

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	From: Stephenie Foster re: Constituency Plan (7 pages)	02/22/1996	Personal Misfile
002. memo	Theresa Loar to Wendy Sherman re: This week's highlights [partial] (1 page)	02/20/1998	P3/b(3)
003. memo	Theresa Loar to Wendy Sherman re: This week's highlights [partial] (1 page)	02/20/1998	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20060

FOLDER TITLE:

Women and Politics [1]

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

**Files of Melanne Verveer,
Assistant to the President and Chief of Staff to the First Lady
Box 44: Files**

Archived from OEOB 100 by Eric Woodard on Dec. 22, 2000

Women & Politics

Women's Roundtable
- Vital Voices

Women's Vote
- Domestic Women's Issues

Women Waging Peace
- Vital Voices

Working Women
- Domestic Women's Issues

Working Women Count
- Domestic Women's Issues

Woodstock Report

World Bank

World's Fair

WWII Memorial

Yeltsin Visit/Russia

Yemen

Youth at Risk
- Youth Development/After school/Violence

Youth Service
- Service

Youth Service Day
- Service

ENCLOSURES FILED OVERSIZE ATTACHMENTS

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*file women /
politics*

SENATOR MIKULSKI SPEECH AT
ANNENBERG SCHOOL OF COMMUNICATION,
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
"WOMEN AND POLITICS"
FEBRUARY 28, 1994

Hi.

Thank you Dr. Jameson for that introduction. Well I'm glad to be here at the University of Pennsylvania at the Annenberg School of Communication to talk about women in politics. I understand that this time last year you had Lady Thatcher talking about the New World Order. Well, friends, that's what I want to talk to you about tonight. But I won't sound like Lady Thatcher.

Yes, I am Barbara Mikulski and I am the first Democratic woman ever elected to the Senate in her own right. I am a United States Senator because the Constitution was amended twice in a way that empowered a whole generation and permitted women to vote for public office.

The first was an amendment that came out of the Populist movement that put the election of senators directly in the hands of the people and not the state legislature. A good idea, don't you think? And the other amendment came in this century when women were given the right to vote. An even better idea, don't you agree?

Had these two amendments not passed, you wouldn't have Barbara Mikulski or six others of us in the United States Senate. And though I am the first democratic woman elected in her own right, now I am not the only one. In November 1992 a change hit the United States Senate. It was of seismographic proportions. Carol Moseley-Braun became the first African-American woman ever elected to the United States Senate. Senator Patty Murray, a mother from Seattle, Washington, became the youngest woman ever elected to the United States Senate. And Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein broke all tradition when one state, the largest state, sent two women to the United States Senate.

A few months later we were joined by Kay Bailey Hutchinson. Up until November 1992 only 17 women in all of American history had ever

served in the United States Senate. Only 5 of us had been elected in her own right. Meaning, some poor guy didn't have to die so some governor could appoint a woman to take his place.

On the bicentennial of the United States Congress, a year ago, only two of us were in the United States Senate: Senator Nancy Kassebaum and myself. So my talk tonight is, why so few for so long? Why now more than ever are women becoming elected to state-wide office? Where is the path to political power? Does this new look, and new numbers, mean anything to women, for families, and to America? Tonight I want to go over that.

First the question is, why so few? I can sum it up in two words. Limited Access. First to votes. Remember, women had only had the vote since 1920. We could only hold state-wide office in the Twentieth Century. We have only had the vote 73 and a half years. The other has been limited access to campaign resources, especially money. For big ticket state-wide races.

Now keep in mind that women had been running and winning for years, especially starting in the 1970s which was the second wave of the Women's Movement in this century. Only we ran for local office: City Council, School Board, and State Rep.

We were quite successful at what I call sweat equity campaigns. A sweat equity campaign is your kind of campaign, and my kind of campaign. It's a campaign that succeeds when it depends on a candidate with real ties to the community. An advocate on behalf of local issues who has engaged large pools of devoted volunteers in small enough territory that they're running in so that they can use retail politics like door-to-door.

