretary General of the Beijing conference, it's not a question of what governments or institutions can do to help women. This conference is women working together to help women. "We want to put women center stage as the actors in their own drama," Mongella says. How to do that? Work from the grass roots up. Organize as SEWA did. And attack local problems first, with straightforward, simple solutions.

The home birthing kit, for example. It is manufactured by a group of women who run a small health clinic in Nepal. It includes a plastic sheet for the mother to lie on during the delivery, a bar of soap for the midwife to wash her hands, a piece of twine to tie off the umbilical cord, a small wax disk to place the cord on for cutting and a clean razor blade to cut the cord. This rudimentary kit will save hundreds, perhaps thousands, of lives in one of only three countries where the life expectancy for women is shorter than for men. Women raised the money to manufacture and distribute the kits. Women got the requisite approval from the government. And it was women who set out to educate the expectant mothers on how to use it.

The United Nations Conference, of course, has an agenda of proposals it would like to see incorporated into a plan of action. Member nations will negotiate ways to improve the status of women in areas of health care and education and politics and human rights; they will look for ways to exploit the power women have always had in protecting the environment; and they will try to promote ways to protect women from violence, both domestic and institutional.

But the real accomplishments will be achieved by the women who attend the conference, who bring with them hundreds of examples of problems solved in their own communities, of schools built and clinics opened and businesses started. That's why SELF is offering you the opportunity to participate, to send your support. All you have to do is sign the pledge. We'll make sure that your signature is delivered to Secretary General Mongella in Beijing.

I pledge to support efforts to ensure that all women and girls have a fair chance to achieve their just and rightful place in the world.

print name

signature

MAIL SELF, 350 Madison Ave.,
20th fl., New York, NY 10017

FAX 800-228-SELF (-7353)

PHONE 212-880-5555
To make this pledge, enter access number 12.

E-MAIL Pledge@SELF.com
(Type in the pledge and send.)

Please include the entire text of the pledge and your full name in the body of your message.

illustration by François Berthoud

SIGN THE PLEDGE!
in support of women
around the world.



Richard Harwood

Women: A Status Report

Like many American journalists, especially those of my age and gender, some aspects of "feminism" are not my cup of tea.

Still, even the hindmost among us recognize that there is not a great deal to envy in the lives of hundreds of millions of women on this earth. In the poor regions of the globe, drudgery, disease, mistreatment, malnutrition and short life spans are the lot of men and women alike but especially of women. Their work, as our sainted mothers told us, is never done.

The media in such places as the United States have made stock figures of harassed young women who must juggle careers, motherhood and household responsibilities. Their traditional roles as homemakers and primary parents are combined with the need to be breadwinners and income producers in order to maintain living standards their families need or desire. Their work week, measured in hours, is 20 percent longer than the work week for men. And women in these households bear the prime responsibility for child care, devoting three times as many hours to "parenting" as their husbands.

In the "less developed countries," according to the Population Council, the work week for women is 30 to 40 percent longer even without the presence of children. For example, during their "reproductive years," women in Kenya work 51 hours a week, on average, compared to 33 hours a week for men. In Java, the standard work week for women is 77 hours and for men about 45.

Millions of other women—unmarried, divorced, abandoned or widowed—must do it all. There are roughly 8.5 million single-parent households in the United States in which children under age of 18 are present. For every man living alone with children in our country, seven women are in that circumstance, the majority living in poverty by the government's definition. Many of these women are unmarried; many of them are teenagers. They bear the brunt of social disapproval for all the critical social problems associated with children born out of wedlock and living in fatherless homes. They are at the heart of most of the angst and oratory surrounding "welfare."

The unmarried boys or men who fathered these children get far less of the opprobrium and interest of politicians and the media. There are desultory and usually ineffective efforts to force fathers to contribute to the financial support of their children. But beyond that little attention is paid.

A lot of this is "cultural." Fathering a child supposedly is "macho," a sign of virility. In Jamaica, the Population Council reports, young men often express their desire for a woman by saying, "I think I'll give her a baby." The same thing happens here. But these "macho" characters rarely pay the price. It is the girls and young women who wind up with the responsibility, not only for raising the children but for providing through welfare checks or their own labor the income needed for survival.

This problem is more acute in the United States than in many if not most of the countries in the world. About 28

percent of all children born in the United States in 1991 were born out of wedlock; among blacks, the figure was 68 percent. The Population Council reports that in 1980 the percentage of "nonmarital" births in Asia was less than 1 percent; in Africa, 4.8 percent; in Latin America, 6.5 percent. More recent data are not available.

