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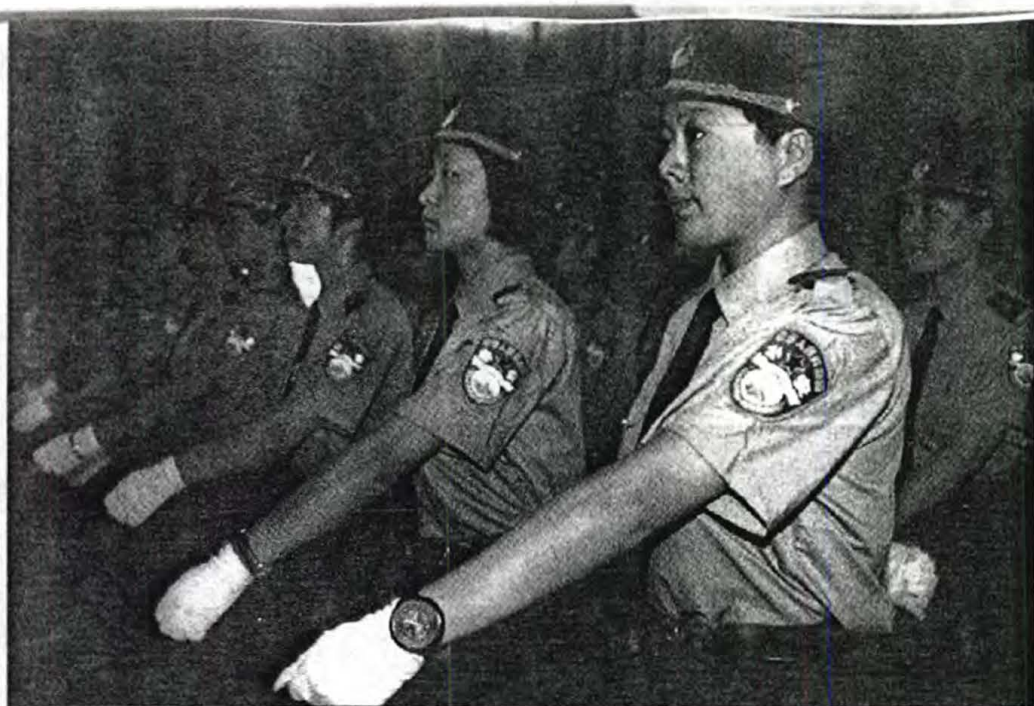
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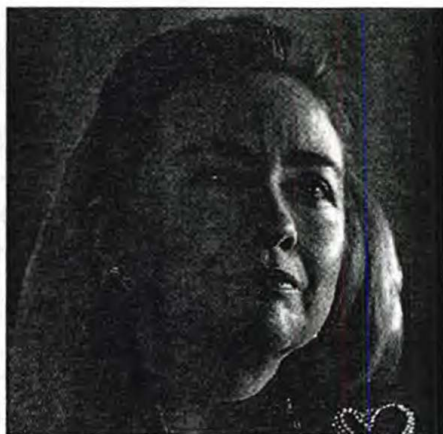
Will Beijing create its own worst nightmare? Policewomen train for U.N. conference duty

Making It Hard on Hillary

China: Worries over her trip to a women's summit

A HUGE HANDPAINTED BANNER HANGS across the highway outside Huairou, China: "Expect Everything Will Turn Out As You Wish." Don't count on it. More than 25,000 delegates to the unofficial part of the Fourth World Conference on Women will start arriving in Huairou this week, and this muddy town 90 minutes outside Beijing is probably not what they expected at all. Even the shirtless workers erecting circus tents in the center of town don't think they'll be ready in time. Several buildings don't have electricity yet. The "residential sites" are little better than marine barracks, with five beds to a room, plus a rickety fan. "Motel 6 is better than this," said a Western diplomat on an inspection tour.

China exiled the nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to this obscure town precisely to avoid trouble. Instead, Beijing may end up creating its own worst nightmare: a big group of angry feminists with some particular gripes about China. Ironically, that's Hillary Clinton's big concern, too. As honorary chairman of the U.S. delegation, she hopes to attend the official part of the United Nations conference beginning Sept. 4. But China's mishandling of the NGOs—coupled with the fact that they're planning to put Chinese-American human-rights activist Harry Wu on trial for espionage—has put Mrs. Clinton in a delicate position. She received a letter last week from Wu's wife, begging her not to attend, and that has made the decision even more



'Almost perfect pitch': The First Lady

agonizing. "China couldn't have handled this more poorly," says Tim Wirth, under secretary of state for global affairs. "On issue after issue, they seem to be thumbing their noses at the international community." China's ongoing war games off the coast of Taiwan have only heightened the tension. White House sources say Hillary will probably end up going, but if the Chinese start harassing delegates while Hillary's in town, the result could be a major foreign-policy embarrassment.

Privately, some administration officials are exasperated at how the Clintons have waffled over Hillary's plans. "They should have decided this weeks ago, and stuck with their decision," says one foreign-poli-

cy aide. But publicly, the White House is trying to play down the significance of China's role as conference host. Since the U.N. is sponsoring the conference, they say, Hillary's presence has nothing to do with bilateral relations between China and the United States. She won't be meeting any Chinese leaders, and there won't be any embarrassing photo ops. Last week senior foreign-policy aides met with Hillary to lay out the pros and cons of attending, and the pros were pretty strong. At a U.N. population conference in Cairo last year, Vice President Al Gore managed to forge strong compromises on abortion language. As the head of the U.S. delegation, Hillary will be more than an ornament.

In fact, the Beijing women's conference is right up Hillary Clinton's alley. Questions like women's poverty and the rights of girl children, both centerpieces of the two-week talkathon, are genuinely close to her heart. A big United Nations conference has the cachet of high-level international politics, but it's still an acceptable extension of the milk-and-causes role of a traditional presidential wife. For the women at the conference, Hillary Clinton is an out-and-out heroine. "Women of the world want to get a look at her," says Joan Dunlop of the International Women's Health Coalition, which is sending a large delegation to the conference. "She has almost perfect pitch on these issues. Women genuinely admire her."

Denying visas: China couldn't have known what this conference would entail when it bid five years ago for the honor of being host. But last March, hard-line prime minister Li Peng was heckled by unruly NGOs at a U.N. conference in Copenhagen. The Chinese government has denied visas to a handful of NGOs focusing on Taiwanese and Tibetan causes, and thousands more applicants have met with bureaucratic delays, but it's probably already too late to avoid at least a smattering of demonstrations. One Latin American group wants to stage a "mock vote" in favor of Chinese women's rights; an Australian NGO plans to lay flowers in Tiananmen Square to commemorate students killed in the 1989 democracy movement. "The question is not whether to demonstrate, but how," says a member of the Australian group. Western diplomats in Beijing say they're preparing—just in case—to negotiate the release of jailed delegates. Welcome to China, Mrs. Clinton.

CARROLL BOGERT with KATHARINE CHURBUCK in Beijing and KAREN BRESLAU in Washington

MARY McGRORY

First Lady's Dragon Dilemma

Should she? Shouldn't she? Will she, won't she? That's what the Fourth World Conference on Women has come down to, a question of Hillary Clinton's attendance. Fifty thousand women are due in Beijing at some time between Aug. 30 and Sept. 15, but she's the one who matters.

The question can be argued up one side and down the other.

For those who say that the conference is about women's rights and just happens to be in China, and is, in any case sponsored by the United Nations, Hillary Clinton's participation is mandatory. If she is a no-show, she will let women down. She will miss an opportunity to show solidarity with her sisters around the world, to delineate the issues in a way that only a wife and mother can. The Conference on Women is in Beijing only because China was the only country to bid for the logistically challenging event.

No-go has passionate adherents as well. The United States has a high-powered delegation of three women Cabinet members—U.N. Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright, Health and Human Services Secretary Donna E. Shalala and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Carol M. Browner. They will go no matter what. If the first lady, who is honorary chairman of the delegation is a no-show, she is sending a message that would be stronger than any speech she could deliver.

Her absence would say that the United States finds Chinese behavior unacceptable. It is not just the arrest and detention of Harry Wu, the U.S. alumnus of China's abominable jails. It is the way the government treats women. Coerced abortions, coerced birth control, keep women in a state of humiliation and subjugation. Recently, through a BBC documentary, we have learned of a policy toward worthless girl children. In government orphanages, the babies are starved to death.

If Hillary Clinton were to decline the hospitality of such a country, who could criticize her? For once, the United States would be putting human rights first. Despite our stated policy, we never seem to find just the moment to proclaim its paramountcy in our foreign policy. Sometimes it is trade—conspicuously in the case of China—or joint maneuvers or proliferation that gets in the way. But the absence of the president's wife could not be misinterpreted: It would tell the Chinese to drop dead.

The first lady is dying to go. Her staff is praying that Beijing releases Harry Wu or

makes some other conciliatory gesture before she makes her final decision. She loves speaking to and for women. Her April tour of Asian countries was a triumph. She was a sensation with women of Third World countries, and a return to global splendors might compensate for a post-election slump.

Life has not been much fun for the bright, ambitious woman who dreamed of being co-president. She writes a column that has not caught on. She saw her friends and aides hauled up before a Senate committee, watched them squirm and contradict each other. She has had her credibility questioned at an inquiry into her financial dealings. A trip abroad and a little adulation might lift her spirits.

The administration does not like to discuss the politics of Hillary and the dragon. The State Department officially has no opinion. At a conference on the Women's Conference at the Freedom Forum, Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, who lost her congressional seat in November and now serves in the State Department as deputy chair of the conference delegation, told some 20 women from the media and various nongovernmental organizations that "for us to go there and judge—it is essentially wrong." Most of the women seemed to agree with the idea that a "tidal wave" of women bursting over the Chinese capital would be bound to have an effect on the hidebound overlords. But Mary Meehan, a freelance writer and contributor to the conservative Catholic weekly, "Our Sunday Visitor" begged to differ. "This is one of the most brutal human rights violators in the whole world . . . and to go there and pretend it's not happening . . . to consider it a matter of etiquette not to mention this. . . ."

Meehan said she thought Hillary Clinton should not go unless she is willing to speak out on behalf of China's repressed women—"she should not lend herself to a pretense."

But can Hillary Clinton go over there and tell off the Chinese, eyeball to eyeball? This is an extraordinarily touchy group. Look at them crosswise and they go ballistic. And how would the women of China fare? Would they be arrested for applauding or maybe speaking in praise of a Hillary-gram to their oppressors?

And would Hillary Clinton get in more hot water at home? If she spoke like that she would be the Voice of America. She would be accused of her old transgression from health care reform days—taking too much on herself.

Hard Choice for White House On Hillary Clinton and China

By TODD S. PURDUM

A1

JACKSON, Wyo., Aug. 16 — Of all the powerful people in the White House, there is probably no one — not even the President — to whom aides less like to say no. So Hillary Rodham Clinton's strong wish to lead the American delegation to the United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing next month has prompted much hand-wringing among senior diplomatic officials who are not sure she should go.

The geopolitics are plain enough: should the most prominent woman in the United States lend her presence to a conference on women's rights that happens to be held in a country with an abysmal record on human rights — especially when China is holding the American human rights advocate Harry Wu on espionage charges and Chinese-American relations are rubbed raw.

The domestic politics are clear, too: Congressional Republicans are chomping to seize the issue as an example of the mishandling of foreign policy by Mr. Clinton, and to accuse him of coddling dictators as he once accused George Bush of being too soft on China. House and Senate leaders have called for an American boycott of the conference.

The office politics are murkier: knowing Mrs. Clinton's desire to lead the charge on an issue that has long concerned her, Administration officials, including the President in his news conference last week, have studiously avoided saying no, and some are ambivalent about the risks and benefits involved.

For her part, Mrs. Clinton argues — as she did in a speech to a women's group in Denver last month that her aides took pains to fax to a reporter today — that the conference is "an important opportunity to focus attention on women." She said that the American delegation should "play a very big leadership role in shaping the agenda" and that "the United States should do all that it can to make sure that barriers to women's participation are broken

Aides to the First Lady insisted there was no "drop dead date," but they acknowledged pressure to make a decision soon, since Mrs. Clinton would leave for Beijing from V-J Day commemorations in Hawaii over the Labor Day weekend, and perhaps visit Mongolia, Cambodia and Thailand as well.

On Monday, Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher and the deputy national security adviser, Samuel R. Berger, met separately with Mrs. Clinton to go over the pros and cons. Aides to both the First Lady and the President said today that Mrs. Clinton would rely on their judgment in making her final decision.

Moreover, at least some officials outside the First Lady's staff have

A proposed visit to Beijing causes much hand-wringing.

argued that Mrs. Clinton's visit could be good for Chinese-American relations in the long run. Winston Lord, the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs and former Ambassador to Beijing, switched his vacation plans to be available to escort the First Lady.

"We believe this is an important conference," a State Department spokesman, David Johnson, said at a news briefing in Washington today. "It's a conference that's not about China, it's about women. We believe the reasons for going are compelling."

But the matter remains complicated, balancing the enormous attention Mrs. Clinton would win among the 50,000 delegates and reporters at the conference with practicalities as particular as the fate of one man.

Over the weekend, Mr. Wu's wife, Ching Lee, wrote the First Lady, imploring her not to go to the conference. Mrs. Clinton has not yet replied, but officials said there was general agreement that it would be extremely problematic for Mrs. Clinton to attend if Mr. Wu remained in custody.

At the same time, these aides said the Administration was determined not to link Mrs. Clinton's decision too closely to Mr. Wu's fate, or to the status of Chinese-American relations in general, but to the mission of the conference.

"It's a very delicate issue, and it is complicated by a number of factors," a senior Administration official said.

Washington will be well represented at the once-a-decade conference in any event. The United States representative to the United Nations, Madeleine K. Albright, is the official head of the American delegation,

which includes the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Donna E. Shalala, and former Gov. Thomas Kean of New Jersey. Mrs. Clinton would be the honorary chairwoman.

Both Speaker Newt Gingrich and the Senate majority leader, Bob Dole, have opposed American participation in the conference, and House Republicans sought in vain to block funds for the delegation's travel.

Officials said today that if she went, Mrs. Clinton would most likely stay in Beijing one day, address the conference, spend the night and then move on, holding no meetings with Chinese Government officials or dissidents to emphasize that she was attending an international conference, not honoring the Chinese.

But among the Administration's concerns is that however brief her stay, Mrs. Clinton could easily become embroiled in disputes or demonstrations by the various delegations at the conference, and that her visit would almost certainly be interpreted by the Chinese as a sign of American nonchalance about its human rights record.

In the end, officials said, the First Lady will simply have to weigh all the factors.

"It really is a call that there is almost no other way to make than on the merits," a senior official said.

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down, and that training and credit and political involvement and health care and education are available to all women."

As the Clintons began the first full day of a 17-day vacation in the Tetons this morning, the official word from the White House was that there was no official word. Unofficially, senior Administration aides in Washington gave slightly conflicting status reports.

Some in the West Wing and the State Department said the current plan was to wait a few more days to see if Mr. Wu might be released, before making a decision by next Monday, which they described as the last realistic point at which the logistical arrangements for such a trip could be made.

Hillary Clinton to Defer Decision On China Trip Until 'Last Minute'

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton has a "passionate desire" to attend an international women's conference in China in three weeks, but has put off a decision "until the last minute" on whether to go because of Beijing's detention of a prominent human rights activist, officials said yesterday.

The first lady is eager to attend the conference because of her lifelong involvement in women's issues and the opinion of feminist leaders and others that her attendance would put a much brighter media spotlight on problems of health, education and human rights encountered by women.

But a spokesman said she has agreed to follow the guidance of the president's national security team, which has strong misgivings about the trip absent progress in the case of Chinese American activist Harry Wu.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher and deputy national security adviser Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger both met with Hillary Clinton late Monday to outline "the major diplomatic minuses and possible pluses" of a trip to China, a senior official said.

The result, the official said, was, "We decided to lay low until next week to see if they [the Chinese] make any moves on Harry Wu or in the human rights area."

Prominent in pressing the Chinese on human rights issues, Wu was arrested when he entered China on June 19 and has been held since despite repeated U.S. efforts, public and private, to get him released. Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff will renew that push, and discuss other issues, during a visit to China for talks Aug. 24 to 27, the State Department announced.

The Fourth World Conference on Women, sponsored by the United Nations, opens in Beijing and its suburbs on Labor Day. Last week a team of aides to the first lady made an advance trip to China and to three nearby countries, where side visits are possible, to make what are always complex arrangements when a first lady travels overseas.

Republican leaders in the Senate and House, and some administration officials, had strenuously argued in favor of a U.S. boycott of the conference or, at the very least, withholding attendance by the first lady. They cited the detention of Wu and the signal that U.S. participation would send of lack of concern over Wu and of overall human rights abuses in China.



HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

... wants to go to women's conference



WARREN CHRISTOPHER

... wants China to free activist

A senior administration official said that Hillary Clinton had "made clear her desire" to attend the conference, but a spokesman for the first lady, Neel Lattimore, said she would accept the advice of the State Department and National Security Council in finally deciding. "You have the conference and all the issues involved that are of great concern to her, and you have the situation with Mr. Wu. Ultimately, the decision will be made by the NSC and State Department, but no decision has been made yet," Lattimore said.

Besides the Wu case, some advisers and outside specialists argue that China, with its policy of using mandatory sterilization and abortion and its history of human rights violations, make it the wrong place to hold a conference on women's rights attended by the United States. They also note that the current low period in U.S.-Chinese relations is the wrong time for an American of Hillary Clinton's prominence to attend.

Robert Manning, a former State Department official who specialized in China, said that "a strong case could be made" that China would construe a visit by the first lady as a "sign of U.S. indifference" to human rights and as a sign of overall U.S. weakness. He said neither was a message that the United States should be sending now.

That could occur, he said, despite the counterargument that the U.N. conference has nothing to do with China and that "the dynamics of U.S.-China relations" should not enter into participation in a conference that just happens to be held in China.

One domestic adviser to the White House also suggested that with the first lady trying to play down her policy role, and the administration as a whole trying to emphasize its centrist—not liberal—bona fides, such an association by Hillary Clinton with prominent U.S. feminists might not be politically productive.

The conference and a simultaneous forum on similar issues for nongovernment organizations are expected to draw more than 40,000 attendees. They are to feature some of the most prominent Democratic activists for women's rights including Bella Abzug, a former congresswoman who is heading a coalition of nongovernment groups, and Geraldine A. Ferraro, a former Democratic vice presidential nominee, as members of the U.S. delegation. The delegation is being headed by U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine K. Albright.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) and Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) have opposed U.S. participation in the conference. A group of Republican House members tried unsuccessfully to deny U.S. funding for the travel and other costs of U.S. delegates going to China.

Some strong Democratic critics of China's human rights record who are also women's rights advocates, such as Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.), have argued that advancing the full agenda of women's rights around the world and involving the United States in promoting those advances are too important to cancel participation because of the location of the conference.

If the first lady goes, she is also considering traveling to Cambodia, Thailand and Mongolia as a way of focusing attention on countries that are making progress in women's, children and family issues and are "struggling" toward democracy. Such visits are seen as a way of offsetting a China visit, aides say.

As to the issue of whether Americans were used as Unit 731 guinea pigs, Sam Grizzle, deputy information director at the Pentagon, said Friday: "Nobody has ever come up with solid evidence. But that doesn't mean we're not interested in seeing it."

Grizzle conceded that much of the material that could provide proof that Americans were experimented on by Ishii's unit is now in Japanese archives. "And Japan doesn't have a Freedom of Information Act like we do," he said.

But the Mukden survivors have found a new ally Jesse Brown, the secretary of veterans affairs, who recently fired off a letter to Defense Secretary William Perry, asking him finally to seek the truth about Mukden.

If the former prisoners' charges are true, Brown said, "We must not only express our indignation ... but take immediate and thorough steps to properly reach out to the survivors."

"I hope you would agree with me that it would be equally outrageous for the government to modify or temper its actions to spare former officials and current interests the shame associated with the perpetration of these acts and efforts that may have been taken to conceal them."

8/15/95

Women's conference organizers try to head off conservative religious threat to agenda By Rachel L. Jones Knight-Ridder Newspapers

WASHINGTON Across America and around the world, conservative religious criticism of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, scheduled to start in Beijing later this month, grows steadily by the day.

Groups like Concerned Women for America, the Catholic Campaign for America and the Christian Coalition have flatly condemned the conference as being "dominated by radical feminists."

"In the name of equality, development and peace, this Beijing conference will be a taxpayer-funded promotion of abortion, lesbianism and other left-wing crusades, such as disarmament, radical environmentalism and socialism that have nothing to do with helping women," Beverly La Haye, president of Concerned Women for America, stated in a recent press release.

And internationally, the Vatican and conservative Islamic leaders are threatening to challenge the conference agenda in a stormy replay of last September's U.N. development conference in Cairo.

But that doesn't mean the nearly 50,000 activist and government delegates to the Beijing meeting should throw in the towel, a group of religious scholars said here Monday.

"The conference will attempt to develop an interfaith perspective of population growth and women's human rights," said David Devlin-Foltz, deputy director of the Pew Global Stewardship Initiative, a Washington policy group that urges religious involvement in population and environment issues.

In an effort to answer religious critics of the conference, the group organized a telephone press conference Monday with five religious scholars who plan to travel to Beijing.

"We see the risk of the conference agenda coming under fire at Beijing as certain groups try to distort the platform," Devlin-Foltz said. "This could dangerously threaten the potential of progress for women and families around the world."

Because interpretations of women's rights often vary with cultural and religious norms, the Beijing melting pot could well boil over.

Many observers say that's just what happened at last September's U.N. International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo.

The Cairo conference is praised for its inclusion of women in developing policies about population control, economic and environmental development. But religious conflicts over birth control and other women's issues were at center stage.

By all accounts, the Vatican led the charge. Catholic representatives objected to language in the official Cairo conference document that used phrases like fertility regulation and reproductive rights, arguing that those words foreshadowed a move toward abortion on demand.

And though recent conciliatory missives from the pope, denouncing violence against and reaffirming the dignity of women, calmed the waters somewhat, delegates believe Rome's influence will be felt again in Beijing.

"We can expect that the Vatican will use Beijing as a platform against abortion," said Christine Gudorf, professor of religious studies at Florida International University in Miami. There will be continued objections to condom use and artificial versus natural contraception, Gudorf said, even though Catholic teaching urges couples to make wise choices about family size based on resources.

"There's a strong internal tension between a relatively recent desire to recognize the dignity of women but a need to portray them as instrumental roles in traditional families without recognizing their challenges," Gudorf said.

But viewing the Vatican's position through the lens of contraception or abortion rights is wrong, an American Catholic spokesperson said Monday.

"The Catholic Church's position about women's issues resonates so deeply with so many women around the world that it's hard to make it sound so narrow," said Helen Alvare, planning director for the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in Washington.

The Catholic Church is the No. 1 provider of education and health care in the world, Alvare said, and understands that you can't just offer a woman contraception and magically transform her life. "That's offering her a false freedom and a lie, instead of support and encouragement."

If religious conservatives are expected to fight for what they believe in at Beijing, so are leading liberals who also were heard clearly at Cairo.

(EDITORS: NEXT 2 GRAFS OPTIONAL)

Pakistan's prime minister Benazir Bhutto was sharply criticized in her home country for her participation, but she was very vocal about the need for family planning and reproductive freedom.

Norway's prime minister Gro Harlem Brundtland drew rousing applause from delegates when she said "morality becomes hypocrisy if it means accepting mothers ... dying in connection with unwanted pregnancies and illegal abortions, and unwanted children living in misery."

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In Cairo, 180 nations agreed that population control was an urgent issue that cuts across all political and national boundaries.

But while they agreed that women must help solve the problem, some Islamic countries split over how they should participate.

"The emancipated woman is seen as a negative force in many Muslim countries," said Riffat Hassan, chair of the religious studies department at the University of Louisville. "Many of the notions espoused in Cairo were seen as westernized, and said to lead to promiscuity, the breakup of the family, drugs and violence."

Even the basic issue of who owns a woman's body was debated among some Muslim delegates, Hassan said. Muslim women must struggle with these basic issues before

U.N. Documents Inequities for Women as World Forum Nears

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

UNITED NATIONS, Aug. 17 — The last two decades have seen advances in the education and health of women around the world, yet hundreds of millions of women in both rich and poor nations are still significantly undervalued economically, denied access to political power and kept down by crippling inequalities under the law, according to a report released today.

"We hear and we say that life is unfair, but what this report shows is that life is dramatically unfair to women," said James Gustave Speth, administrator of the United Nations Development Program, which commissioned the study.

Seventy percent of the world's poor are women, and women and children make up 80 percent of its refugees and a disproportionate number of the casualties in dozens of small-scale wars.

"Violence stalks women's lives, in peace and in war," the report says.

Violence in personal relationships is a universal fact, according to the report. Women's groups from every region of the world are demanding that some concrete action on this issue be taken in Beijing next month at the Fourth World Conference on Women, said Barbara Arnwine, executive director of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, based in Washington, D.C.

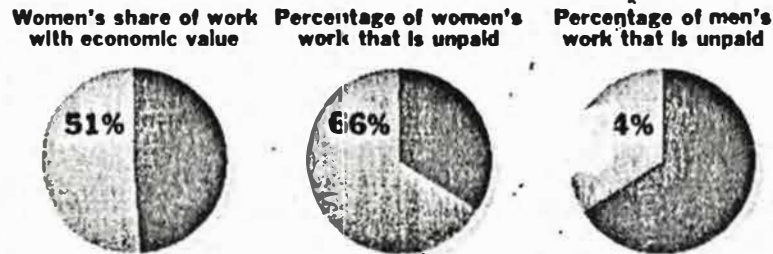
Workshops about violence at regional sessions preparing for the China conference have been packed to overflowing, said Ms. Arnwine, who will lead a delegation predominantly composed of African American women to the conference.

Madeleine K. Albright, the chief American representative at the United Nations and the leader of the United States' delegation to Beijing, said in an interview that protection against domestic violence and the human rights of women in general,

DISPARITIES

Women's Work, Women's Worth

Though women make up half the world's population, a study released yesterday by the United Nations Human Development Program found that women still have far to go before achieving parity with men in 13 industrial countries studied.



Sources: United Nations Development Program, United Nations Population Division

The New York Times

along with their need for economic security, are among the issues she will emphasize at the conference.

While there has been a lot of disparate, anecdotal evidence available, the new study attempts to pull together "in a rigorously analytical way" as much quantitative information as possible to make international comparisons, Mr. Speth said in an interview.

"It is very apparent to everyone in our country offices around the world — 135 of them — that the advancement of women, the involvement of women in decision-making, is a critical developmental factor," said Mr. Speth, a founder and former president of the World Resources Institute who is now the highest-ranking American in the United Nations system.

The study is the sixth annual Human Development Report to be prepared by independent experts for the development agency. Each year the report, which ranks 174 nations

on a range of social and economic factors, also chooses a different theme for special attention. This year it focuses on the status of women, and it was timed for release before the conference on women, which is held once in a decade.

"The key finding is that gender gaps in human capabilities — education, health — have been halved in the last two decades," Mr. Speth said. "There have been huge increases in the capacity of women, including in the Arab states. But when you go on beyond the preparatory phase of life, women overwhelmingly still lack access to economic and political opportunities. They are effectively shut out of the higher reaches of economic and political leadership and decision-making."

The report says that worldwide, women have only 14 percent of top managerial jobs, hold 10 percent of national legislative seats and six percent of cabinet-level positions.

Only in the Nordic countries, led by Norway, have women reached the level of 40 percent or more in government ministries, in large part because of strong affirmative action policies, the study concludes.

The United States, which is given the world's second-highest overall human development ranking in this report, after Canada, falls to fifth place when income and health disparities between men and women are taken into account. Sweden, Finland, Norway and Denmark all move to the top. If women's access to political and economic power is factored in, the United States falls to eighth place.

Two areas of the report's findings are expected to draw special attention in Beijing: the economic undervaluation of women's work and the legal barriers women face.

On the economic value of women's work, Mr. Speth said that the report looked at 31 countries at various stages of development and concluded that "if you take into account both the uncompensated work women do and the wage discrimination against women, you come up with a figure of \$11 trillion."

In studying the way the laws of various countries treat women, the report's findings were somber.

Among the examples of legal discrimination mentioned were laws that prohibit women from traveling abroad without male permission. In Botswana, Chile, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland, women are under the legal guardianship of husbands and have no property rights.

"The starkest reflection of the low status accorded to women in societies everywhere is the discrimination against them in law," the report said. "Unless such legal barriers are removed, no progress can be made toward equal rights."

Women Face 'Global Glass Ceiling,' U.N. Says

Annual Study Reports an Absence of Equal Opportunities Around the World

By A. D. Horne

Washington Post Foreign Service

Despite decades of progress in health and education around the world, women still face a "global glass ceiling," a new U.N. report indicates.

The sixth annual Human Development Report, published yesterday by the U.N. Development Program as an "analytical backdrop" for next month's U.N. Women's Conference in Beijing, calls for "a new world order that would embrace full equality of opportunity between men and women as a basic concept."

The report, compiled by a team of economists led by former Pakistani finance minister Mahbub ul Haq, marshals pages of statistical data to show that "in no society do women enjoy the same opportunities as men."

The United States, which the report ranks second only to Canada in overall human development—an index combining health, education and real purchasing power per person—is rated fifth, behind Sweden, Finland, Norway and Denmark, on a new scale that reflects "gender disparities" in 130 countries. And the U.S. ranking slips to eighth—behind the four Nordic countries, Canada, New Zealand and the Netherlands—on a third index that assesses countries' "empowerment" of women in government and business.

"There has been tremendous progress in education and health for women around the world in recent decades," said James Gustave Speth, the U.N. development agency's administrator, in a telephone interview. "But then they hit this glass ceiling."

According to the report:

- Among the developing world's 900 million illiterate people, women outnumber men 2 to 1. Girls constitute 60 percent of the 130 million children without access to primary school.

- Of 1.3 billion people in poverty, 70 percent are women.

- The average female wage is three-fourths of the male wage in the nonagricultural sector in 55 countries with comparable data.

- In developing countries, less than a seventh of the administrators and managers are women.

- Around the world, women occupy 10 percent of the parliamentary seats and 6 percent of the cabinet positions.

The report includes what Speth called "the first concrete estimate" of worldwide economic discrimination against women—"not only unpaid work, but also underpaid. When you add it up it comes, very crudely, to \$11 trillion, about half of global economic output."

To help close these gaps, the report calls for a campaign to ratify and carry out the 1979 U.N. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Although 139 countries have ratified this charter, 41 U.N. members have not signed it; six signatories, including the United States, have not ratified it; and 43 others have attached reservations or conditions to their ratification.

The report also proposes forming a non-governmental monitoring group to "focus on key instances of unequal laws, unequal wage rates for equal work and social or legal indifference to violence against women."

One of the report's most urgent recommendations is for an explicit commitment to bring cases of "mass rape and torture of women" before an international tribunal: "It is intolerable that the use of mass violence against women as a weapon of war . . . is not considered a war crime."

On the positive side, the report notes that "female life expectancy has increased 20 percent faster than male life expectancy over

the past two decades" and that "in adult literacy and school enrollment, the gaps between women and men were halved between 1970 and 1990 in developing countries." It lists examples of steps to give "more choices to women and men in the workplace":

- "In Finland starting in 1990, parents could choose between two alternatives: after a 12-month maternity leave, either parent can stay at home until the child is 3 years old, with monetary compensation and job guarantees. Or the community must arrange for child care" for working parents.

- "Since 1976, Finland has allowed parents children under age 4—and Sweden parents of children under age 10—the right to shorten their workday by two hours."

- "Germany and Japan have devised 'flex-time' practices to enable their workers to combine their family needs with production schedules."

- "Sweden has separate taxation for part-time and full-time work to increase after-tax earnings for part-time work."

- "In Zambia, an income tax amendment was introduced in 1987 allowing women to claim child allowances and deductions on their insurance contributions—and removing some tax discrimination against women."

Speth, a former president of the private World Resources Institute, said his U.N. agency from now on "will evaluate every action in terms of its impact on the advancement of women."

As for the United Nations' record on the subject, Speth conceded, "I think we have a way to go." The agency he has headed since 1993, he said, has adopted "essentially affirmative action policies which we want to use to move forward to establish gender equality. . . . I know UNICEF [now led by former Peace Corps director Carol Bellamy] has a similar policy."

tackling areas like education, economics and health.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN END HERE)

One scholar characterized religious opposition to the conference as rooted in the misinterpretation of one term: women's empowerment.

"Some American Christians may be afraid of the word empowerment and are associating it with radical elements," said Susan Power Bratton, professor of science technology and culture at Whitworth College in Spokane.

"But by meeting the basic needs of women worldwide, we are empowering them to take charge of their own lives."

Albright Defends US Role at China Conclave

REPUBLICAN lawmakers are as enthusiastic about sending an American delegation to the upcoming United Nations women's conference in China as they are about hurricane Felix. One reason: China's abysmal human rights record.