Meaning, the sweat equity of both the candidate and the volunteers doing retail politics that does not rely on either paid media or electronic media to win.

This set of women at the state and local level had essentially been the farm team for state-wide office. You see it in Barbara Mikulski, you see it in Ann Richards, and you saw it in the women who won in 1992.

What had been our path to power? First of all, many of us had gone to single-sex schools, all-girl schools. Many of us who now hold high public office or corporate office went to either an all-girls' high school or an all-girls' college. Let me tell you some of their names: Dianne Feinstein, Dr. Madeleine Albright our Ambassador to the United Nations, Hillary Clinton, Barbara Mikulski, Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi, Congresswoman Barbara Kennelly, and I could go on.

The Women's College Coalition has told me that though only 5% of the women who have a Bachelor's degree went to an all-women's school. 50% of them are in either Congress or the United States Senate. Up until 1992 50% of the women in the United States Senate had gone to an all girl's college. Of course I did and Nancy Kassebaum didn't. As well as one fourth of the female board members of Fortune 500 companies have been to these schools.

Why? I believe that it is often at the all-girls' schools and all-girls' colleges, women get a better chance to try out their executive and their creative abilities. This has been an important thing where you learn to

compete in an atmosphere where you don't get a dominant cultural message that in order you succeed you really have to fail. The old Mattina Horner research of which I'm sure you are familiar. Are you familiar with that research? It states that in order to succeed "to gather the favors in terms of your dates, your popularity, and what others will think of you that you really have to dumb yourself down." This often happens to women in co-ed environments where they take a back-step to leadership responsibility. When they go in, they might go in to talk, but not to debate. They go on to college newspapers, but they won't go for editor. They'll run for Student Council, maybe help one of the student health projects, but they won't run for president. And these are what studies have indicated. You might want to ask me some questions about that.

The other path to power, and probably the one that is most dominant: women who have been active in communities, that is, community advocates at the grassroots. The way most of these farm teams got started is that women get active at a grassroots level in a cause, a passion and an issue. Most women don't even realize that they're getting started in politics. They think they're getting started in the community.

They think that getting started in the community, on an issue, is really helping their community or helping their neighbor.

Most often they get involved in an issue that affects their family. For example, Senator Patty Murray became active in the P.T.A. She saw that school funding was quite skimpy. She decided to do something about it and ran first for school board and then ran for State Representative. The rest now is history. Most women get active in either working at a P.T.A. or they might be organizing to stop a hazardous waste dump or to get more services for emotionally disturbed kids.

It is a path many of us follow. The path is a simple one: seeing a compelling need and organizing a group or a plan of action to deal with it. Then, being stymied by the current political system, taking the risk to run for public office. This is a very important thing because it is different than just being a part of a law firm, the club, a big alumni association or something that's going to move you ahead. They also believe that holding public office is to have the power to deal with that community issue.

Now my own story is an example of that. I didn't always wear a senatorial toga size 14 petite. I started out as a social worker, a child welfare worker. I am a preacher probably as old as your mother, or your father, or your aunt and went to college in the fifties. You remember the fifties? I'm sure you studied it in history class. In my generation we didn't think about politics. That is because politics at the national level was Eisenhower and Mamie. At the local level, it was pot-bellied machine guys who smoked cigars and hung out in groups that I didn't even want to be a part of.

I was a social worker who worked first in child welfare and in child neglect. I decided that I was going to change the system and quite frankly my supervisor told me that I didn't have a therapeutic personality. Reagan and Bush and even Bill Clinton would agree with that. Then I went to get a Master's degree in a field called community organization or social strategy, organizing people for help and self-help. And within that environment, I worked for a long time as a grassroots organizer.

Then, in 1968, when Martin Luther King was killed and Bobby

Kennedy was killed, and Richard Nixon became the President, I decided that I wanted to take a year or a couple of years off, and get a doctorate in public health and be ready to be an Assistant Secretary of Health at HEW when Ed Muskie would become President.