Divorce is another phenomenon that places far heavier burdens on women and their children than on men. For every 100 marriages in our country, 55 end in divorce, the highest divorce rate found in any developed country. When divorce occurs, women in overwhelming numbers get the children and lose much of the financial support they and the children need. "The wife's income," the Population Council says, "declines substantially (24 percent in the United States, 44 percent in Germany), while the husband's income declines only slightly (6 and 7 percent, respectively). A longitudinal study of family income and poverty rates in the United States between 1983 and 1986 found that among children whose father left the family during the period of the study, family income fell 37 percent in the immediate aftermath of the separation. Poverty rates among children rose from 19 percent to 36

"For every man living alone with children in our country, seven women are in that circumstance ..."

percent; average family income among these children fell to 59 percent of that of children two-parent families."

Men are not responsible for all the marital problems of the world nor all of the problems associated with child-rearing, labor sharing and the production of income. In many societies fathers are discouraged from doing more out of a belief that "this is not gender-appropriate behavior." Even in the United States, the council notes, the modern "new father" who seeks a bigger role in parenting "may create conflict in families, communities and workplaces in which such behavior clashes with embedded beliefs about appropriate paternal roles." Two studies of American families found that "most mothers did not want their husbands to become more involved with their children, although the majority of fathers wanted to do so. . . . A kind of vicious circle has developed in which men are presumed incompetent, accept the verdict and neither seek nor are given a chance to overcome their presumed incompetence."

We have just observed another Father's Day in America. That occasion does not ordinarily inspire greater consideration of our proper roles within our families or greater consideration of the status of women in the world and in our lives. But it probably ought to.

Guest Opinion

by Mary Ellen Bork

The problem with secular humanism

Mary Ellen Bork, who recently served as the acting director of the Catholic Campaign for America, earlier this month received an honorary degree during commencement exercises at the Franciscan University of Steubenville, Ohio. Bork, a member of St. Ann Parish, is a founder of Women Affirming Life, a national organization that encourages Catholic women to speak on life issues. She received an honorary doctorate in Christian letters for her efforts to bring Catholic social teaching to the public debate on social issues.

Also at the ceremony, Archbishop Agostino Cacciavillan, apostolic pro-nuncio to the United States, received an honorary doctorate of jurisprudence for his efforts to foster unity and understanding between the Holy See and the Catholic Church in America.

The following is excerpted with permission from Mrs. Bork's commencement address:

The dominant culture today is in the hands of the '60s generation which has come of age and now holds tenure in many universities and leads the major institutions of our society — the universities, the media, some churches, and political parties, the arts. They have been seduced by and embraced secular humanism, and it is crumbling beneath them while they continue to promote it.

The problem with secular humanism is that it sees nothing beyond this world without references to the transcendent. (According to this view,) the world is all energy and matter that is not going anywhere, so we can just make up our own values as we go. Secular humanism is bankrupt both intellectually and morally. It is bankrupt intellectually because it denies that reason can know the transcendent and denies the foundation of intellectual and moral life. It is impossible by reason alone to reach moral truth.

The realization that this venture of secular humanism has collapsed is the reason so many philosophers claim that there is no truth. Denial of the existence of truth is moral relativism and leads to immoral behavior as every man and woman decides for themselves what is moral. Only revelation can provide the first principles from which moral reasoning must begin.

The need to defend the moral vision that is the foundation of civilization is the task at hand. As you choose your careers and further study, you will also be engaged in the cultural struggle defending our ability to know the truth and the freedom that comes from following it. Like St. Francis we will be countercultural in our choices and in our fidelity to the Gospel.

The Church used to be the driving force of the culture of the West for two centuries. Now the dominant culture is in the control of those who are hostile to religion and to the best way of seeking the common good. It is faithful Catholics who make up the counterculture. Our challenge is to live our faith courageously without the cultural supports that used to be taken for granted.

The dominant culture is hostile to traditional authorities, the family, community, private organizations and religion. Thus, we will be coerced into virtue, as mod-

ern liberals define virtue." For them it often means radical individualism, doing my own thing, acting spontaneously and not being confined by traditional morals or even traditional ideas of gender. The most preposterous ideas are asserted as truth.

At the U.N. Conference on Women, they are discussing gender in a most untraditional way, asserting that there are not two genders, male and female, but five. Gender is a continuum: male and female as polar opposites, and in between, homosexuals, bisexuals and transsexuals. There is even a book with a gender color wheel counting 11 genders. The many degenerate ideas which secular humanism spews out have to be answered by witnessing to the "truth about man" which is at the center of the Catholic tradition. Shaped by that tradition, you are well equipped to defend a civilization of truth based on love, the best environment for human beings and families to grow in.