But at a Monitor breakfast yesterday, the head of the United States delegation to the fourth UN Conference on Women, UN Ambassador Madeline Albright, said boycotting the conference to punish China could prove counterproductive.

"It's ironic to think that a conference about human rights would be boycotted because of human rights," Ambassador Albright said.

Far from legitimizing China's human rights practices, she says, the conference could become a bully pulpit for delegates to criticize human rights viola-

WASHINGTON

tions in China and other countries.

"We're not going there to limit our freedom of speech," says the UN envoy. "Nothing will stop the delegates from speaking out on human rights."

Albright says a series of UN women's conferences dating back to 1975 has heightened the salience of women's issues.

At a different level, providing a forum for women to discuss common concerns has had the effect of breaking down the isolation felt by millions of women. Albright compares the conferences to the historic first visit of Pope John Paul II to Poland in 1979, which drew huge crowds, catalyzing latent discontents with decades of communist rule.

"There has been a sense of isolation before," she said. "There is a certain bonding aspect to this."

- George Moffett



Chester Higgins Jr./The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton addressed the "Women and the United Nations" conference in New York yesterday.

Hillary Clinton Asks U.N. to Do More for Women

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

UNITED NATIONS, March 14 — Today, for the second time in a week, Hillary Rodham Clinton came to speak to a United Nations gathering, this time about the condition of women's lives within this organization as much as in the world at large.

But this time, invoking the spirit of Eleanor Roosevelt, who was a delegate to the General Assembly, Mrs. Clinton offered the most spirited American defense of the United Nations that this gloomy headquarters has heard from Washington in a long time. Today's conference, "Women and the United Nations," was dedicated to Mrs. Roosevelt's memory.

"Any time when full economic, social and political opportunities for women too often remains an elusive goal," Mrs. Clinton said, "we should commend the United Nations for inviting serious discussion of the unique obstacles confronting women in every country, rich and poor."

Mrs. Clinton, who last week spoke at a United Nations conference on world poverty in Copenhagen, leaves next week for a solo trip to South Asia.

There she wants to see projects like the Grameen Bank, which loans money to rural women without col-

lateral in Bangladesh, and other self-help organizations for women in business and crafts. She will also make at least two substantive speeches on social topics, in Pakistan and India, where women face many impediments and traditional prejudices. Sri Lanka and Nepal are also being considered as stops.

In the summer, she will be the honorary chairman of a delegation planning American strategy for the fourth international conference on women, to be held in Beijing in September. Her staff said it is too soon to say whether she will go to Beijing.

The World Summit for Social Development last week made an impression on her, Mrs. Clinton said today.

"I and many others came away from Copenhagen convinced that we must work harder for ways to open opportunities for women," she said. Her overwhelmingly female audience today applauded when she added that United Nations headquarters, where only 15 percent of the officials are women, needed to improve its record.

Mrs. Clinton also drew laughs from the enthusiastic crowd in the Trusteeship Council chamber when she recalled how Mrs. Roosevelt,

noting an "obsession with rule-making" among her male peers, would show her displeasure and impatience by knitting in General Assembly sessions.

Mrs. Clinton is not the first President's wife to venture alone into an international arena. Jacqueline Kennedy made a number of trips abroad, also including one to India while her husband was President. Rosalyn Carter still travels with former President Jimmy Carter on his troubleshooting missions from North Korea to Haiti, sometimes in an active advisory role.

At a time when the United Nations is under fire on Capitol Hill, Mrs. Clinton came to the defense of the series of international conferences the organization has been holding, from the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 through Copenhagen.

"With Beijing on the horizon, issues historically dismissed as unimportant may now be understood in a larger context," she said.

"The United Nations must play a leadership role, and must play a role by example," she said. "Every program, policy and decision that emanates from this building directly or indirectly affects women, as they raise their children, manage households or work at their jobs."

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Hearing probes U.S. role at Beijing women's forum

By Carol Innerst
and George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Amid the rising voices opposing U.S. participation in a women's conference in Beijing, Congress holds a hearing today.

"It's kind of ironic to pick China for a women's conference," said Rep. Bill Goodling, Pennsylvania Republican and a member of the House International Relations subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights,

which will hear 12 witnesses discuss the controversy surrounding the Sept. 4-15 conference.

"The U.N. and some do-gooders would say if we go there, we can change their human rights. . . . You're whistling 'Dixie' if you think going there can improve human rights in China."

For this week, China's most-favored nation trading status comes up for a vote in Congress, so the hearing should "stir up the wa-

ters before that takes place," he said.

Mr. Goodling, who is chairman of the House Economic and Educational Opportunities Committee, said he doesn't think the United States should participate in the Beijing conference, and he likely will vote against continuing China's special trading status.

Rep. Christopher Smith, New Jersey Republican and chairman of the International Relations subcommittee, also opposes U.S. participation in the conference.

"He believes it is entirely inappropriate to be having this conference [in Beijing] given China's horrendous record on human rights and oppression of women through coercive population control, and the arrest of Harry Wu," said Michael Pauley, press secretary for Mr. Smith.

"It's entirely inappropriate for the U.S. to be sending a delegation . . . while China holds a U.S. citizen in captivity. Proceeding as if nothing wrong sends the wrong message."

Meanwhile, a high-profile professional group issued a report on the conference saying the goal is "elimination of sexual apartheid" — the male domination of women through traditional family and economic structures.

"The mandate of the 1995 Beijing conference is to accelerate the process that formally began in 1975" with International Women's Year to bring about "the emancipation of women" through equal representation in governmental, corporate, diplomatic, and religious leadership positions, says a report by the Washington-based American Society of International Law (ASIL).

The report, "The Elimination of Sexual Apartheid: Prospects for the Fourth World Conference on Women," was written by Rebecca J. Cook, a law professor at the University of Toronto and member of the ASIL's six-member advisory committee, under a grant from the Ford Foundation.

The report supports proposed language on gender in a 124-page draft platform for the Beijing conference.

The language, not yet approved, "moves from a sex-neutral norm that requires equal treatment of men and women, usually measured by how men are treated, to one that . . . allows women to question the way in which laws, cultures and religious traditions have constructed and maintained discrimination against women," the report says.

A small group of countries, including Benin, Guatemala, Honduras and Malta, object to the "gender" terminology, the report notes.

Mercedes Arzu Wilson, a Guatemalan delegate, said she opposes the terminology because she sees it as an attempt by socialist feminists to obtain international sanction for homosexual, bisexual and transexual orientation on an equal basis with traditional heterosexual behavior.

Cecilia Royals, president of the National Institute of Womanhood, who will be testifying at today's hearing, said she plans to call the committee's attention to the status of motherhood in the conference document.

"I'll be suggesting to the chairman that this document is hostile to motherhood," Mrs. Royals said. "Motherhood is an experience of at least 90 percent of the women worldwide and certainly 90 percent of U.S. women. In the document, motherhood is trivialized and reduced to the non-essential tasks that some mothers do."

GOP leaders urge withdrawal from U.N. women's conference

Say U.S. participation wrong while China holds Wu

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Congressional Republican leaders yesterday asked President Clinton to cancel plans to send a U.S. delegation to a U.N. women's conference Sept. 4 to 15 in Beijing.

"In our view, it would be wholly inappropriate to participate in any international conference in the People's Republic of China while an American citizen is being unjustly detained by the Chinese government," House Speaker Newt Gingrich and Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas said of China's jailing of human rights activist Harry Wu.

Mr. Wu, who went to China on a U.S. passport with a proper Chinese visa, was arrested June 19 and charged last week with illegally obtaining state secrets on a previous visit to China.

At the White House, aides to President Clinton said the administration still plans to send a mission to Beijing. But the aides expressed doubt that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton would go.

Mrs. Clinton has been named honorary chairman of a planned 102-member U.S. delegation to the Beijing conference. Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, and Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala will head the delegation.

"It remains undecided," White House spokesman Michael McCurry said of Mrs. Clinton's involvement.

At a luncheon with editors and reporters at The Washington Times, Alice Rivlin, the president's budget director, said she knew of no plans or discussions to scuttle U.S. participation in the Beijing conference.

The GOP congressional leaders, joined by the chairmen of the foreign affairs committees of both chambers, said Mr. Wu "has undertaken heroic efforts to expose Chinese human rights abuses."

"For almost two decades, he suffered from the ravages of China's prison system. Today, Harry Wu is



"Today, Harry Wu is once again subject to China's closed prison system, and there are concerns about his health and safety."

— GOP leaders' letter

once again subject to China's closed prison system, and there are concerns about his health and safety," the GOP leaders said.

In their letter to Mr. Clinton, the leaders cited the U.S. boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as "ample precedent to deny American participation in international events which only accord prestige to regimes which deserve condemnation."

"Accordingly, we urge you to announce the United States government will not participate — at any level or in any fashion — in the upcoming United Nations Conference on Women as long as Harry Wu is detained in China," the letter said. "Anything else would send a tragic signal of disregard for the human rights of an American citizen."

Earlier this week, Mr. McCurry said Mrs. Clinton's participation was being viewed in light of recent Sino-American problems.

"It had not been decided even prior to some of the more rocky developments in the bilateral relationship between the United States

and the People's Republic. There will be many factors weighed by the first lady's staff and by others here at the White House before any decision is made on that," he said.

Mr. McCurry called the conference "an important international gathering" that has resulted in a "great deal of planning by our own nongovernmental organizations already and a great deal of expenditure of funds by them and by the U.S. government that would allow the delegation to make its trip to Beijing."

On Wednesday, Mr. Gingrich, Georgia Republican, told The Washington Times that the House might cancel federal funding for the U.S. delegation. But yesterday other Republican leaders said they were unaware of such plans.

Rep. Sonny Callahan, Alabama Republican and chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee on foreign operations, said he did not think Congress could stop the administration from using fiscal 1995 funds to pay for the delegation's travel expenses.

• Paul Bedard contributed to this report.

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Hill

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Regulatory Reform, OK—but the Meat Ax?

Shortsighted effort puts public health and safety at risk

The Senate this week is grappling with a regulatory issue that can make the eyes glaze over. But all Americans should be wide awake on this one, for it could affect their very lives every time they board an aircraft, eat a hamburger or swallow a pill and could alter the quality of air and water. Involved are bills that, to differing degrees, would curb the authority of federal officials to issue and enforce regulations. The measures would do so by compelling agencies to balance the social benefits of rules against the potential costs to business and the economy.

The basic notion of such cost-benefit analysis—as fuzzy as that science may be—is not bad. Business people have justifiably complained of regulations that are costly to comply with and bring scant benefit to the environment, public safety or health. Indeed, President Clinton two years ago ordered cost-benefit analyses and risk assessments for any new rule costing more than \$100 million a year. But some in Congress want more. They are seeking to roll back decades of environmental progress by tying regulators up in costly red tape, litigation and delay.

ENORMOUS EXPENSE: A bill co-sponsored by Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan.) and Sen. J. Bennett Johnston (D-La.) is competing with a more moderate one by Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio) and Sen. John H. Chafee (R-R.I.).

Both embrace the cost-benefit concept. But the Dole bill applies to rules costing \$50 million a year, while the Glenn bill maintains the current, higher threshold of \$100 million. The Dole bill also gives excessive petition rights to industry to attack existing rules that fail a cost-benefit test and automatically repeals any rule not given quick review by regulators. The Glenn bill gives more flexibility to agencies and limits possibilities for outside judicial review.

The White House estimates the Dole bill would cost \$1.3 billion a year and require 4,500 new federal

employees to implement. That may or may not be true, but it would certainly become a full-employment act for lawyers, inviting a flood of legal challenges to rules. And it would even require risk assessment before chemical companies had to tell the public about toxic emissions and probably would cause long delays in cleanup of toxic waste sites.

Both bills beg many questions. Who would do the cost-benefit analyses and required outside peer reviews? How would disagreements among experts be resolved? How would costs be balanced against intangible benefits, such as being able to see the Hollywood Hills or the San Gabriel Mountains from the Los Angeles Basin?

DOLE BACKPEDALING: The Dole bill is so extreme that it probably cannot muster the votes needed to close a filibuster threatened by Democrats or override a probable veto by Clinton. Facing this, Dole has begun to compromise. The Senate Tuesday agreed both to raise the threshold to \$100 million and state that the law should not be construed as overriding other health, safety and environmental laws. Major environmental organizations have given tacit support to the Glenn bill by not opposing it, and we give it not-so-tacit backing—if it can be amended to address the questions raised here. The big problem is that the House has passed a totally unacceptable version that imposes a \$25-million threshold and other noxious conditions that are a real and present danger to American health and safety.

Conservatives have tapped into real public resentment over federal rules. But it will take only one incident in which *E. coli* bacteria poison scores of people or bad prescription drugs kill hundreds of old people or babies to create a fierce popular backlash against their reduce-government revolution. The Glenn bill has the potential to help solve the problem of burdensome regulation without axing important public safety protections.

Gingrich wants women's parley moved

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

AI

GINGRICH

From page A1

House Speaker Newt Gingrich said yesterday the United States should try to move the late-summer United Nations conference on women out of Beijing and warned that the House might cancel funding for the U.S. delegation, to be led by first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

"I think that that may well happen," Mr. Gingrich said.

His criticism of the Beijing government was blunt and straightforward, shorn of diplomatic reticence. He repeated his suggestion that the United States should recognize Taiwan as an independent nation.

He said he was appalled by a dispatch in yesterday's editions of *The Washington Times* that State Department officials have warned Americans planning to travel to Beijing against taking Bibles or participating in religious ceremonies or meetings once in China.

"If the State Department is actually saying it's dangerous to take a Bible, then we clearly should move immediately to move the U.N. conference," Mr. Gingrich said.

Mr. Gingrich once more expressed outrage at the treatment of Harry Wu, an American citizen and advocate for human rights who was arrested last month when he arrived in China with a valid visa. He was finally charged this week with espionage.

"I think what they've done with Harry Wu is totally unacceptable," he said in a wide-ranging interview with editors and reporters of

see GINGRICH, page A6

The Washington Times.

"I just think the idea that we have to go and subsidize a dictatorship while warning our own people that you may be at risk by exercising normal human rights makes a total mockery [of the United States]."

Ching Lee Wu told reporters yesterday that Mrs. Clinton should refuse to attend the conference to protest her husband's arrest. The first lady has been invited to address the United Nations International Women's Conference and is the honorary chairman of the U.S. delegation.

Mr. Wu, 58, was accused of espionage Saturday.

He was detained June 19 when he entered the country at a remote checkpoint from Kazakhstan with a valid entry visa and U.S. passport. Chinese authorities held him for more than three weeks before allowing U.S. diplomatic officials

to see him.

This violated a 1982 protocol that allows U.S. officials to see any detained U.S. citizen within 48 hours.

Jesse Helms, North Carolina Republican and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Russell D. Feingold, Wisconsin Republican, on Tuesday invited Senate colleagues to join them in sponsoring a resolution to end China's most-favored-nation trading status.

The Ecumenical Coalition on Women and Society of the Institute on Religion and Democracy, a nongovernment organization accredited to the Beijing conference, yesterday called on the Clinton administration to boycott the U.N. meeting unless the Chinese government meets certain conditions.

"Harry Wu must be freed from prison," said a statement issued by Diane Knippers, the institute's president. "It is unconscionable and inconceivable that our government should participate in a conference on the rights of women while ignoring the gross denials of

basic human rights within the People's Republic of China."

Mr. Gingrich also urged a much tougher policy with China on lingering disputes over human rights, military-technology transfers and trade.

"I do want Beijing to be aware that this idea that whatever Beijing does, we have to coddle them and pretend that they're somehow acceptable is silly," Mr. Gingrich said. "We are far more valuable to them economically than they are to us."

Mr. Gingrich dismissed suggestions that toughness would lead to a trade war. He said the \$30 billion trade balance that China currently enjoys with the United States could disappear if their behavior does not change.

The Chinese have successfully appealed to U.S. businesses in the past to soften U.S. objections to human rights violations or objectionable transfers of military technology.

"To the degree they try to exert pressure on our major corporations, we ought to start finding sec-

tors of our economy we can cut off," Mr. Gingrich said. "We have just got to say to them, 'If you truly want to start a trade war with us, we will reluctantly accept the \$30 billion net increase in our foreign exchange.'"

U.S. policy should signal to China and the world that the communist government's behavior violates international law and can no longer be tolerated by free-market democracies, he said.

"We ought to say, 'You are not currently behaving in ways that are acceptable to the future of the human race. And you are too important a country for us to lie to you about your behavior.'"

"To the degree they get mad — fine. They'll get used to it. We are as much a permanent fact as they are. They should have to adjust to us as much as we have to adjust to them. And just relax."

The speaker also said Mr. Clinton's decision to normalize relations with Vietnam was premature and that he was sympathetic to congressional attempts to block funding for an embassy in Hanoi.