So, I went around and got myself into Hopkins, and got my money, because you know getting into a great school is one thing but having the tuition money is another. It was so in the sixties and now it's still so in the nineties, isn't it? I was on my way then to doing this when I was invited to a meeting at a local church, St. Stanislaus Church, which was in the older Polish neighborhood in Baltimore. Another friend of mine who was a social worker said, "You've got to come to this meeting. They want to put a 16-lane highway through the old European ethnic communities: the Polish neighborhood, Greektown, Little Italy. And over on the westside they want to put that same highway through the first black homeownership neighborhood in Baltimore. And the people are afraid to organize. The Mayor wants it, the City Council wants it, the political machines want it, the Greater Baltimore Committee wants it, everybody wants it but the people. And they're afraid to organize."

So I went to the meeting at this church, talked with the people, listened to what they had to say. And I said, "You can fight City Hall. And I could show you how to do it. I know how to do it." Now you have to know I had a lot of currency with everybody there because my grandmother ran the best Polish bakery in Baltimore. So everybody knew the name Mikulski. My family had a lot of credibility in the community. Well, I helped organize that community. I said, "The first thing we have to do is get ourselves a militant name and create the illusion of power." That night with 12 people we created the group called SCAR, Southeast Council Against the Road.

Because of my involvement in civil rights, I knew many in the leadership in West Baltimore organizing the African-American community. I talked with my friends and they were organizing a group on the westside called RAM, Relocation Action Movement. Then, together we made a coalition which they said could not be done in a city at that time right after the 1960 riots. But we knew that if you came together with a mutual need, you'd form mutual respect. We sure did and we formed a group called MAD, Movement Against Destruction.

All of this began to take the summer and the momentum was building. We had a saying Communications majors will know, that is: We had to make the news our commercials against the road. So, we always did innovative and creative things. We didn't just picket. We organized a festival to show our community.

We had to go against the State Roads Commission. They had thousands of dollars for use with multimedia connections. We organized the biggest bake sale Baltimore ever saw, with every ethnic group cooking.

You'll appreciate how I got to make my first appearance on TV. At the Fells Point festival, in the epicenter of where the expressway was going to come, we set out something called Radio Free Fells Point to show how all of this was happening. They came, and remember this is lower waterfront area, that was part of the original founding of Baltimore. I stood up and they said, "Here comes the TV. You talk."

I said, "All right." I stood up on a table and said, "The British couldn't

take Fells Point, the termites couldn't take Fells Point, and God damn the State's Roads Commission can't take Fells Point." Yes!

Well friends, a star was born that day. I tell you just so that you can understand that we really understood the use of communication to accomplish our agenda. In the meantime, the clock was ticking. Hopkins was ready to start the school year. I had helped initiate this activity working with other grassroots people, and I knew that I couldn't leave. So, I went to Hopkins and I asked them to save me my place, that I needed to stay another year to stay the course to do this community organization effort. They said, "We'll save you a place, but we can't guarantee that we'll save you the money."

I made the choice to stick with the community. In sticking with the community, I never looked back. As I worked on that expressway fight, and this is what happens to just about every other woman who holds a congressional office, I saw that knocking on the doors you were often ignored or minimized. I decided to open those doors by running for public office. I announced that I was going to run for the Baltimore City Council.

Everybody laughed at me. They said, "You can't run and win."

"Nobody who isn't part of the political machine can win. Nobody who was active in civil rights can win in these neighborhoods. And nobody, nobody believes that a woman can win in 1971 in Baltimore for City Council."

I put together that grassroots retail campaign in which we organized people to do this retail political effort. I will tell you, as I went door-to-door, one of the women came to the door and said, "Are you with the machine?"

And I said, "No, I'm challenging the machine."

And she said, "Are you any relationship to Mikulski's Bakery?"

I said, "Yes, that's my grandmother's and my uncle's."