Being countercultural is not as difficult as it may first appear, and I am not a heroine. My husband (Judge Robert Bork) and I lived through his nomination to the Supreme Court and the political war that broke out against him. As with many challenges in life, it was something we could not directly prepare for, but we came through it well.

Bob's position on the Constitution and on many issues were well-known and not widely shared by the left liberals who control the dominant culture. They organized a fierce political attack on Bob, his views and judicial opinions, the like of which had never been seen before against a judicial nominee.

In the three months between President Reagan's announcement and the hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee, the left organized a whole network of groups including the civil rights coalition and many black churches, spending more than \$30 million. Press coverage, especially on the evening news, during the days of the hearings was 100% negative. In the mornings before we left the house, we would pray the psalms together. We would leave the house, and the press who had camped out on the curb would leap forward and batter him with questions.

I watched and admired his equanimity and balance during those difficult days. Because he understood clearly the nature of the political attack against him and the role of a judge as one who is not political, he was able to be strong and non-defensive as the opposition ranted. We came out of the experience much stronger and not bitter...

How do you build on the positive, appealing, truthful, Christian vision of life you have seen and heard here?

I have found that the habits of prayer and reflection and action that I learned in my youth and that were fostered in college continue to help me to this day to deal with large decisions and with life's unexpected challenges. Prayer keeps us open to God.

The habit of acting on the truth enables us to become free persons, free in the deepest sense of living to the fullest measure our capacity as human beings with a sense of purpose, not winging our way through life following merely our own desires.

These countercultural habits, otherwise known as virtues, will equip you to continue to grow as a person and achieve great things.



Women Of The World

In case you are ever on *Jeopardy* and you're asked to name the most equal place on earth for women, here's your response: "What is the Seychelles?" Yes, this tiny nation of about 115 islands off the east coast of Africa has a parliament that is divided almost exactly fifty-fifty between men and women.



How did I find out about the surprising Seychelles? Recently I was invited to breakfast with Madeleine Albright, our Ambassador to the UN. Over coffee and muffins, Ambassador Albright talked about the Fourth World Conference on Women, set to take place in Beijing in September. I took away a packet of material filled with statistics about women. Since this is Women's History Month and March 8 is International Women's Day, I thought I'd let you know that even though women are better off—healthier, better paid, more literate—than they were a decade ago, more progress needs to be made. Except in the Seychelles.



I had to find out more. I called the Seychelles' Ambassador to the UN. A man! "But my boss is a woman," he said cheerfully. "My boss has always been a woman," he said, maybe not quite as cheerfully. Long distance, I spoke to his boss, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who told me that it is "government policy to promote equality for women. It is a real commitment by the government. When there is a real commitment, it happens." She also told me that when

she is in the United States she always notices that there are far more men than women at financial and governmental meetings. "I always think that is most unfortunate."

I know at the conference in Beijing there will be a lot of discussion about problems. But I also know women can be extraordinarily resourceful at finding solutions. Maybe we should start by looking at what's happening in some unexpected places.

MYRNA BLYTH
Editor-in-Chief

THE WASHINGTON POST

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1995 C3

Women

I thought this was great - exactly in line with the Cairo document, too.

New World Daughters

How Parents Raise Boys and Girls Differently and Why It's Wrong

By Judy Mann

WHEN MY daughter was 11, I realized that as much as I'd written about what happens to girls in schools, in their homes, and in the culture at large, I had no idea what I could do to help my own daughter. I have spent the last four years researching what happens to girls, and I have come to a number of conclusions that bear directly on today's welfare reform debate.

Perhaps most critically, I concluded that we will never change the

have you believe otherwise, teenagers are not all sex-crazed. In fact, it's more likely that the culture is sex-crazed and teenagers are trying to resist it. Almost universally, they tell researchers that they wish they had waited until they were older to have sex. In one study, nearly a quarter of the teenagers—boys as well as girls—said they believed in abstinence before marriage.

But the emphasis we place on feelings in girls, on their interpersonal skills and on their ability to care for others is precisely what sets them up to succumb to sexual overtures by boys. They usually regret it later.

Proof of this is found in a study by Marion Howard and Judith McCabe, who asked more than 1,000 sexually active girls 16 years of age or younger what topic they most wanted to have more information about. Abortion? Masturbation? AIDS prevention? None of the above. Instead, a whopping 84 percent of the girls checked this item: "How to say no without hurting the other person's feelings."

Parents can help their daughters through the messages they give about what they value in their families. If we stress the importance of boys and being popular, that tells our daughters that we value the social agenda. If we praise our daughters' school efforts, instead, that helps establish a different priority.