The Washington Times
* THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1995

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August 11, 1995

*Chen's book
press guid'ce*

U.S. DELEGATION TO THE WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Q: Press reports indicate that Ambassador Albright has promised to work for the inclusion of Harry Wu's wife on the official U.S. Delegation to the UN Fourth World Conference on Women. Can you comment on this?

A: -- CHING LEE WU, THE WIFE OF HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST AND U.S. CITIZEN HARRY WU, IS NOT A MEMBER OF THE U.S. DELEGATION TO THE UN FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN, THE MEMBERSHIP OF WHICH WAS ANNOUNCED BY THE WHITE HOUSE ON MONDAY.

DURING A HEARING BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE ON AUGUST 2, REPRESENTATIVE BEN GILMAN ASKED AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT IF SHE HAD CONSIDERED ADDING CHING LEE WU TO THE U.S. DELEGATION. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT SAID SHE WOULD LOOK INTO THIS POSSIBILITY.

DECISIONS TO NAME MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATES ARE MADE BY THE WHITE HOUSE, NOT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE. HOWEVER, IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT MRS. WU IS NOT A U.S. CITIZEN; SHE DOES NOT HAVE SPECIAL EXPERTISE IN THE SUBJECTS TO BE CONSIDERED AT THE CONFERENCE;

- 2 -

AND TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, SHE HAS NOT EXPRESSED ANY
INTEREST IN BEING NAMED TO THE DELEGATION.

MOREOVER, THE DEPARTMENT DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE
DESIGNATION OF MRS. WU AS A MEMBER OF THE U.S.
DELEGATION WOULD CONTRIBUTE IN ANY WAY TO THE
PROSPECTS FOR THE EARLY RELEASE BY CHINESE
AUTHORITIES OF HARRY WU.

Chen Bk.

IO PRESS GUIDANCE
August 10, 1995

UN FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

Q: What is the status of visas for U.S. citizens intending to travel to Beijing for the UN Fourth World Conference and the associated NGO Forum?

A: -- THE MAJORITY OF U.S. CITIZENS PREPARING TO ATTEND THE UN FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN AND THE ASSOCIATED NGO FORUM HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED THEIR HOTEL CONFIRMATION LETTERS FROM THE BEIJING-BASED CHINA ORGANIZING COMMITTEE. WITHOUT THESE LETTERS, THEY HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO APPLY FOR THE APPROPRIATE CHINESE VISAS.

THE CHINA ORGANIZING COMMITTEE HAS SAID THAT IT SHOULD FINISH ITS WORK OF PREPARING THE 39,000 HOTEL CONFIRMATION LETTERS BY TOMORROW. THOSE FOR U.S. PARTICIPANTS WILL BE EXPRESS MAILED TO THE UNITED STATES.

THE UNITED STATES HAS ASKED CHINA AND THE UNITED NATIONS TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO EXPEDITE THE ISSUANCE OF THE LETTERS AND PROCESS VISAS FOR U.S. CITIZENS.

- 2 -

AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT HAS WORKED HARD TO ENSURE FULL
NGO PARTICIPATION IN THE CONFERENCE AND HAS RAISED
THE ISSUE UPON SEVERAL OCCASIONS WITH MEETING
ORGANIZERS, INCLUDING THIS WEEK WITH UN
SECRETARY-GENERAL BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI.

Q: Does Bella Abzug receive special treatment by the
Department of State?

A: -- ABZUG IS A PRIVATE CITIZEN WITH NO CONNECTION TO THE
U.S. GOVERNMENT. SHE HEADS A LARGE NON-GOVERNMENTAL
ORGANIZATION KNOWN AS THE WOMEN'S ENVIRONMENT AND
DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION. IN THAT CAPACITY, SHE HAS
HAD REGULAR CONTACT WITH THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND
OTHER FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AGENCIES SIMILAR TO THAT
AFFORDED TO REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER WELL-ESTABLISHED
NGOS.

- 3 -

Q: Is "gender justice" part of the U.S. agenda?

A: -- THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR WOMEN AND HAS SUPPORTED MEASURES TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF WOMEN IN PROFESSIONAL LEVEL POSITIONS WITHIN THE UN SECRETARIAT. HOWEVER, THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT SUPPORT QUOTAS IN THE HIRING AND PROMOTION OF WOMEN DOMESTICALLY OR WITHIN THE UN SYSTEM.

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8/10/95

Abzug network rules U.N. women's agenda

Seeks 'gender justice,' empowerment

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Officially, it's called the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, but it's becoming Bella Abzug's conference.

At closed-door U.N. negotiating sessions last week to finalize a 121-page "Platform for Action" for the Sept. 4-15 conference, the former New York congresswoman was on the sidelines directing action like a symphony conductor.

The feminist icon's trademark wide-brimmed hat was a magnet for loyalists of her Women's Environment Development Organization (WEDO), who carried her

messages and instructions to delegates and officials negotiating disputed provisions in the conference document.

Mrs. Abzug and officials of WEDO, a powerful nongovernment organization (NGO), were given preferred access to five days of "informal consultations" in the U.N. General Assembly hall, where guards kept strict watch to oust anyone but delegates and credentialed staff.

Representatives of other NGOs and a reporter for The Washington Times were repeatedly asked to leave when meetings started but throughout the week Mrs. Abzug watched from a side seat in the

Bella Abzug

General Assembly or lobbied from a basement U.N. conference room set aside for WEDO's use.

Mrs. Abzug repeatedly declined requests for an interview, saying she was "too busy."

She held a private meeting last week with Timothy Wirth, undersecretary of state for global affairs, who is supervising confer-

see WOMEN, page A12

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WOMEN

From page A1

ence arrangements for the anticipated 45-member U.S. delegation to Beijing.

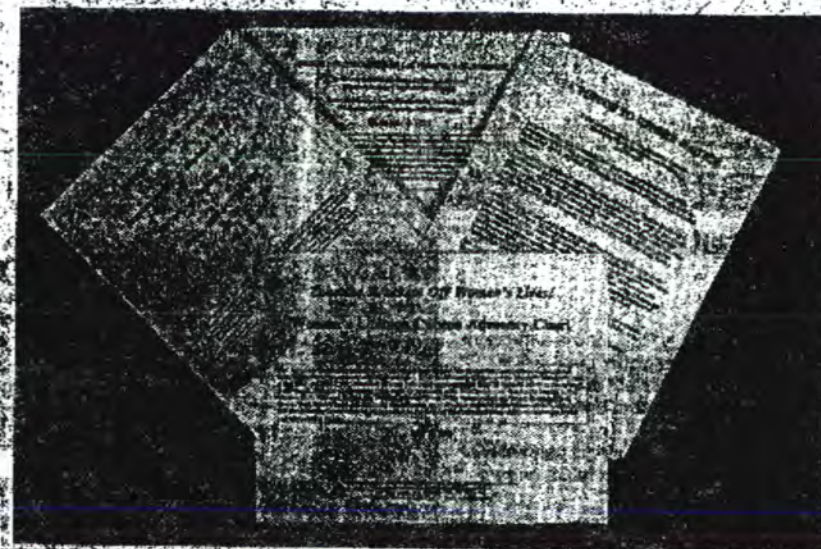
Mrs. Abzug, who served two terms in the House with the Colorado Democrat in the 1970s, was the undersecretary's government-paid "private sector adviser" for the U.N. population conference last year in Cairo. In her dual capacity as WEDO head and State Department adviser, she strongly influenced the Cairo conference agenda to slow the pace of population growth through greater access to birth-control methods and abortion.

According to State Department sources, many delegates to the Beijing conference are members of WEDO's Women's Linkage Caucus (WLC), which claims "some 1,320 NGO representatives from 73 countries covering all regions of the world."

During the negotiating sessions, delegates and U.N. officials used copies of WEDO/WLC's yellow-colored chart titled "Take the Brackets Off Women's Lives!" — a reference to square brackets placed around about one-third of platform language that is disputed.

The 21-page document, with side-by-side analysis of platform language with WEDO/WLC's position, was circulated in English and Spanish versions. The Abzug group also circulated its own 69-page reprint of the draft women's platform with WEDO/WLC's recommended text changes inserted in each paragraph.

A major thrust of WEDO/WLC's effort, now reflected in the conference platform, is a demand for "gender justice" — which it describes as a 50-50 equal representation of women and men in all occupations and government positions, with requisite demands that the United Nations' 185 member countries change their laws and cultural traditions to "emancipate" women.



English and Spanish lobbying documents helped Bella Abzug's groups insert feminist stances in the draft platform for the U.N. conference.

WEDO/WLC's "gender" agenda also calls for government-mandated "sexual freedom and reproductive rights" throughout the world, which critics have termed a smokescreen for sexual license as well as a U.N.-sanctioned legal instrument to push population control and abortion rights worldwide.

Because the U.N. approach requires consensus on platform language, sides are sharply drawn between the Clinton-appointed U.S. delegation and its liberal allies, who support WEDO/WLC's positions, and more traditional delegations representing the Vatican and Islamic countries, who oppose imposition of Western secularism

on religious and cultural grounds.

Over five days, negotiators informally agreed last week to remove brackets in at least 110 of about 317 bracketed sections of the "Platform for Action." Mrs. Abzug's forces got their way in the process. A comparison of platform agreements with WEDO/Women's Linkage Caucus positions shows a virtual 100 percent success rate for her advocacy efforts.

In some cases, final platform language is even stronger than WEDO's initial position. For example, the Abzug allies wanted language calling on governments to "design special programs" for women to improve their economic capacity and commercial networks. Final language adopted July 31 asks governments to "integrate a gender perspective into all economic restructuring and structural adjustment policies and design programs for women that are affected by economic restructuring."

FEMINIST POWER

Some of the 126 groups that have endorsed "A Pledge to Gender Justice," circulated by Bella Abzug's Women's Environment and Development Organization. The pledge has been incorporated in a U.N. women's platform to be adopted next month in Beijing.

American Association of University Women
Church Center for Sustainable Community
Colectivo de Mujeres, Nicaragua
Congress of South African Students

Family Care International
Forum for Women and Development, Norway
Foundation for Women's Solidarity, Turkey
Grassroots Organizations Operating Together in Sisterhood

Greenpeace
International Council of Jewish Women
International Women's Health Coalition
Loreto Community

Lutheran World Federation
National Action Committee on the Status of Women, Canada
National Women's Health Network
Network of African Rural Women Associations

Pacific Asia Resource Center, Japan
Peace Action
Peace Links
Planned Parenthood Federation of America

Population, Women and Development Working Group
Red Nacional Por La Salud De La Mujer, Argentina
Red Thread, Guyana
United Nations Children's Fund

United Nations Development Program, Gender and Development Division
Veteran Feminists of America
Virtual Sisterhood
Women's Environment and Development Organization

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
World Federalist Association
World Young Women's Christian Association, Switzerland
Zero, Zimbabwe

Under Agency for International Development (AID) guidelines, countries receiving U.S. foreign aid and economic aid would be required to submit to "gender analysis" to determine male-female participation in all areas of their economy so that U.S. and U.N.-funded development programs could be targeted to implement objectives of the Beijing women's platform. Mr. Wirth told Mrs. Abzug at a public meeting that the CIA administration is already forulating "commitments" and "strategies" to implement the women's platform's "gender" agenda, by regulation and law domestically and through U.S. foreign policy worldwide.

*file*IO PRESS GUIDANCE

July 28, 1995

UN FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

Q: Can you comment on the report in today's Washington Post that Chinese red tape is impeding attendance to the UN Fourth World Conference on Women?

A: -- DURING THE PAST WEEKS, THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS HEARD NUMEROUS COMPLAINTS ABOUT HOTEL CONFIRMATIONS, VISAS, CUSTOMS REQUIREMENTS AND OTHER LOGISTICAL MATTERS FROM U.S. CITIZENS WHO PLAN TO ATTEND THE UN FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN AND THE ASSOCIATED NGO FORUM. IN AN EFFORT TO ENSURE BROAD PARTICIPATION IN THE CONFERENCE, WE HAVE BEEN ASKING FOR CLARIFICATION FROM APPROPRIATE CHINESE OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON AND BEIJING OF THESE VERY REAL CONCERNS.

WE KNOW THAT CONFERENCE AND FORUM PARTICIPANTS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES ARE FACING SIMILAR PROBLEMS.

IT IS TOO EARLY TO TELL WHETHER NOT HAVING ANSWERS TO SOME OF THESE QUESTIONS WILL ADVERSELY AFFECT THOSE WHO PLAN TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MEETINGS.

- 2 -

Q: Is the failure of Chinese officials to provide answers to these questions a deliberate tactic to minimize the interference of U.S. citizens in Chinese internal affairs?

A: -- WE DO NOT KNOW WHY CHINA HAS NOT YET RESOLVED MANY OF THESE LOGISTICAL ISSUES.

Q: Will the facilities at the NGO Forum be large enough to accommodate all 36,000 individuals who are expected to participate?

A: -- ON JUNE 8, NGO FORUM CONVENER KHUNYING SUPATRA MASDIT OF THAILAND SIGNED AN AGREEMENT WITH CHINA ORGANIZERS ACCEPTING THE HUAIROU SITE FOR THE NGO FORUM ASSOCIATED WITH THE UN FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN. SINCE THAT TIME, THE NGO PLANNING COMMITTEE HAS HAD REPRESENTATIVES ON THE GROUND IN BEIJING WORKING WITH CHINESE OFFICIALS TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT PREPARATIONS ARE PROCEEDING TO ACCOMMODATE ALL OF THE EXPECTED PARTICIPANTS AND ACTIVITIES.

- 3 -

Q: Given the complexity of the logistics, China's failure to answer these questions, and the relatively short time period remaining, why should the United States attend the UN Fourth World Conference on Women?

A: -- THE ADMINISTRATION PLACES HIGH PRIORITY ON U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THIS CONFERENCE. THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN WOMEN ARE PARTICIPATING IN THIS CONFERENCE, AND MILLIONS MORE AROUND THE WORLD EXPECT THE UNITED STATES TO PLAY A LEADERSHIP ROLE THERE ON ISSUES OF HUMAN RIGHTS, HEALTH AND EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

IF THE UNITED STATES WERE NOT TO PARTICIPATE, IT WOULD PLAY DIRECTLY INTO THE HANDS OF OPPONENTS OF THE CONFERENCE AGENDA. OUR FAILURE TO ATTEND WOULD NOT CANCEL THE CONFERENCE, BUT WOULD SIMPLY RESULT IN A CONFERENCE IN WHICH AMERICAN INFLUENCE IS NOT PRESENT.

THE UNITED STATES CONSIDERS THE FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN TO BE AN EXCELLENT VEHICLE FOR BRINGING IDEAS ABOUT DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD.

Drafted:G/CS:JAMeer
07/28/95 x73129
SEC1 581

IO:MLKimble
G/CS:TLoar
EAP/CM:RBordie
DRL/MLA:THushek
USUN/W:WWoodward
PRM/POP:EMarshall
IO/ESA:JPMcGuinness

Melanne

IO PRESS GUIDANCE
June 21, 1995

VATICAN CRITICISM OF THE PLATFORM FOR ACTION

Q: What is the United States response to the Vatican's criticism reported in the New York Times and the Washington Post of the Platform for Action to be adopted by the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing?

A: -- THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THE EMERGING PLATFORM FOR ACTION REFLECTS THE VIEWS OF THE APPROXIMATELY 180 NATIONS THAT HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE PREPARATORY PROCESS.

THE DOCUMENT IS ONE IN A SERIES THAT HAVE BEEN PRODUCED THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE PROCESS THAT CONSIDERS SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, POPULATION, HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE STATUS OF WOMEN. ITS FORM AND CONTENT ARE SIMILAR TO THOSE OTHER PREVIOUSLY-ADOPTED CONSENSUS DOCUMENTS.

THE U.S. STRONGLY SUPPORTS:

- BUILDING ON THE COMMITMENTS MADE AT PREVIOUS UN CONFERENCES
- HUMAN RIGHTS OF WOMEN, INCLUDING ACTIONS TO END VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

- A LIFESPAN APPROACH TO HEALTH AND EDUCATION
- EFFORTS TO BALANCE WORK AND FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES OF WOMEN AND MEN
- ECONOMIC SECURITY
- THE IMPORTANCE OF NGOS AS PARTNERS IN BUILDING LOCAL, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITIES
- THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING.