And she said, "Listen kid. If you're even half as good as your donuts

you'll be OK."

And that became my slogan. To this day I'm still trying to be half as good as my grandmother's donuts.

I tell you that story because I think it shows you how these things work. They work for women to be able to get elected by a retail campaign. Notice how we used free media. You see how this path lends itself to being successful in a campaign that does not require paid media. It has very little reliance on the media at all, but tremendous grassroots organizing. Campaigns for either Congress, state-wide office, governors, or attorney general are a different story. It is at the core of why it has been so hard for us to break the glass ceiling for either a Congressional or state-wide opportunity.

A successful campaign for state-wide office must be able to have paid media, to be able to buy your own media. If a candidate believes that they can do this on free media, you're only kidding yourself. I was at a recent

meeting of a group called EMILY. EMILY is a group founded by Ellen Malcolm and it stands for Early Money Is Like Yeast, it raises more dough. It's designed to raise money for Democratic women running in a primary. At a meeting at the EMILY's List for new candidates I said that every woman candidate running for either the House of the Senate or for Governor, needs a MOM: money, organization and media. MOM: money, organization and media.

That's why access to money to pay for media needs to have a full-time organization. It is crucial. Until recently, that has been the single most significant obstacle to breaking the glass ceiling in either Senate, House or Governor's races. Now it's changing, and it's changing fast. I'm going to tell you how it has changed.

Let me say a word first about the media. And I speak about free media. That is, press you don't get to pay for in either TV, radio or print. For women running for office they erroneously believe that their reliance on free media will carry her or carry her message. It is a flawed strategy. It is founded on the fact that they believe that past is prologue.

Meaning, often women who won their City Council or their state legislature races think that because they got good free media when they were in those races that when they announce for the United States Senate or to be Governor of a great state, like Ann Richards, that that's going to be there for them. When you're at the local level you're kind of a popular, retail, go-get-em, organizing kind of candidate and you're lionized by the media as this grassroots leader, a Populist officeholder. It's kind of the David and Goliath situation. The press is friendly. You're often sought after. They look for your pithy quotes. You either get in or on the media or you're also part of the larger story.

The day you announce for a state-wide race, it all changes. Once a candidate announces, first of all, the media opportunities shrink. The second, often you find, particularly then for we women, it is harsh. It is scrutinizing. It's adversarial, and most often even combative. Women, as we undergo this process, are continually tested to prove both our credibility and our competence to be leaders. It is an assumption on the part of the media that men have competence for these state-wide offices but time after time we get the question, "Why are you qualified?" They never ask my



male state-wide opponents that question.

We also have to continually prove our credibility. Whatever we are, we're minimized and we're trivialized. Mostly, the reporting is on our looks, our make-up, our hairdo, our clothing. So they'll say the same thing, "The short, stocky, Barbara Mikulski aggressively said 'Ban the Bomb!'" Or something like that.

In my primary for the United States Senate, I was in a world-class primary with two wonderful Democratic men that I had been colleagues with. One a governor, Governor Harry Hughes, and the other, Michael Barnes, a congressman. We never defined ourselves as adversaries. We defined ourselves as competitors. However, within that, they reported on the Governor, they never said, "The handsome, but nevertheless aging Harry Hughes shows a trifle, unexpected pot-belly from sitting 8 years in the Statehouse."

They never, ever did that. What they would say about Mike Barnes is "The dashing Mike Barnes, a former marine."

What they say about Kay Bailey Hutchinson was, "Kay Bailey Hutchinson, former cheerleader." See the difference.

Often our style is criticized. Whatever our style is, it is criticized that we were either too soft-spoken or we are too outspoken. So, whatever is our style of communication, good is never good enough. Our marital status always has also become a subject that is negative. I once told a group of international parliamentarians, women parliamentarians, this story.

No matter what we are as we run for office, our marital status is penalized. If your married, the press tells us that you're neglecting them. If you're widowed, deep down inside you really killed him. If you're divorced, you couldn't keep him. If you're single, you couldn't get somebody in the first place. So, no matter what, we have to continually defend ourselves. Those are the kinds of things we face.