Parents can also help their daughters by coaching them to set boundaries. This means giving girls the sense that they are entitled to question boys' behavior and to say things such as, "Why do you think it's all right to do that?" Or, "How do you think that makes me feel when you do (say) that?" Or, "No, stop, it's not all right."

The goal is nothing short of changing the image in boys' minds of

both to fall back on stereotypical patterns of girls doing things for boys, such as cleaning up.

■ *Don't let boys get away with interrupting girls.* Encourage girls to talk and boys to listen. Tell girls to speak out if they feel no one is listening.

■ *Don't cosset daughters.* Encourage them to be rough and ready and independent. Don't be too ready to help them. Encourage daughters to take risks, and let them learn to fail.

■ *Praise girls for their talents and abilities, not just their hard work.* Instead of telling a girl, "you worked hard," tell her, "Gee, honey, you were great!" Learn to visualize her as a scientist, a college professor, a community leader.

■ *Expect girls to do as well in math and science as boys, and encourage them to take the highest, hardest levels of math and science.* Stress to them the usefulness of these courses in gaining access to high-paying careers.

■ *Encourage girls to form study groups with their pals and to take the challenging math and science courses with friends.* Daughters who are crossing gender lines into "male" territory in school need support just as we mothers did when we crossed gender lines in the workplace.

■ *Encourage your schools to treat boys' and girls' athletic endeavors equally, by deglamorizing the macho sports and elevating the status of female athletes and girls' teams.*

■ *Teach sons that promiscuity is equally debasing for boys and girls.* Don't wink or smirk at media reports of promiscuous sexual activity, whether it is high school athletes or adult celebrities.

The pattern in America has always been that boys' lives expand, while girls' lives are constrained. To break this pattern, girls should be given more freedom





BY ADLAIN YOGHAIL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

outcome for girls until we change the way we raise boys. We need to break the false sense of entitlement—at the expense of girls—that boys have, and we need to break the equally destructive cycle in which we raise girls to be “nice,” submissive and deferential.

This cycle of entitlement and submission plays a powerful role in a range of problems plaguing American society, including teenage violence, teenage pregnancy, wife battering and the costly sexual harassment suits that haunt the business community.

The irony for conservatives who have fought a rear-guard action for 20 years against women's rights is that the surest way out of the welfare state they rail against is to raise girls with the same range of opportunities and possibilities that boys have. This is the best inoculator against teenage pregnancy that we know of, the best vaccine against welfare dependency we have.

Though the hand-wringers would

Judy Mann is a Washington Post columnist and author of "The Difference: Growing Up Female in America" (Warner Books).

more reflective about their own sexual desires. This is where mothers, who can remember very well what it is like to be a teenage girl, can make an important contribution by talking to their sons about the need to respect girls and women. Mothers need to tell their sons what it feels like to have to cope with the double standard in which boys who are sexually active are looked up to for being studs and girls are looked down on for being sluts.

There are some other things we can do to promote mutual respect between boys and girls and to encourage self-reliance in girls:

- *Have boys do things for girls, such as getting them a drink or fetching a book.* The point is to have girls feel entitled to ask boys to do things for them and to develop in boys the capacity to do things for girls, as opposed to expecting girls to wait on them.

- *Encourage boys to be emotional and to be socially and interpersonally sensitive and responsive to others.* Men who cannot express their emotions can turn to violence.

- *Encourage boys and girls to be friends and to do things together, but keep a wary eye out for tendencies by*

and opportunities in everything from athletic endeavors to schoolwork and to out-of-school activities such as summer camps that specialize in sports and computers. Encourage girls to take internships in nontraditional fields.

Girls who are centered rather than man-centered, who are valued for what they can do rather than how they look, who have a vision of a self-reliant and independent future rather than a life of domestic or welfare dependency will have the confidence to make choices that will promote their own success. If the choice comes down to hurting themselves or hurting someone else's feelings, girls who have practiced these skills and who have a clear eye about what is at stake will place their own welfare first. They will feel entitled to do that.

Welfare reform has to be viewed as a two-step process: what we should be doing with people who are on welfare now, and how to keep a new generation of teenage mothers and their babies from going on the rolls. No matter what Congress and the Clinton administration do to address the first stage, we will never succeed in creating long-term, systemic welfare reform until we raise girls to believe that their ticket to happiness, security and success is to be found in themselves, and not someone else. They need to understand that the main task of adolescence is to become the most competent and accomplished person they can be, with a full range of possibilities open to them of what life has to offer.

Self-reliance is not a conservative or a liberal value: It is one of the most cherished values in American culture. We need to nurture that quality in our daughters, just as we do in our sons.