THE GROUP OF 77, AN INFORMAL GROUPING OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES THAT ACTUALLY NUMBERS 132 MEMBERS, HAS BEEN A KEY PLAYER IN THE PROCESS, GREATLY INFLUENCING THE SHAPE AND CONTENT OF THE DOCUMENT. IN ADDITION, THE HOLY SEE AND SEVERAL STATES WITH SIMILAR VIEWS HAVE BEEN FULL PARTICIPANTS. FOR EXAMPLE, ONE MAJOR INITIATIVE AGREED TO AT THE RECENT PREPARATORY MEETING IN NEW YORK, A SECTION OF THE DOCUMENT DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO THE ISSUES OF YOUNG WOMEN AND GIRLS, WAS THE PRODUCT OF THE AFRICAN GROUP.

NONETHELESS, THERE REMAINS A GREAT DEAL OF WORK TO BE DONE. AS IN PREVIOUS CONFERENCES, THE UNITED STATES PLANS TO WORK COOPERATIVELY WITH ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE PROCESS, INCLUDING HOLY SEE REPRESENTATIVES, TO ENSURE THAT THE PLATFORM FOR ACTION REFLECTS A MAINSTREAM GLOBAL CONSENSUS THAT WILL STAND THE TEST OF TIME.

THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION WILL CONTINUE TO PROMOTE THE IMPERATIVE OF FULL EQUALITY FOR WOMEN AND MEN IN FAMILIES, COMMUNITIES AND NATIONS.

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SEC2 609

JAM

Cleared:G:TEWirth
G/CS:TLoar
IO:MLKimble
PRM:EMarshall
USUN:VMarrero
EUR/WE:Kingmanson

*} JAM
for all*

IO PRESS GUIDANCE
July 12, 1995

QUESTIONS REGARDING AMERICAN CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN THE
WOMENS CONFERENCE IN BEIJING

Q: What sort of protection will be provided by the US government to Americans at the Fourth World Conference on Women and the corollary NGO Forum?

A:-- AS PART OF THE SERVICES THE STATE DEPARTMENT PROVIDES TO AMERICAN CITIZENS TRAVELING OVERSEAS, WE ARE PREPARING COUNTRY-SPECIFIC INFORMATION FOR AMERICANS ATTENDING THE UN CONFERENCE AND THE NGO FORUM. WE WILL INCLUDE INFORMATION ABOUT CHINESE LAWS.

-- WE ARE REMINDING AMERICANS PLANNING TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE AND FORUM THAT US CITIZENS IN CHINA ARE SUBJECT TO CHINESE LAW.

-- PROTECTION FOR US CITIZENS GUARANTEED UNDER THE CONSTITUTION STOP AT US BORDERS. THE US GOVERNMENT CANNOT GUARANTEE ANY PROTECTION OUTSIDE OUR BORDERS.

-- IF AN AMERICAN IS ARRESTED, CONSULAR OFFICIALS WILL VISIT THEM, ADVISE THEM OF THEIR RIGHTS UNDER LOCAL LAWS, AND INSURE THAT AMERICAN CITIZENS ARE HELD UNDER HUMANE CONDITIONS AND ARE TREATED FAIRLY UNDER LOCAL LAW.

Q: Will NGO's participating in the Conference be prohibited from bringing religious material into the country?

A:-- CHINESE AUTHORITIES HAVE SEIZED DOCUMENTS, LITERATURE, AND LETTERS WHICH THEY DEEM TO BE , PORNOGRAPHIC, POLITICAL IN NATURE OR INTENDED FOR RELIGIOUS PROSELYTIZING OR ANTI-CHINESE. CHINESE AUTHORITIES HAVE DETAINED OR EXPELLED INDIVIDUALS BELIEVED TO BE ENGAGED IN PROSELYTISM OR IN CONDUCT THEY CONSIDER IMMORAL.

Q: What impact do we foresee the Wu case having on the conference?

A:-- AT THIS TIME, WE CANNOT PREDICT WHAT EFFECT, IF ANY, THE WU CASE WILL HAVE ON US PARTICIPATION IN THE UN FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN.

PRESS GUIDANCE-
July 13, 1995

Press Guidance
(new category)

ON SPEAKER GINGRICH'S COMMENTS ON THE
UN FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

- THIS CONFERENCE IS ABOUT WOMEN AND GIRLS AND NOT ABOUT CHINA.
- THE CONFERENCE IS CONVENING IN CHINA BECAUSE IT IS ASIA'S TURN TO HOST SUCH A CONFERENCE. WHEN THE UN DECISION WAS MADE IN 1992 TO HOLD THE MEETING, CHINA WAS THE ONLY COUNTRY IN THE REGION TO OFFER TO HOST IT. AT THAT TIME, THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION DECIDED TO JOIN CONSENSUS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES AT THE UN TO AGREE TO ACCEPT CHINA'S OFFER TO HOST THE CONFERENCE.
- U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE CONFERENCE WILL ENSURE THAT AMERICAN WOMEN AND MEN WILL HAVE A VOICE IN AN INTERNATIONAL FORUM ON ISSUES AFFECTING THE LIVES OF WOMEN.
- AT THE CONFERENCE AND THE ASSOCIATED NGO FORUM, APPROXIMATELY 45,000 PEOPLE FROM AROUND THE WORLD WILL BE OPENLY DISCUSSING A VARIETY OF ISSUES. ASIDE FROM THE IMPORTANCE TO THE WORLD'S WOMEN, THIS CONFERENCE CANNOT HELP BUT HAVE REVERBERATIONS WITHIN CHINA. IN FACT, WE ARE HEARING ALREADY THAT WOMEN IN CHINA HAVE BEGUN TO USE THE CONFERENCE AS A MEANS TO FORM GROUPS AND ESTABLISH REGULAR CONTACTS WITH THE WORLD COMMUNITY.
- U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE CONFERENCE PROMOTES A PLATFORM FOR OUR INTERESTS ON SUCH IMPORTANT ISSUES AS DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

IO PRESS GUIDANCE

July 13, 1995

IF ASKEDGENDER ISSUE FOR THE UN FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

THE PLATFORM FOR ACTION DOES NOT REFER TO FIVE GENDERS .

RATHER, THE DOCUMENT USES GENDER IN THE TRADITIONAL SENSE,

AS DEFINED IN PREVIOUS UN CONFERENCES

OPTIONAL FORM 99 (7-90)

FAX TRANSMITTAL# of pages **2**

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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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NEWS LETTERS

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ON THE ROAD TO Beijing

JUNE 1995

White House Names Leaders of U.S. Delegation

President Clinton has named Ambassador Madeleine Albright, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, as Chair of the U.S. delegation to the Fourth World Conference on Women. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is the Honorary Chair (a decision about her attendance has yet to be made). Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala is Co-Chair. State Department Under Secretary for Global Affairs Timothy Wirth is Alternate Chair. The Deputy Chair and Director of the Delegation is the Honorable Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, former Congresswoman from Pennsylvania. Veronica Biggins of Atlanta, Georgia, former Assistant to the President and Director of Presidential Personnel, is Vice Chair.

The First Lady travelled to Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka in April, visiting grassroots women's organizations, educational institutions, health care facilities, and heads of state. In a speech in New Delhi, India, she said,

"I recognize that discussion of such problems as education and health care for girls and women is viewed by some as 'soft,' labeled dismissively as a women's issue belonging, at best, on the edge of serious debate about all the

that where women prosper, countries prosper."

Mrs. Clinton paid tribute to the role of nongovernmental organizations such as the Self Employed Women's Association of Ahmedabad, India.

"NGOs are often created by individuals with a dream ... NGO leadership — often volunteer — is typically highly motivated and energetic in pursuing a vision of a better world."

NGOs, she said, "must also take the initiative," in addition to government and business, "and even provide the lead."

She emphasized the need for women to find their own voice:

"It is particularly important that women

find their own voice and become participants and decisionmakers in the home, workplace, community and nation. We must develop a new language to replace the deafening silence that still sounds too often when women's concerns are raised."



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton took "her daughter to work" on her trip to South Asia. During their visit to the Self Employed Women's Association of India, a SEWA member shows the First Lady and Chelsea Clinton how she prints a pattern onto cloth.

problems we confront on the cusp of the 21st century. I want to argue strongly, however, that the questions surrounding social development, especially of women...are at the center of our political and economic challenges. ... One lesson the experience of the last several decades teaches us is

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Global Stewardship

NETWORK

Building Common Ground Through Common Knowledge

June/July 1995

Could the Beijing Women's Conference Lose ICPD Gains?

Women's advocates have been eagerly anticipating the Fourth World Conference on Women this September in Beijing, China, as an opportunity to develop concrete actions to follow up on the momentum gained in several recent conferences and to focus attention on the problems and progress of the world's women.

Just a year ago in September 1994, at the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD, held in Cairo, Egypt), 180 countries joined in an historic consensus on what to do about the population and development challenges of the 21st century. They addressed a host of issues such as women's reproductive health, gender equality, and male roles and responsibilities in family planning. A year before that, at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, the world's countries had agreed for the first time that women's rights are human rights. In 1992, in Rio, the UN Conference on Environment and Development agreed on the key role of women as environmental managers to achieving sustainable human development. At the World Summit for Social Development in March, 120 heads of state affirmed the importance of investing in women in order to achieve both economic and social development—reinforcing recommendations from ICPD and paving the way to the Beijing Women's Conference.

The Beijing meeting will produce an agenda for women's empowerment into the 21st century. The draft document calls for "the removal of all obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life," "equality between women and men," and "shared power and responsibility between women and men at home, in the workplace, and in the wider national and international communities." However, at the end of the final Prepara-

tory Committee meeting in March at the United Nations, about one-third of the draft Platform for Action remained in brackets, subject to negotiations at Beijing. Many of the brackets contained language agreed upon at ICPD and other world conferences: recognition that women's rights are human rights and that the role of women in procreation should not be a basis for discrimination, calls for gender equality, reproductive health, sexual rights, reproductive health services for adolescents, addressing unsafe abortion as a public health problem, the use of condoms for preventing sexually transmitted diseases, and even the word "gender."

"What Cairo took very seriously," commented Joan Brown Campbell, general secretary of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA, "is that women have to be players in the world—being decisionmakers on their own lives and in the larger society." Campbell was a member of the U.S. delegation to ICPD and the Social Summit. "If the women's conference itself does not stand firm on language that was worked out in Cairo through such a painful and difficult process, it will appear that women themselves are not as concerned as I believe they are, on issues of decisionmaking over their own lives, which is what decisions on family planning are at heart."

Patricia Waak of the National Audubon Society and a member of the U.S. delegation to ICPD agreed. "What we inevitably lose at the national and international level is the commitment and moral force of a consensus on the status and rights of women," she said. "We also lose the momentum of moving forward towards a sustainable world."

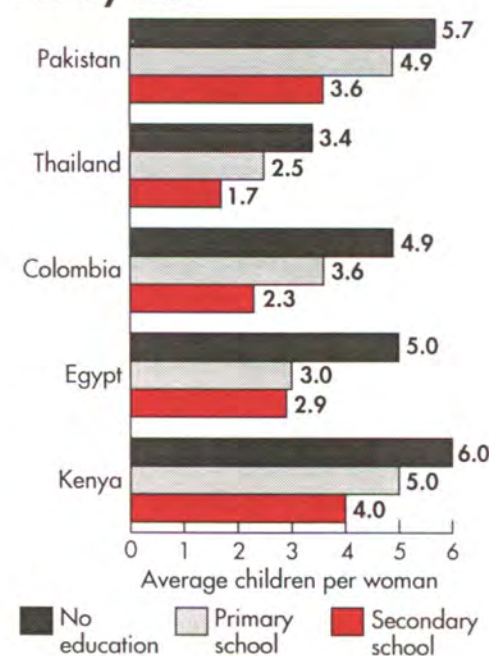
The opposition at the Preparatory Committee meeting to the positions of

Cairo, Vienna, and Copenhagen came from delegations from a small number of Catholic countries—including Benin, Guatemala, Honduras, Malta, Ivory Coast, and Argentina—joined by the Vatican and by a few Islamic countries, such as Sudan. Their efforts are bolstered by some conservative NGOs, mainly from the U.S. and Canada, including the Coalition for Women and the Family, Concerned Women of America, and Real Women of Canada.

"Women have made enormous advances since the Third Women's Conference at Nairobi in 1985," commented Adrienne Germain, vice president of the

continued, p. 2

Women's Education Affects Family Size



Source: Demographic and Health Surveys, 1987-93.

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ON THE ROAD TO Beijing

October 1994

Development of the Platform for Action

BY SHARON KOTOK, GLOBAL CONFERENCE SECRETARIAT, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mobilizing women and men to achieve equality by the 21st century is a fundamental goal of the Fourth World Conference on Women. One means of achieving that goal is through the Platform for Action, the final document that will be adopted at the World Conference.

The Platform will address a limited number of issues that are obstacles to the advancement of women worldwide and recommend specific actions that governments, nongovernmental organizations, multinational and international institutions, and women themselves can take to accelerate the advancement of women.

The draft Platform is being developed by the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women. It will continue to be revised as the U.N. regional preparatory meetings provide their recommendations and when governments and nongovernmental organizations meet in New York City next March at the final UNCSW preparatory meeting for the Beijing Conference.

Since the Platform will remain a draft document until it is adopted in Beijing, governments and nongovernmental organizations

have an excellent opportunity to help shape the document and the outcome of the Conference.

The ten official U.S. regional preparatory meetings for the Fourth World Conference, convened by the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor and the State Department, are providing resource material for our work on the Platform for Action. From each regional meeting report, we use the information workshop participants have provided on "WHAT'S WORKED" and "WHAT'S NEEDED" as reference material for speeches and policy statements and for input into U.S. positions on the Platform for Action.

If you would like to recommend language for the draft Platform, you may send it by fax to the Conference Secretariat, Department of State at (202) 647-4787. If you need a copy of the draft Platform or have any questions about it, call the Conference Secretariat at (202) 647-3129. Suggested language is needed as early as possible to aid in preparing position papers for the various preparatory meetings. The types of actions proposed should be those that women can undertake or can realistically ask of their political leaders.

Calendar of Events

November 15, 1994—Oakland, California Official U.S. Regional Preparatory Meeting for the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women.

To Be Announced—Nongovernmental Organization (NGO) Consultations and Meetings, New York City.

March 15-April 5, 1995—Final U.N. Commission on the Status of Women preparatory meeting for the Fourth World Conference, New York City.

August 30-September 8, 1995—NGO Forum '95, Beijing, China.

September 4-15, 1995—U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China.

Published by the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, and the Global Conference Secretariat, U.S. Department of State.

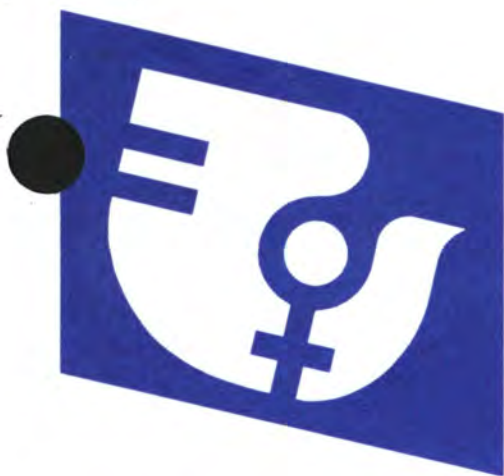
This is the third issue of *On the Road to Beijing*. For more information, or to be added to the mailing list, contact Diane Faulkner or Harriett Harper, Women's Bureau, (202) 219-6601. For information about U.S. preparations for the World Conference, contact the Global Conference Secretariat, Department of State, (202) 647-3129 or fax (202) 647-4787.

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ON THE ROAD TO Beijing

July 1994

From Visions to Practicality in the Big Apple

BY KATHLEEN HENDRIX, U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT

There was an overflow crowd at the April 22 official U.S. preparatory meeting in New York City, requiring about 100 of the 350 participants to watch the opening plenary session by video from an adjoining room.

For long-term watchers of the modern women's movement, this day in New York was living proof that diverse, multicultural groups of American women have learned how to find common ground. And they wanted to communicate that message to their government.

The day's most galvanizing moment came during Bella Abzug's noontime speech. The feminist activist, cochair of WEDO (Women's Environment and Development Organization) and former Congresswoman, called for the U.S. Government to take the women's conference as seriously as it was taking the U.N. preparatory conference on population. She also commented on the sub-theme of the day: "On the Road to Beijing and the 21st Century" by saying, "It's ours. Enough 'days' for women and 'decades' for women," Abzug roared.

"We're taking over the century. The next century will be ours." The women were on their feet, cheering, clapping and giving every indication they were ready for the takeover right now.