We even face other things with women reporters. Often young, pencil-press reporters are obsessed with proving they're objective to their



peers and are more critical. Often you'll see a profile piece that's more psycho-babble than about power, even though we achieve power. There are wonderful exceptions, and I would encourage you to look at reporters like Coky Roberts and the outstanding job she does, Maureen Dowd, Robin Toner, Eleanor Clift and people like that. They really do an excellent job.

You can see how paid media is important to fashioning our own message about ourselves and our agenda. This is why fundraising is so important. Now what is so hard about women and raising money? I mean, is it hormonal? No, it's not. It is our attitude to that money and our approach to fundraising.

First of all, women don't like to raise money for themselves. They like to raise money for their issue. They don't understand, and but now women are coming to understand, that when you raise money for yourself as a candidate you are really raising money for your issue. I am the person that, in working with Pat Schroeder and Olympia Snowe and a bunch of others, made sure that women are now included in the clinical trials in NIH. It was the women of the Congress and ourselves that did that. We

were the force to make the issue happen.

Our methods of raising money are often community-oriented: small donors and small amounts, not high donors or high amounts. When I ran for the Senate, I knew I had to go beyond that bake sale. So, I did both. I believe my other colleagues do that. However, I did small donor ones, all beginning with "B". I did "Bowling for Barb," "Be-bop for Barb," "Barbecue for Barb." Everything, everything. But, I said I would not do "Bungee-jumping for Barb." When we did those we showed that we had built grassroots support, and could build even more grassroots support.

Then we had high-dollar events. We did Glitterati. Streisand did an event. Lily Tomlin did an event. We had lots of other kinds of things. And we were able to raise the money. What did it take? I raised one million dollars for my primary election and spent every single nickel of it.

In my general election where I ran against another woman, Linda Chavez, I spent another million as I campaigned earring-to-earring against her. In 1992, when I got 71% of the vote, I raised and spent 3 million

dollars. I broke the record, got one million votes, got myself elected, and then to also made sure we got the key to delivering Maryland for Bill Clinton. We were able to raise our money, and so could the other women in the Senate.

What was different about 1992? You had an extraordinary convergence. You had the seismographic impact of the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas hearings, what Naomi Wolf calls "the genderquake." You also had the founding of EMILY by Ellen Malcolm in which you're raising money through small donors, really yuppie donors, asking them to pledge \$250 a year. Then she organized the money. We could get the money out to the women in the primaries where we were facing that competition.

In 1986, when EMILY was just getting started, Ellen Malcolm provided me with the first money with my poll showed that, despite what the press was saying, among the people I was the frontrunner. Once that polling information got out, I was favored a leverage with volunteer support and financial support.

We had Anita Hill. We had EMILY. We had this great farm team ready to go into action, to be a league of our own. The American people wanted change and they wanted continuity. They wanted change in terms of a national direction and a national priority. It was the economy. It was the domestic agenda. It was the end of Bush. It was the end of the GI-Joe generation controlling politics.

But it was also a desire for the continuity of values related to family, community, and work. It became a tidal wave. The press called it the "Year of the Woman". I personally didn't like the title, like we only get one year per century like the year of the dog, the year of the zebra, the year of whatever. But, we did show it was that. It was the year of the woman.

The impact of the Anita Hill situation, I think, has forever changed our culture. Remember the Anita Hill hearings? I remember them. Only two women in the Senate. The lone woman telling her story of sexual harassment facing the Senate Judiciary Committee where there was no one there. Republicans were harsh, punitive and accusatory. The Democrats were tepid, timid, and tentative in terms of questioning in her defense.

There was no woman on the Judiciary Committee, and only two women were in the whole United States Senate. Of the two of us, there was only one of us who spoke up for Anita Hill, that she be treated with respect and with dignity.

As a result, there was a volcanic outrage among both women and men and a passion to do something about it. The farm team was there and they were emerging. EMILY came along and it gave candidates resources. It gave, through EMILY, a chance to operationalize that passion and good intentions. This we could link up with a great mood sweeping the country for big changes, focusing on a domestic agenda and yet the continuity of those values related to family, work and community. If you want to know then what happened, you know the rest is history.

Several women joined me in the United States Senate. Several fantastic women joined me in the United States Senate. If you want to know more about this, read Senator Barbara Boxer's book called Strangers in the Senate. Also, if you want to amplify your thinking on this, also read Naomi Wolf's book called Fire with Fire. It calls this time in American

history the "genderquake," and in fact, a genderquake it is.

Now you have us in the Senate. Now you know why we got there. Let me just go on with two more points: What difference does it make? I know the world has changed. Now you have seven of us in the Senate. Does it mean anything or is it just a new look for the old face of politics as usual? I absolutely believe we have brought change in the United States Senate.

Why? Because we, the Democratic women, have defined ourselves as power feminists. First, because we are not afraid to call ourselves feminists. We are pro-choice and we are pro-change. Second, we believe in harnessing power to bring about more change. We have defined ourselves as power feminists, not victim feminists. What do I mean by that? It is best articulated by Naomi Wolf in her book: "Power feminists believe that you bring about change by organizing for coalitions. Victim feminism charges women to identify with powerlessness, even at the expense of taking responsibility for the power they do possess. They denigrate leadership and value being anonymous. They're obsessed often

with purity but, most of all, follow a psychology of scarcity. There's a feeling that there is only so much to go around and that you need to equalize in a way that goes downward. It is stern. It is grim. It often wallows in what went wrong."

We, the women of the Senate, believe in power feminism. We believe that there have been wrongs both to women and to other groups that have been let down and left behind, to individuals who often face incredible suffering or abuse. We believe that in acknowledging the suffering, you don't cling to the suffering.

You identify points of power to bring about change for yourself and for other people. We believe that one person can make a difference. Working together we can bring about change and we do it in coalitions.

We seek power. We are the embodiment of Wolfe's description of power feminism, and I quote from her book:

"We examine closely the forces weighed against us so we can exercise our power more effectively. We know that poverty is not glamorous. We

want women to acquire money, independence and security. We believe that you do this by forming coalitions and you do that by forming coalitions with others within our own group."

"We have strong convictions, but we're open to other opinions. We see neither women nor men having a monopoly on character. We do not attack men as a gender but see, yes, often male power has been used against us and therefore form alliances with the galahads who support us to bring about change, to bring about sustainable change, and to bring about permanent change."

"What do we want? We want more. We want better. We want more self-respect. We want more education. We want more safety. We want more health. We want more money. Not only in the lawbooks, but we want it in our checkbooks, and we want it now. We want it in the 21st Century. We want it for ourselves. We want it for you. We want it for America. We want it for the whole world. That's why we call ourselves power feminists."

We have done that. We have done it in a couple of ways. When the democratic came to the United States Senate, the very first day I organized something called power workshops. When I organized the power workshops I took everything I had learned in my six years of being here and put it in a series of notes and memos. So, by coming together with my colleagues we could claim that power to be effective. My workshop dealt with: How do you get started in the Senate? How do you get started on your committees, and so on? That very first day when the media was following my new colleagues around, they said, "We hear that you're having the women come to your office."

I said, "Yes, I am."

"Are you having a tea?"

I said, "No, I am having a power workshop."

He said, "What's that?"

I said, "Wait and see!" And wait and see people did.

We decided that we did not want to be a voting block. But, we would form an alliance for power. We would make sure that we stuck to our pro-choice agenda. And that we did. We learned a content strategy. We learned a process strategy. We actually did workshops on a variety of rules bringing in the best parliamentary people. When the Appropriations Committees came up, we identified on all 13 bills where there would be people who would be organizing to restrict our pro-choice opportunity. We each worked with each other.