Voices and Action in the Northwest

BY AMBASSADOR ARVONNE FRASER

U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE U. N. COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

"We're all working even if some of us don't get paid," was one refrain articulated over and over again by Black, Hispanic, Asian, white and Native American women who attended the official U.S. preparatory meeting April 22 outside Tacoma, Washington. The women, more than 200 of them, perfectly illustrated the point made by Karen Nussbaum, Director of the Women's Bureau, in her opening speech—that 99 percent of U.S. women are members of the paid labor force at some point in their lives.

Students at Evergreen State College (Tacoma, Washington) had spent months preparing an excellent

background paper, "A Global Perspective on Women," which was included in the conference kit. The paper discussed women's rights, violence, education, the impact of conflict, health and economic equity from both national and international perspectives.

Women's Bureau and State Department representatives answered questions on topics ranging from the problems of poor and unemployed women to women with disabilities, and when and whether the U.S. will ratify the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

Oakland Official U.S. Preparatory Meeting to Focus on Women and the Environment

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) will be a co-convenor of the official U.S. preparatory meeting to be held November 15 in Oakland, California. This meeting will feature a special focus on women and the environment, with a subfocus on the particular problems and perspectives as seen by women of color and indigenous communities. Other regional priorities, such as women's health, education and training, and employment will be addressed as well.

Carol Browner, Administrator of EPA, is scheduled to address the meeting. The Department of Labor Women's Bureau and the State Department will also serve as co-conveners.

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ON THE ROAD TO Beijing

April 1994

The U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace

BY ARVONNE FRASER

The Fourth World Conference on Women will be held September 4 through 15, 1995, at the Beijing International Conference Center, Beijing, China.

In calling for a Fourth World Conference in Beijing in 1995, the U.N. General Assembly recognized that "the pace of implementation of the Forward-Looking Strategies must be improved in the crucial last decade of the 20th century."

At Beijing, governments will decide upon a **Platform for Action** and the institutional arrangements required to implement it. The Platform is to be concise and accessible and is intended to accelerate, through concerted and intensive action in coming years, the implementation of the *Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women*, adopted at the 1985 Nairobi World Conference. By coming to consensus on the Platform for Action, countries commit themselves to goals, standards of behavior, and actions.

U.N. world conferences are government conferences, composed of official delegations representing countries which are members of the U.N. It is customary, a parallel non-

governmental gathering open to all interested women and men, **Non-governmental Organizations (NGO) Forum '95**, will be held at the Beijing Workers' Sports Service Center August 30 through September 8, 1995.

Preparations for the Fourth World Conference

The Conference itself will be the culmination of a process that involves U.N., regional, and national preparations. The issues the Conference takes up, through its Platform for Action—will reflect the groundwork done at these preparatory meetings.

UNCSW Preparing Draft Platform for Action

The U.N. Commission on the Status of Women (UNCSW) is preparing a draft of the Platform to be used as a working document at the Conference. The draft Platform will concentrate on a limited number of issues that have been identified as representing fundamental obstacles to the advancement of the majority of women; and will contain goals, and concise, action-oriented guidelines.

The Platform for Action will be based on an assessment of what has

been accomplished in the past 10 years and where the most stubborn or difficult obstacles to women's progress remain. The UNCSW is drafting the Platform with input developed at national and regional meetings.

The UNCSW is determined to produce a "how to" document—a short, concise, globally relevant platform for action. This document contains strategies and programs that work, and will serve as a guide for those determined to take part in advancing the status of women.

UN/ECE To Hold High Level Regional Preparatory Meeting

Five preparatory meetings are being planned for 1994 in different regions of the world. The United States is part of the Western region (Europe and North America) which will meet October 17-21 in Vienna, Austria, for the UN/ECE High Level Regional Preparatory Meeting for the Fourth World Conference on Women. This meeting, organized by the Economic Commission for Europe, will be held at the Vienna International Centre. At the Vienna meeting,

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OPPOSITION (general)

Divider Title: _____

Religious groups say U.N. platform undermines family

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Christian and Muslim groups joined yesterday to denounce a draft U.N. "Platform for Action" for the upcoming international women's conference in Beijing, saying the agenda seeks "to undermine and destroy the family."

Calling themselves the International Coalition for Authentic Womanhood, the groups said at a Capitol Hill news conference that the platform drives a wedge between women and their religious beliefs and targets organized religion as world "oppressors."

"At the dawn of the second millennium, the largest conference of women ever to meet, the fourth U.N. Conference on Women, has produced a document that sets women back," said Mary Ellen Bork of the Catholic Campaign for America.

The "totalitarian nature" of the U.N. effort to get governments of member nations "to enforce equality of results for women through specific gender quotas worldwide" is evident throughout the platform, she added.

"The inordinate attention paid to 'gender perspective' undermines women's role as mothers and men's role as fathers, rejects the accepted and traditional definition of the family and the moral responsibility that goes with it, and promotes sexual license by claiming that gender is a commodity for experimentation, 'it is evolving,'" Mrs. Bork said.

Anisa Abd El-Fattah, chairwoman of the National Association of Muslim Women, said the U.N. has "overstepped its authority in calling for the 'elimination' of the fundamental tenets of the Abrahamic faiths, targeting them as 'barriers' to the full and equal participation of women in society."

She said the Beijing conference's platform and other U.N. ini-

tiatives "take a very narrow and prejudiced view of the status of women and prescribe an agenda of societal reform which will exacerbate the unique challenges of women by compromising our divine and human rights to live within the religious and cultural context that we choose."

Tom Minnery, vice president of the Focus on the Family radio ministry, said the U.N. women's agenda "ignores marriage with men. Husband and wife do not appear at all. What this document encourages, essentially, is fatherless families."

As a result, he said, "women are impoverished, terrorized by crime, hopeless for the future, and unable to raise and care for children properly. Fatherless families produce children who are resentful [and who create] gangster rap [and] violence toward women."

Rep. Andrea Seastrand, California Republican, and Beverly LaHaye, president of Concerned Women for America, attacked the document for promoting "five genders," including homosexuality and transsexuality, because of unwillingness of U.N. delegations, led by the United States, to support a definition of gender as "only male and female."

Mrs. LaHaye said she knew of no "smoking-gun document" from conference preparatory meetings that declared an "omnisexuality" approach but said a pro-homosexual agenda is evident in feminist literature.

"Five genders are not in the document, but gender is described as socially constructed roles that can be decided at will," said Mercedes Arzu Wilson, a Guatemalan delegate to the conference and president of Families for the Americas.

Mrs. El-Fattah said the platform "refers to a total restructuring of society away from male-female. We know the nuances. We don't need a smoking gun."

Times puts a heavy spin on upcoming U.N. Conference on Women

The American Society of International Law (ASIL) was founded in 1906 to promote awareness and discussion of international law and welcomes media coverage. I must correct, however, a number of inaccuracies in your July 24 Page One article, "Women riled by 'gender' agenda."

The American Society of International Law is a membership organization of 4,300 men and women from around the world. Its work covers the entire spectrum of international activity from trade to arms control to protection of the environment and of human rights including women's rights. Furthermore, the ASIL has a longstanding policy of not taking positions on the merits of the issues, although it does sponsor scholarly research and publications. It is therefore incorrect to state that "the ASIL backs the draft platform" and to assert that the ASIL is "pitting" itself against any other organization.

"The Elimination of Sexual Apartheid: Prospects for the Fourth World Conference on Women," by Professor Rebecca J. Cook is part of the ASIL's program to provide background and information on points of law relevant to current international events — in this case, the upcoming Fourth World Conference on Women.

The focus of Professor Cook's analysis is the Draft Platform of Action, a U.N. document. Neither the publication nor Professor Cook's analysis constitute an ASIL endorsement of the Draft Platform. Indeed, it was made clear on page vi of the publication that the ASIL does not take positions on the merits of the issue.

Professor Cook's analysis presents a range of views. To take one piece out of this scholarly analysis — that of the socialist feminists — and to conclude that "the ASIL says the root of women's problems is 'subordination' to men" is a misrepresentation.

CHARLOTTE KU

Executive Director
American Society of International Law
Washington

Women, one is left with the inaccurate impression that there is broad-based support for the United States to withdraw from the conference ("Pressure builds for U.S. to shun Beijing meeting," Page One, July 19). In fact, those who want the United States to abandon the World Conference on Women have a narrow conservative agenda to roll back the rights of women and to limit the role of women solely to that of wife and mother.

In analyzing a potential U.S. withdrawal from the U.N. conference, readers should know that:

■ Groups supporting U.S. attendance of the World Conference on Women include not just women's organizations such as Catholics for a Free Choice and the Ms. Foundation, but also groups such as Amnesty International, the International Human Rights Law Group, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA and the Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church.

■ The Washington Times describes Rep. Nancy Pelosi, a supporter of U.S. attendance at the conference as a subcommittee member and the chair of the Congressional Women's Caucus, but fails to mention her longtime advocacy of human rights in China. The endorsement of U.S. attendance from such a strong human-rights advocate is significant.

■ U.S. Civil Rights Commission member Carl A. Anderson, who testified against U.S. participation at the conference on human-rights grounds, is also vice president for public policy at the Knights of Columbus and the dean of the John Paul II Institute for Studies on Marriage and the Family. As such, he is an avid defender of the Catholic church's prohibition against birth control, abortion, divorce and other matters affecting the well-being of women to be discussed in Beijing. Although Mr. Anderson, who was the sponsor of the commission's statement, failed to point out his affiliation with these organizations, such facts are important, for they demonstrate that he has an ideological interest in excluding the United States from the Beijing conference regardless of its location.

■ The article mentions that Concerned Women for America was placed on "a no-no list" with other

religious and pro-life organizations that originally were denied accreditation for the Beijing conference, but fails to note that Catholics for a Free Choice, a pro-choice feminist organization, was also temporarily denied accreditation due to pressure from the Vatican. While according credit to Sen. Jesse Helms, the article failed to note that the U.S. delegation and the Clinton administration were leaders in calling for a review by the United Nations of all groups denied accreditation.

Opponents of the U.N. World Conference on Women accuse the conference of having a narrow ideological bent. Yet, conservative groups like Concerned Women for America, Family of the Americas Foundation and the Catholic Campaign for America are using the neoconservative distrust of international organizations borrowed from Pat Buchanan and the John Birch Society and are hiding behind a supposed concern for human rights to advance their own narrow ideological agenda to distort the goals of the U.N. World Conference on Women.

FRANCES KISSLING

President
Catholics for a Free Choice
Washington

Reading your coverage of the House International Operations and Human Rights subcommittee hearing on the U.N. World Conference on

Women riled by 'gender' agenda

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A1

A verbal war between two women's groups has erupted over a draft platform for the United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing in September.

At the heart of the matter is the platform's use of the word "gender" instead of "sex."

"Gender" appears more than 200 times in the 121-page draft conference platform intended to commit governments to specific actions on such issues as female poverty, access by women to educational opportunities and health care, "gender" inequality, and violence and discrimination against women.

The battle pits the American Society of International Law (ASIL) against the Independent Women's Forum (IWF). The ASIL backs the draft platform, calling it an at-



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To go or not to go: Hillary Rodham Clinton debates attending a controversial U.N. women's conference in China. Story, A10.

tempt by "socialist feminists" to eliminate "sexual apartheid." The IWF regards the platform as an affront to traditional family-oriented women and fears it could lead to a "sexual free-for-all."

In a report, "The Elimination of Sexual Apartheid: Prospects for the Fourth World Conference on Women," the ASIL says the root of women's problems is "subordination" to men.

see WOMEN, page A10

WOMEN

From page A1

"Socialist feminists have identified the social construction of production and reproduction as the basis for women's oppression, and have focused attention on the social relations of gender, questioning the validity of roles that have been ascribed to women and men in the private and public spheres," says the report, written with a Ford Foundation grant by Rebecca J. Cook, a University of Toronto law professor.

"Most feminists see a contrast between sex and gender, in that sex is biologically determined whereas gender is socially constructed."

The IWF report questions whether the U.S. government should be assisting or promoting a gender-based agenda that "reflects the Marxist roots of feminist ideology."

"Gender perspective is a com-

prehensive world view that sees every human activity and relationship as 'socially constructed' so as to oppress women," writes Elizabeth B. Lurie, IWF president, in a report titled "Exporting Failure: The Radical Feminists' U.N. Agenda."

"Not spelled out in the Platform for Action itself, but much talked about behind the scenes [in U.N. preparatory meetings for the Beijing conference], is the notion that the world must come to understand an 'equality' of 'five genders' as this and other nations' ideal," the report says.

"The 'five genders' comprise female heterosexuals, male heterosexuals, female homosexuals, male homosexuals, and trans/bisexuals. The 'equality' involved is an identity of legitimacy regarding normative sexual behavior — one reason the document refers almost exclusively to 'gender' rather than 'sex' (the common understanding being that there are but two sexes)," the report says.

The Washington Times
MONDAY, JULY 24, 1995

"A clear implication is that our understanding of marriage and the particular legitimacy accorded to children born in marriage is to be overturned by radical feminist moral dictat."

Some feminist theorists also have referred to a "sixth gender — omni-sexuality," say members of traditional women's non-government organizations who have participated in preparatory meetings for the conference Sept. 4 through 15 in Beijing.

"They can have limitless numbers of genders," said Barbara Ledeen, executive director of IWF. "They are saying that girls are at one end [of the spectrum], boys at the other. They are saying that gender is socially constructed, so you can have as many as you can imagine socially. It's a sexual free-for-all."

The ASIL, which claims 4,500 members in 100 countries, supports a U.N.-imposed "gender analysis" of laws and government policies in all countries — a dis-

puted provision of the women's conference platform.

"The mandate of the 1995 Beijing conference is to accelerate the process that formally began in 1975" with International Women's Year to bring about "the emancipation of women" through equal representation in governmental, corporate, diplomatic and religious leadership positions, along with affirmative government action on a global scale to bring about "gender" equality and diversity, the ASIL report says.

The IWF, which claims 500 members throughout the United States and several foreign countries, says the upcoming women's conference is dominated by "ultra-radical feminists" who are anti-womanhood, anti-marriage, anti-family, and even man-haters.

"The words 'mother,' 'father,' 'wife,' and 'husband' do not appear anywhere in the platform. . . . The definition of the family is fluid. Indeed, any notion that the concept of the family includes men is altogether missing.

A travesty of a U.N. summit

Just think — a posse of American ladies packing concealed Bibles and invading the land of godless Communism. This could be considered subversion of the highest order by the government in Beijing, which might be forced to take severe precautions.

That's the message put out by the State Department on Tuesday, which warned prospective delegates to the U.N. women's conference in China, scheduled for September, that they could get themselves into grave trouble if they try to spread the Good Word, observe religious practices or meet in small groups.

In fact, they could be slapped into jail, all in accordance with Chinese law. Nor should any American found in possession of an illegal Bible expect much sympathy from the U.S. government, as Georgia A. Rogers, State Department director of consular affairs, told the alarmed audience at a briefing. "We cannot guarantee your safety, we cannot guarantee the safety of Americans going to any country." Does that include the first lady, who will lead the American delegation? It certainly applied in the case of human rights activist Harry Wu, an American citizen, who is being held on trumped up charges and who could face the death penalty for his diligence in exposing Chinese slave labor.

Even before these fairly hair-raising warnings, there was good reason to be skeptical of the U.N. women's conference, which is expected to bring more than 35,000 women from all over the world to discuss women's issues and equality in the country that alone among nations has made forced abortion and female sterilization official policy. Still, this is beyond the pale.

As House Speaker Newt Gingrich told editors and reporters of The Washington Times yesterday, serious consideration should be given to moving the conference out of Beijing. "I just think the idea that we have to go and subsidize a dictatorship while warning our own people that you may be at risk by exercising normal human rights makes a total mockery. And I think we ought to say to the Chinese — we

owe it to the Chinese to be adults. We believe in freedom. We think freedom is important. To the degree you are a dictatorship, you are less than a full partner in the world order."

There have in fact been numerous warning signs over the past months that the U.N. women's summit is developing in very curious ways indeed. On the most basic level, one stumbling block has been logistics. Concerned about the presence of tens of thousands of foreign women with strange notions in Beijing, the leadership decided to move the majority of them out of the way, wa-a-a-y out of the way, to a small rural town, which appears not even to have an assembly hall large enough for the gathering, let alone sufficient hotel rooms or infrastructure. What many of the participants may not even have realized yet is that there are actually two events going on simultaneously: One is the official U.N. conference and the other, more numerous one, a meeting of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). It's the second one that's being shuffled out of the way.

Then there's the question of the content of the summit declarations. Conservative American women's groups have complained that a radical agenda is being written into the documents, which bespeak of the rights of the various five "genders" — to wit, homosexuals, bisexuals and transsexuals, as well as males and females. Needless to say, this is causing no small amount of consternation among less "advanced" nations who still quaintly believe that mankind is divided into two sexes, men and women. Further, the Vatican has been vocal in criticizing how the conference's organizers de-emphasize — and even denigrate — the family and women's traditional role as mothers and nurturers.