I chair the Committee that funds VA and they talked about putting abortion restrictions on women in VA hospitals. I said, "No way, Jose are you going to get by this Chairperson."

When they talked about putting restrictions on abortions on women in prison, we said, "Women are already under your control. Just leave that subcommittee alone."

When they talked about the whole issue of federal employees, we went to the floor and said, "You're legislating on Appropriations. We call into question Rule 16."

They said, "What? Don't you want to debate the issue?"

We said, "No."

"Don't you want to argue the issue?"

We said, "No. We want Rule 16 adopted in the Senate."

We moved it. It was an arcane rule that says you can not legislate with appropriations. With one dept, swift, parliamentary move we knocked them out of the box. As they said, we boxed above our class that day. Let me tell you, we do have to knock that out. Those are the kinds of things we've done just on that one issue. You know others. We come to help each other.

Carol Moseley-Braun stood up to take on Jesse Helms to tear down the Confederate flag. Dianne Feinstein, whose is seated next to her in the United States Senate didn't even realize it, but held her hand and every woman in the Senate left whatever she were doing that day to dash to the floor to be with her.

When the Crime Bill was coming up, Senator Feinstein said, "I want to bring in a ban on assault weapons."

They said, "It will trigger a Republican filibuster."

We said, "If we don't bring it up we'll do a filibuster of our own."

When Feinstein went to the Floor to deliver her debate on assault weapons, she had all of us behind her arguing the ban. We stuck with her, organizing the coalition with Dennis DeConcini, Carl Levin and others. Because when we won that, we brought the Brady Bill out. By the way, today is the first day the Brady Bill is in effect.

So you see, we feel we've out there and we've been doing it. We've been doing it by organizing coalitions with the wonderful men in the United States Senate. We call them the galahads. We work every day with Harris Wofford to get a national service bill passed so that you can have the opportunity to do service in your own community and earn a voucher to be able to reduce that significant student debt that you have.

We work with Chris Dodd on family leave. We work with Senator Kennedy on terms of reforming health insurance. Today, by the way, the women of the United States Senate were in New York City with Hillary Rodham Clinton on health insurance reform and raising money for other Democratic candidates. So you see, we're out there working.

In conclusion, let me just tell you this story because it means a lot to me: it's about the day I knew the world had changed. Right after the election every November, they have something called the Senate School where people who have just been elected to the Senate come to get an orientation and begin to learn the ropes. That day, the first thing that was called was the Democratic Caucus. I knew who had won and as we

gathered in the old Senate chambers, they began to call a roll. When they called the roll, I knew my colleagues were really there. Boxer, Feinstein, Moseley-Braun, Mikulski, Murray. Sitting next to me was Senator Carol Moseley-Braun. She picked up her desk because the tradition in the Senate is that every time you get a desk you carve your name in it. Senator Carol Moseley-Braun looked at me and she said, "Barbara, I'm at Steven Douglas' desk. Wow."

She said, "Isn't this the chamber where they did the Missouri Compromise?"

And I said, "Yes, it is."

She reached over and took my hand and she said, "We never have to compromise ever again."

A few minutes after that we left to be with Dianne Feinstein who had been sworn in to the United States Senate. We had a wonderful day with festivities and so on. That evening, on that glorious day, the Democratic

Senate Women's Council held a reception. Ellen Malcolm was coming and she said, "I'd like to bring a special guest."

She did bring a surprise visitor. She brought Anita Hill. None of us, with the exception of Senator Boxer, had ever met Anita Hill. During that that terrible year, we had never met her but because of her we had all won and in many ways were all part of the genderquake that followed.

After each of us had spoken, we invited Professor Hill to speak. And speak she did. She thanked Senator Boxer for leading that famous march on the Senate. You might remember the picture. The women from the House coming up to bang on the Democratic Caucus door saying, "Let women in." She thanked me for speaking up, for defending her, and for defending her dignity. She had wonderful words to say about Senator Feinstein and Senator Murray.