It is all very odd and sounds rather disturbing. Clearly, there are far better ways for the United Nations, and for this country, to use the millions of dollars expended on the U.N. summit racket, endlessly movable feast that it is. If the women's conference is not moved out of China, U.S. participation ought to be withdrawn.

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Greater Denver

Deborah Goeken, City Editor — 892-5201



Lt. Armedia Gordon and Capt. Dan O'Hayre, her former boss, listen in on a roll call Thursday. Today, both become division chiefs.

Cynthia McCann
Rocky Mountain News

Top female cop is ready for the flak

A Lt. Gordon today sets marks for women, blacks

By Tasha Amala
Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer

Armedia Gordon became a Denver police officer 22 years ago so she could afford to raise her three children as a single mom.

She never dreamed she would someday become the department's top female and top black officer. And she never imagined two of her children would follow her into law enforcement.

Today, the 51-year-old grandmother of seven will be sworn in as one of two new division chiefs. She will be taking over a division chief's office over several captains. Joining her today will be her former boss in District 1, Capt. Dan O'Hayre. He will be promoted to division chief for staff services, while Gordon will oversee traffic and Denver International Airport.

She steps into her post after the only female division chief, Miriam Reed, was promoted last month. Reed, elevated Chief David Michaud, when she supported jaywalk challenger Mary De-

Groot this spring while he worked to help re-elect Mayor Wellington Webb.

Division Chief C.J. Smith, the highest-ranking black officer retired shortly thereafter, saying, "things are not working out the way they should be for minorities and women."

Gordon knows that some people will insist Michaud tapped her simply because she's a black woman.

"There will be a lot of criticism and paymasters," Gordon said. "I intend to prove with my effort that it was an excellent choice."

She became an officer after her divorce. Her children were 7, 9 and 11. She had been working up to three jobs at a time, from waitressing to running microfilm, when she learned about the benefits of being a police officer.

When she joined the force in 1973, she was one of about a dozen women. There are now about 145 on the 1,400-member force.

Once an officer, Gordon hoped to become a homicide detective. By 1986, she became the first woman to investigate Denver killings full time. Eventually, she supervised the homicide unit.

Gordon then set her sights on lieutenant. She achieved that last July, just a

year later, she'll be one of the highest-ranking officers on the force.

"They say if you're going to dream, you might as well dream in technicals," Gordon said as a grin spread from her cheeks to her eyes.

She concedes that she will be under some media pressure.

"I'm under the gun. And I refuse to fail," she said. "If I were to fail, it would be catastrophic. So I can't fail."

Gordon has been through many tough periods. She spent years investigating child-abuse cases. She once worked as a decoy to try to catch a rapist. And she was a Purple Heart after a criminal drove away and dragged her more than 20 feet and tried to slam her into a wall.

Gordon has had to win her colleagues' confidence, too. When she joined the homicide unit, her nine fellow detectives were men.

"They tried to crucify me. I had to work hard to prove myself. But I earned their respect, and they also earned mine," she said.

That will be Gordon's battle plan.

Every once in a while, she'll remind herself, "I'm going to miss the patrol division," she said. "I'm going to miss having a car with lights on it."

Christian leader rips women's conference

Focus on Family president says Beijing gathering 'threat to family'

By Karen Abbott
Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer



Focus on the Family president James Dobson has attacked an upcoming international women's conference, calling it "the greatest threat to the family in my lifetime."

"You will not believe what they hope to accomplish there, including the complete destruction of the family," the evangelical Christian talk show host told about 3,000 delegates to the International Conference on the Family in Denver on Wednesday night.

"They absolutely hate the family, the radical feminists who are behind this thing."

The United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women will draw more than 30,000 to Beijing in early September. The conference's mission is to improve the status of women.

"I am amazed to find out that we're the biggest threat to the family," said Marie Wilson, president of the New York-based Mr. Foundation, which is sponsoring 120 Beijing delegates.

"He has a miscegenist notion of who the women are that come to these things," she said. "They are women trying to create ways to earn a living, to send their children to school, to have fresh water in their communities."

Dottie Lamm, writer and former Colorado first lady, is one of the U.S. delegates to the Beijing conference. She called Dobson's remarks "deliberate misrepresentation."

"I am so appalled by this because I am very concerned about the family too," she said.

The Denver family conference is co-sponsored by Focus on the Family, Dobson's Colorado Springs-based evangelical Christian organization, and the American Association of Christian Counselors.

Dobson, who attended the women's conference Wednesday night as he introduced former U.S. Secretary of Education William Bennett, said he will mail letters to his 2.1 million members and direct the conference on his radio programs, which are broadcast on about 4,000 stations.

Dobson charged that the women's conference delegates "say sex roles are simply the result of societal and religious teaching... What they're going to try to do is to the people of the world are five genders, not two... and including, of course, abortion around the world which the United States will help pay for and safe-sex ideology and homosexual fashion agendas."

The conference does not support abortion, said former Pennsylvania Rep. Marjorie Margulies-Mexvic, director of the U.S. delegation. She cited documents drawn up at previous conferences.

"They declare unequivocally, in no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning," she said.

Coloradans slow to buckle up despite new law

By Tasha Amala
Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer

Colorado State Patrol issued 273 citations to motorists in the five days the law was enacted requiring children ages 4 to 15 to buckle up.

"A lot of people used the same excuses," Technician Scott Mathich said. "They weren't aware of the new law. That's why we're giving warnings."

The law went into effect July 1. It

supplements an older law that requires children under 4 to be strapped into a child restraint and anyone in a front seat to wear a seat belt.

The State Patrol has declined a 30-day moratorium on writing tickets to give people time to learn about the law, but troopers are stopping motorists to issue the warnings when they see children who are not wearing seat belts.

Mathich said, "I don't think it's a problem. Other jurisdictions are following suit."

with 30- to 60-day warning periods. Arapahoe County Sheriff's Department deputies are handing out fliers explaining the law, Capt. Mark Campbell said.

"Our goal isn't to generate revenue," he said. "What we're really shooting for is as much voluntary compliance as possible."

Jefferson County Sheriff's Department spokesman Jim Parr said the department has let deputies decide when to write tickets.

PAGE EDIT First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Let long-range goals transcend politics

THE United Nations conference on women, planned in September in Beijing, is under sudden, new assault. The foot soldiers are members of Congress out to wipe their human rights agenda, punish China, and deny first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton an international role as a women's advocate.

The conference is in danger of becoming a victim of our worsening relations with China, which have taken a distinctly chilly turn with the imprisonment of Harry Wu, a Chinese American who is a prisoner's rights activist.

In retaliation, Wu's wife has demanded that we refuse to send a delegation to the U.N. conference or, at a minimum, prevent the first lady from lending her prestige and visibility to the event by leading the delegates.

Congressional conservatives, including House Speaker Newt Gingrich, have joined the public outcry by threatening to defund and thus pull the plug on U.S. participation in the Beijing conference. Accusing President Clinton of "appeasement," Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Jesse Helms, R-N.C., and others have demanded an end to China's current favorable trade status as well.

Gingrich also has called for recognition of Taiwan, the ultimate diplomatic insult to China. He hastily reversed himself, however, after a lecture from former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger about the wisdom of maintaining our present one-China policy.

Business interests being all-powerful these days, Congress is not likely to refuse renewal of China's "most favored nation" trading status simply to make a symbolic protest.

But the women's conference is more vulnerable because it already was a target of conservatives angered by what they saw as a liberal agenda that encouraged sexual freedom. Among other complaints, they said that the agenda fails to promote the joys of child-rearing over those of economic independence and full legal rights. (The basic whine: Motherhood isn't mentioned often enough in official documents.)

The Vatican has promised a fight aimed at substituting pro-life, anti-abortion language for proposed words encouraging family planning. This would repeat the struggle at the last U.N. women's conference 10 years ago, which pro-life forces lost.

The U.S. Christian movement has yet another grievance. It was offended by a State Department diplomatic advisory to delegates that said that taking Bibles to the conference in atheist China might anger the hosts. But in truth, China has gone out of its way to gin up the fuss. It has been isolationist, irritating, obstructionist, and openly obnoxious. Relations are, in fact, at a dangerously low point overall.

China nearly derailed the conference earlier this year by imposing severe logistical restrictions. The real problem, however, is that China is behaving more like a renegade nation than a responsible member of the global community. Not only has it detained Wu and refused to discuss its human rights abuses. But it is alleged to have sold dangerous chemical and missile-related technology to Iran, and it has demanded that Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui never be allowed in this country again.

President Clinton is sticking to a policy of keeping up diplomatic and trade relations with China, hoping as George Bush did before him that once the leadership succession has been settled, China will move peacefully and more sensibly into the 21st Century.

At the moment, the administration still plans to send an American delegation, led by U.N. Ambassador Madeleine Albright, to the Beijing conference. But whether the first lady goes is not to be decided until the last minute.

Her presence would be good for the conference, adding to its visibility and durability. The United Nations gets around to women's rights only every 10 years, after all, and the importance of its long-range goals should transcend momentary national political pique.

press

China Critics Find U.N. Conference There an Inviting Target

WASHINGTON (AP) As Sino-American relations continue to deteriorate, critics looking for ways to discredit China are trying to sabotage an upcoming U.N. women's conference in Beijing, an elaborate extravaganza with a cast of tens of thousands.

China believes a successful conference will enhance its international prestige. But key U.S. lawmakers are finding it an inviting target. Thus far, the Clinton administration has done nothing to interfere with the conference.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., wants a change of venue out of concern that China might restrict free expression. He also has raised the possibility of congressional action to cancel funding for the U.S. delegation.

As a third option, Gingrich is recommending the United States boycott the proceedings if China refuses to release Chinese-American dissident Harry Wu. He joined with five colleagues Thursday in making that appeal to President Clinton. Among them was GOP presidential hopeful Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., who said, "We cannot remain silent in the face of outrageous conduct."

Wu, a veteran human rights activist and a resident of California, was arrested June 19 and faces charges of illegally obtaining secret documents and other offenses. The Clinton administration is giving high priority to the case and is demanding his release. U.S.-China ties also are plagued by disputes over arms proliferation, trade, Taiwan and human rights.

State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said that with less than two months before the conference, it would be impractical to move the meeting to another country. He noted that preparations have been under way for years, and that China was the consensus choice of the United Nations during the Bush administration to host the meeting.

On Wednesday, Wu's wife suggested that Hillary Rodham Clinton, honorary chairwoman of the U.S. delegation, turn down an invitation to attend the conference. White House spokesman Mike McCurry said Mrs. Clinton's participation still was not yet decided.

The conference opens Sept. 4 and is expected to draw some 36,000 delegates. The draft action plan calls for progress in women's educational, economic and health concerns.

Gingrich had suggested an alternate site following a reported warning by a State Department official, quoted in The Washington Times, that American delegates could be arrested and imprisoned if they take Bibles into China.

Asked about the Times report, Burns said China when it agreed to host the conference undertook a responsibility to respect the human rights of the participants and to allow free expression.

"And it would be illogical and unreasonable to assert that Americans could not bring Bibles to an international conference," he said.

The official quoted by Gingrich said through an aide that the Times took her remarks out of context. There was no attempt to discourage delegates from taking personal Bibles to China, only a caution against bringing several Bibles into China for the purpose of proselytizing the local population, the aide said.

APNP-07-14-95 0840EDT

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

By John McCaslin

Law breaker

Sen. Paul Simon, Illinois Democrat, says Congress "made a mistake" when it enacted a law proposed by the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee that bars members of Congress from writing job recommendations.

And it's no wonder. Mr. Simon wrote a letter not long ago to Health and Human Services Secretary Donna E. Shalala, which reads:

"Dear Donna: I am enclosing a resume for Dennis Gowie, who was a hospital administrator in Washington, D.C., until the new administration here took over.

"I do not know him well, but he lives in the same apartment building that Jeanne and I live in, and he makes an excellent impression and has a superior background.

"I don't know where or if you are able to use someone with his background in your administration, but I think his background is so rich in the health care administration field that he is worthy of consideration.

"Cordially, Paul Simon."

Not long after he sent the letter to HHS, "I got the letter back with a letter saying I violated the law," Mr. Simon acknowledged this week.

"This is a law that is ridiculous," he complained. "I think we ought to get rid of it."

More to life

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole has issued a warning to senators who continue to drag their feet before the customary August recess.

"There are already people complaining about not getting a full August recess and there are probably going to be more and more complaints as we get closer to August 4," the Kansas Republican noted this week.

"But if we want to spend more time than we should," he said, "do not be coming around to the majority leader saying, 'Oh, you can't take away our August recess.' I do not want to take away anything. I have a lot of places I can go in August, other than Iowa and New Hampshire."



Sen. Paul Simon opposes a law barring his job recommendations.

To which senators on both sides of the aisle erupted in laughter.

Burp!

More than a dozen members of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), one dressed in a pig's costume being chased by another wielding a plastic hatchet, protested outside the Rayburn House Office Building yesterday, where in the courtyard behind them Congress members and their staffs pigged out at the annual Hot Dog Lunch.

"Hey congressmen, drop your fork, eat veggies instead of pork," the PETA people chanted. It was obvious that the heat was too much for the PETA pig, who less than a half-hour into lunch shed the costume.

Having attended the lunch, we can say to PETA that a carrot doesn't take to a bun like a smoked kielbasa with mustard.

Barely A.D.

One senator is going to great lengths to "provide a bit of perspective" of the immensity of the federal debt, which at the close of business Friday stood at exactly \$4,933,039,330,339.52.

Since most citizens cannot con-

ceive of a billion anything, let alone a trillion, Sen. Jesse Helms, North Carolina Republican, pointed out that "a billion minutes ago, the crucifixion of Jesus Christ had occurred not long before."

Political sell

Politicians — mostly former ones, that is — are appearing quite frequently on TV these days, and not for the reasons we're used to.

Instead of making campaign promises, former Democratic Govs. Ann Richards of Texas and Mario Cuomo of New York were busy this year making commercials for Doritos tortilla chips, which aired during the Super Bowl.

Now, Jack Kemp, a former housing secretary and congressman, has appeared recently on screen to tout Investors Business Daily, a newspaper he enjoys reading so much that he made the commercial for free.

"For a long time, we weren't even aware he was taking the paper; we never kept track of who our subscribers might be," Kathy Sherman, the newspaper's director of public relations, said in a telephone interview.

But after the newspaper published a series of in-depth articles on health care, Mr. Kemp repeatedly was heard quoting from the features.

"We then became aware that he found the paper useful, that it was even a first read for him," noted Ms. Sherman. "In fact, if the paper didn't come, we heard about it. So we made darn sure we got it there."

Ms. Sherman said Mr. Kemp is just one of about 20 "influential leaders" in the business and financial world who agreed to appear in commercials for the Los Angeles-based newspaper, "a campaign to show that if these guys are reading the paper, maybe you ought to be reading it as well."

She said Investors Business Daily is ranked as the fastest-growing newspaper in the country with an 83 percent increase in circulation over the last five years.

off-schedule

Pro-family Dobson avoids partisanship

Politicians find impact impressive

By Larry Witham
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

COLORADO SPRINGS, Colo. — Nestled at the foot of the Rocky Mountains and nearby Pulpit Rock, a new brick complex boasting 10,000 tours a year has drawn four Republican presidential candidates in recent months.

It is the home of James Dobson's national radio, counseling and print ministry, Focus on the Family, and the visits are one more illustration of his growing role as a kingmaker for family values.

Anyone with a database of 3.5 million supporters, 2 million of them magazine subscribers, and who talks to millions on the radio each week would be a sure candidate for friendship with high-level politicians.

At Mr. Dobson, 59, says he has no ambition to play a role in the political game.

What he'll do with zeal, he says, is give the nation and the candidates the same biblical advice he has put on the airwaves since 1977, when he quit a University of Southern California post in pediatrics and psychology to minister to families and their problems.

"I will not be making statements as we get closer to the election," Mr. Dobson said in a session with reporters here last week. But he repeated his argument that the Republican Party's leadership is shying from moral issues "as if the only thing Americans care about is money."

"The first politician who articulates that [moral] concern is going to have more support than he knows what to do with," Mr. Dobson says.

He believes the Rev. Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson made "a great mistake" in taking sides by endorsing George Bush for president. And he doesn't rule out votes going to some form of third party again in 1996 if religious conservatives don't find a home in a political camp.

Yet in the face of charges that



James Dobson reaches millions of listeners from his radio station at Focus on the Family ministry headquarters in Colorado Springs, Colo.

he is partisan, some note that he has remained his own man by taking a strong point of view that criticizes both political parties.

Mr. Dobson says President Clinton's speech last week on school prayer and religious freedom was "disingenuous" by merely "stating the law as it already is." Moreover, the president was trying to "reinvent himself the 100th time."

Mr. Clinton had even mentioned Mr. Dobson recently in a speech on values, mistakenly referring to him as "reverend."

Focus on the Family will not send representatives to the Democratic or Republican national conventions. But in one sense Mr. Dobson doesn't need a floor presence. "I meet fairly regularly with

[House] Speaker Newt Gingrich," he says.

He chides Mr. Gingrich for a recent policy letter that talked about money with not a trace of values.

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, Kansas Republican, has asked Mr. Dobson to lead a task force on family and welfare reform, with a report due in September.

Besides Mr. Dole, who did not travel here, Mr. Dobson has met with four other GOP presidential hopefuls — Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas, former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander, syndicated columnist Pat Buchanan and radio talk-show host Alan Keyes, a former Reagan administration official.

"I will not be making statements as we get closer to the election," Mr. Dobson said in a session with reporters last week.

For all the political engagements on issues, Mr. Dobson says his \$100 million annual ministry is not well understood.

"It's very complicated," he says, countering the allusions that he is purely a public-policy guru.

Only \$4 million of the budget goes to public-policy work, and the public-policy magazine Citizen, with a circulation of 139,000, is a mere shadow of the 2 million subscriber family-advice monthly Focus on the Family.

More than 50 ministries operate from the complex on 40 acres here. But the most consuming for the 1,200 employees is answering the 230,000 letters and phone calls that arrive each week. The appeals are for prayers, family wisdom, crisis counseling and help in financial emergencies.

Mr. Dobson calls it an "emotion-to-emotion" ministry that talks with a vast constituency — the same approach he began with in a two-room office in Pasadena, Calif.

The phone calls and letters he used to get, he says, were about children sucking thumbs and spouses bickering.

"Now a much higher percentage of the mail has to do with child abuse and psychological problems. . . . You can just about watch the unraveling of the social order over time," he says.

The ministry last week issued a statement decrying the Fourth World Conference on Women, saying its agenda is to legitimize five different genders — and Mr. Dobson will take the issue onto his vast airwaves beginning Monday.

"It's anti-family from the first to the last," he says of the 120-page draft document for the Beijing event in September.

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MICRO ENTERPRISE

Divider Title: _____

press/miers

World Bank Plans Small Loans to Poor

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

UNITED NATIONS, July 14 — The World Bank is leading a drive to raise more than \$200 million from international donors to provide small loans to help poor people start their own businesses in developing countries.

Donors met on June 27 and 28 at the World Bank in Washington and created a group to oversee the program, which would provide the money to local banks that specialize in loans, training and advice to help poor people achieve self-sufficiency.

The loans would be as small as \$100 and would be repaid with modest interest in as little as a year, generating capital for other borrowers. The group estimates that the \$200 million in cash and programs pledged so far could finance credit for a million prospective entrepreneurs a year.

No money is available yet, because the agreement is awaiting approval from governing boards of the donor institutions. Ismail Serageldin, the group's chairman and a vice president at the World Bank, said the

Direct help for people in developing countries to set up small businesses.

group would meet again in January 1996 to allocate funds.

"The bank is the only one of the financial institutions that works on a global basis rather than a regional basis," Mr. Serageldin said in an telephone interview from Washington.

He said the program was "new to the extent that we've never done this before, but it's not an abandonment of our philosophy" of working through governments of developing countries.

The program will tap the successes that specialized local banks have experienced in making modest loans, often without collateral, to poor applicants in countries like Bangladesh, Kenya, Indonesia, the

Dominican Republic and Colombia.

The most prominent of them, the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, had assisted two million cooperative members of the bank, most of them women with families, as of last year. The bank's loans, which average \$100, help poor people support themselves by livestock and poultry-raising, handicrafts, shopkeeping or trading.

The World Bank's charter requires it to channel financial assistance through governments. The bank, which has been accused of not reaching those who most need help, described its new effort to help the poor more directly as "an important complement to the current efforts" in its development aid.

In addition to the World Bank, prospective donors include the United States Agency for International Development, the United Nations Development Program and Capital Development Fund, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the African and Asian Development Banks and the governments of Canada, France and the Netherlands.

In Possible Signal, China Releases an Ailing Dissident

By SETH FAISON

BEIJING, July 16 — China freed a prominent dissident this weekend, and human rights advocates are taking his release as a signal that Chinese leaders may be willing to take a softer stand in their diplomatic dispute with the United States.

Yang Zhou, 51, the best-known dissident in Shanghai, was allowed to return to his home on Saturday, apparently because he is in poor health. Mr. Yang said today that prison doctors had diagnosed a tumor in his throat but that he did not know if it was cancerous or benign.

Speaking by telephone in a strained whisper, and sounding like someone in considerable pain, Mr. Yang said he hoped to go overseas for medical treatment because he did not trust doctors in China to give him proper care.

As China's first political prisoner

to be released in months, a time during which several other well-known dissidents have been apprehended, Mr. Yang may represent a hint that Beijing wants to stop the free fall that its relations with Washington have suffered in recent weeks.

Zhang Weiguo, a journalist who was jailed in Shanghai after the democracy movement was crushed in 1989, said the handling of dissidents was a sensitive issue in the power struggle among leaders anticipating the death of Deng Xiaoping, China's paramount leader.

"At this point in Chinese politics, each small step has something to do with the larger situation," said Mr. Zhang, who now lives in Berkeley, Calif. Mr. Yang's release, he said, looks like a gesture to the Americans.

The thorniest issue between Bei-

jing and Washington is the fate of Harry Wu, the American citizen and former Chinese political prisoner who has been charged with spying after entering China in June. Mr. Zhang said this weekend's release could be a way of broaching the issue of Mr. Wu, who had previously documented prison conditions in China.

At the same time, Mr. Zhang said, China sometimes paroled political prisoners who are seriously ill because the authorities fear being held responsible if prisoners die in custody.

Asked if he thought his release had anything to do with American-Chinese relations, Mr. Yang said: "It's possible. It would be a way for China to gain standing in the international community, by treating people in a proper legal way."

Robin Munro, who monitors China's treatment of political prisoners

for Asia Watch in Hong Kong, noted that Beijing's attitude toward dissidents had been particularly stern in recent weeks.

"It's odd timing," Mr. Munro said, adding that he was unsure if Mr. Yang's release was a diplomatic signal. "It's possible. He's No. 1 in Shanghai, but not that well known internationally."

Kept at a labor camp in Dafeng County, about 150 miles north of Shanghai, since he was apprehended in May 1994, Mr. Yang said he suffered from constant fever and from kidney problems and had become unable to eat more than small amounts of food because of the pain in his esophagus.

In October Mr. Yang, a longtime activist who helped to set up a human rights group in Shanghai, was sentenced without a trial to three years' imprisonment.

Shrinking Gap Between Church and Polish State

By JANE PERLEZ

WARSAW, July 16 — As Poland has worked over the last four years to write a new constitution, the Roman Catholic Church has become intimately involved in the process, wielding decisive influence on some important provisions.

The church has an official observer on the drafting commission, mobilizing the bishops into action on potential problems.

Displeased with the trend of the draft document, the church has threatened to urge its members to vote against the constitution when it is put before the public.

Under Communism, the church was an institutional pillar of opposition, with Pope John Paul II, who is Polish, behind it. Now the church is pushing to transform that moral victory into lasting political gains.

Priests have campaigned for politicians from the pulpit, and the church has suggested that it will endorse a candidate in the presidential election this year.

Under the surface of the church's activities is a general anxiety that Poland may slip its moorings as a traditional Catholic culture, said Jan Turnau, the religion editor of Poland's largest daily, *Gazeta Wyborcza*. Catholic leaders fear that the country could go the way of largely secularized Western Europe, and that the church could become politically marginalized.

The Catholic Church here "is very allergic to this separation of church and state," said Jerzy Turowicz, the influential editor of the independent Catholic weekly, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, in Cracow.

The church's political successes here are manifold. Priests and nuns teach religion in public schools even though many parents and teachers have raised objections. The church has won back vast amounts of property confiscated by the Communists, although successive Governments have failed to pass a general law on the restitution of such property. And, after an era of legal, widely available abortion under Communism, the church lobbied for and won the adoption of one of Europe's most restrictive abortion laws.

During the vote on the abortion law, members of the Catholic clergy attended sessions of Parliament, and in general politicians have shown that they listen closely to the lobbying and other pressure exerted by the church.

Now, the church is focusing its attention on the new constitution. Six years after the fall of Communism, Poland still lacks a document en-

In Poland, the Catholic Church flexes its muscles.

shrining the principles of a democratic state.

"To make sure institutions control politics you need a constitution, and that has yet to happen in Polish politics," said Mark Brzezinski, a constitutional scholar who specializes in Poland.

In the discussions over the constitution, the church got its way on wording describing the relationship between church and state. Now it says it wants constitutional provisions that protect the rights of the unborn and that make clear that homosexuals have no right to teach in public schools.

Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek, the general secretary of the Polish Bishops Conference, who represents the moderate wing of the church, said

draft wording that was intended to protect the rights of homosexuals was unsatisfactory to the church. "Does it mean we will legalize lesbian and gay marriages and then we will have to allow them to take important posts and bring up children?" the Bishop asked.

His more conservative colleagues, who have the dominant voice among the 114 archbishops and bishops who make up the Polish Bishops Conference, have gone further, denouncing the draft document as "nihilistic."

The objections by the church have unsettled members of the constitutional commission, some of whom say that they fear that the drafting process will be prolonged even further. "This is the behavior of an institution that doesn't know how to behave in changed circumstances," said Jerzy Ciemniewski, a commission member.

But the head of the commission, Aleksander Kwasniewski, a former Communist and the presidential candidate currently leading in the polls, does not want to antagonize the

church. He has said compromise was possible on all provisions.

At a meeting in the episcopate's headquarters with Bishop Pieronek, Mr. Kwasniewski yielded on describing the church's relationship to the state, agreeing to strike a phrase that would have characterized it as "neutral."

In driving so hard, though, the church is relying on parishioners who do not necessarily agree with such a high political profile. Poles have a deep attachment to the Catholic religion. Churches are still crowded with standing-room-only congregations on Sundays though attendance is down from the 1980's.

But a survey published recently indicated that while 72 percent of those who were interviewed said they trusted the church, 69 percent said they believed the church was too involved in national politics.

Surveys also indicate that more than half of the country's Catholics say the abortion laws should be liberalized, although 58 percent say religion should be taught in the schools.

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PRESS & COMMUNICATIONS

Divider Title: _____

Target Audiences -

****DRAFT FOR DISCUSSION ONLY****

- Media
- Congress
- Opinion Leaders

WHY IS THE UNITED STATES GOING TO BEIJING ?

The Fourth World Conference on Women

- is the first opportunity since 1985 to call worldwide attention to the increasingly important and changing roles that women now play in their countries' political and economic institutions.
- will set an agenda for equality and partnership between men and women in the next century, one that will advance an environment in which women and men can acknowledge their interdependence and work together to build a just society based on stable democracies and economies.
- will shape public opinion and policy worldwide concerning the status of women and girls, with respect to equality of opportunity and access to education, health care, employment, economic security and personal safety from violence.
- provides US citizens an opportunity to work in partnership with the US government, as individuals and through non-governmental organizations, to shape their government's policies and priorities for advancing equality for women and girls in all facets of life; a process that has already begun.
- being held in Beijing, China, gives the US government and non-governmental organizations a critical opportunity to restate our strong stance for human rights, particularly women's human rights, in China and throughout the world.

****DRAFT DISCUSSION PAPER** -- NOT FOR CIRCULATION**

**MESSAGE ABOUT WOMEN'S GLOBAL ISSUES AND FOURTH
WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN**

I. Target Audience

→ Isolationist Community

Women and men who share common values about women's equality being necessary for economic security and a just society (stable democracies)

- Subgroups

- Print journalists, reporters, editorial writers - particularly "home town" newspapers
- Elected and other public officials who have constituencies
- Opinion leaders at local, state and regional levels, particularly heads of organizations
- A cut of the general public who are aware (read newspapers and magazines, watch and listen to television and radio talk shows, participate in community and/or political activities, are active with an organized entity or institution in their "community")

II. Historical context

- Evolution of women's equality in US
- Previous World Conferences on Women (1975 in Mexico City, 1980 in Copenhagen, 1985 in Nairobi) and other UN policy meetings (1992 Earth Summit in Rio, 1993 Human Rights Conference in Vienna, 1994 Population and Development Conference in Cairo, 1995 Social Summit in Copenhagen)

Being proud of having [produced change] made progress
celebration / Call to arms
Success stories
Women as agents of change

III. Consensus Issues

- Education/Health/Reaffirmation of agreements reached at Cairo Conference

Use Cairo language/emphasize that women and girls around the world need access to education and adequate health care so they can fulfill their responsibilities in providing/caring for themselves and their families, and in contributing to overall economy of community and country through employment and volunteer work.

- Families

Women play a vital role in sustaining families worldwide. Too many women must raise children and care for the elderly on their own. Fathers must be held accountable for child-bearing and child-rearing, including economic support of children. At the same time, mothers need full equality in pay and both parents need family support systems that enable them to balance family and work responsibilities.

- Economic Security

Women in all parts of the world need access to (decent-paying) jobs, family benefits, food and housing

- Violence and personal safety

From battered women in the United States to the thousands of impoverished women living in refugee camps, women and girls of every class, race and ethnicity are subject to violence and its aftermath.

Overarch

- Interwoven throughout are themes of political power, social justice, equality and shared values of men and women working together to achieve a balanced and just society, and women as full partners in leadership/decision making positions.

Comm.



MEMORANDUM

TO: Linda Tarr-Whelan, Center for Policy Alternatives
Lynn Cutler, Kamber Group

FROM: Emily Tynes, CCMC

DATE: February 9, 1995

RE: Budget for Media Plan

Here is the draft budget for media outreach. You will note that it includes media outreach, but none of the fundraising and social events that were discussed at the State Department as that is not CCMC's area of expertise. I think that Teresa should map out those events and add them to the budget. She will have a better idea of what the State Department will be able to accomplish in that area than Kathy or I.

Linda, I did not include a figure for the staff time associated with the research. I am clear on the cost of staff time related to the focus groups, but not the poll.

Lynn, I was not certain that your time was included in the regional meeting figures, so you will need to add those figures. Also, please let me know whether other figures were omitted.

I sense that Teresa is looking for a fairly comprehensive budget. The basic elements of a media outreach effort are included in this budget. However, I don't think we can go much further without the results of the research; we also need to see what develops at PrepComm (media and otherwise).

Finally, I am very sorry, but I am unable to attend tomorrow's meeting. Gertrude Mongella is speaking in Atlanta next week and I will be tied up tomorrow working on a reception, press and funder meetings. Please provide any additions or revisions in the morning, and I will get clean copies to you in time for the meeting.

MEDIA OUTREACH BUDGET/WCW

Research (Feb-March)		80,000
Review of existing data	5,000	
Focus Groups	40,000	
Center for Policy Alternatives Staff	35,000	

Press Kit		\$25,000
Writing, Editing and Research	10,000	
15 - 20 Fact Sheets		
Production and Artwork	7,000	
Printing (initial 2,000)	8,000	

Citizen's Guide		25,000
Writing and Editing	5,000	
Production	5,000	
Printing	15,000	

Media Outreach Through and During PrepComm		111,800
CCMC Staff and Expenses	15,000	
CCMC Staff and Expenses PrepComm through WCW (including travel and accomendations)	46,000	
Editorial Board Meetings (May - August)	22,500	
Travel-3 people @ \$1,500 per person for 5 meetings		
Freelance Writer	5,000	
Printing/Publications	12,000	
Press releases and media mailing to small groups of journalists and reporters two mailings/month		
Media Tracking and clipping service	6,300	
9 mos. (March - Nov.) @ 700/month		
Conference/Meetings	5,000	
Press briefings, luncheon sessions, one-on-one meetings with journalists		

Regional Town Meetings		160,000
(4 Meetings @ \$40,000)		
Overall Logistics and Set-up of Meeting (Outside Consultant)	15,000	
Travel and Expenses	5,000	
Media Outreach	5-10,000	
Logistics of Hall Reception	5-10,000	

*hathy
(Bork
covered)*

Postage/Courier

30,000

Two mailings/month to 1,500 reporters (March-Aug)

Miscellaneous op-eds, speeches, testimonies and
other written materials

Final Version of Press kit

Citizens Guide

Travel (for media and constituency outreach)

15,000

TOTAL

\$446,800

\$200,000 still need

C-3 \$ Fd. \$