Then she spoke eloquently of election night, our election night. She told us of a conversation she had with her mother. She saw that I had won in Maryland. Then she looked to another time zone and saw that

Senator Braun had been elected to the United States Senate. With that, as the returns were starting to come in from the west coast she called her mother and said, "Mother, can you see what's happening? Democratic women are running and winning all over. Did you see Carol Moseley-Braun. Carol Moseley-Braun, the first African-American woman is going to come to the United States Senate."

And Professor Hill said, "I spoke with my mother that night with great joy and with great healing because my mother had been with me through all of those dark, devastating, humiliating days in the United States Senate. My mother said to me, 'Anita, out of the ashes of your humiliation something wonderful has happened. We have seen in one century you can go from slavery, to suffrage, to now Carol Moseley-Braun in the Senate. We will be victims no more.'"

That night, as we hugged, kissed, shook hands, I knew that now and forevermore, women never again would be strangers in the United States Senate.

BC-CAMPAIGN-BACKLASH (NEWS ANALYSIS, SCHEDULED)

Attack on Hillary Clinton may provoke backlash

By Alan Elsner, Political Correspondent

WASHINGTON, June 20 (Reuter) - Republican senators have risked provoking a backlash among women voters by bashing Hillary Rodham Clinton in their report on the Whitewater controversy.

The report issued on Tuesday by the all-male Republican majority of a Senate investigating committee came close to accusing the wife of Democratic President Bill Clinton of obstructing justice in the tangled web of financial, legal and political dealings known as Whitewater.

"Most roads lead from the first lady and back to her," said Alabama Republican Richard Shelby in summing up the majority report -- which was repudiated by the committee's Democratic minority as a blatant election-year attack.

The majority report alleged that White House aides and personal associates apparently acting at Mrs. Clinton's behest had thwarted investigators, run a cover-up and even destroyed evidence related to various aspects of the Whitewater affair.

That affair began with a failed land investment in Arkansas in the 1980s but also encompasses a bank failure, allegations of financial fraud and the 1993 suicide of a White House aide.

Now it appears that even some Republican women are troubled by all the finger-pointing at Mrs Clinton, especially since she was never called to answer questions before the committee.

"There are many professional working women who look at Hillary with great admiration. I have a feeling that working women will care a great deal about this," said Mary Crisp, the founder of the Republicans for Choice abortion-rights group.

Georgetown University government professor Diana Owen said young women in the classes she taught often raised questions about the harsh political treatment of Mrs Clinton.

"I think there will be something of a backlash," Owen said. "Even women in my class who are Republicans feel she has been bashed all along. A lot of women are looking for a political role model and Hillary provides one."

Owen said she sees similarities between the Republican attacks on Mrs. Clinton and the 1991 grilling by an all-male Senate panel of Anita Hill, a law professor who accused Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas of sexually harassing her.

The hearings on Thomas, whose nomination was confirmed, galvanized many women in the 1992 election that made Clinton president and elected more women to Congress than ever before.

Democrats have rallied to Mrs. Clinton's defense.

"There's some kind of venom, really, directed toward the first lady," said Senator Paul Sarbanes of Maryland, senior Democrat on the Whitewater panel. "Obviously, the president has in a sense no involvement and they shifted the attack over to the first lady and I deplore it."

Democratic political operative Lynn Cutler said: "This is a hearing that's been run by cowards and bullies that went into this with a pre-determined conclusion. This feels personal to a lot of us."

If there were to be a significant political backlash, it would spell further trouble for Republican presidential challenger Bob Dole, who trails Clinton badly among women in the campaign for the November 5 presidential election.

An ABC/Washington Post poll released on Wednesday found Clinton leading Dole by 10 percentage points among men but by 31 points among women, for an overall lead of 20 points.

Republican strategists who have looked at this "gender gap" find that Republicans do fairly well among married women but are very weak among single working women of all ages.

file women & politics

Mrs Clinton, 48, has been a controversial figure throughout her husband's presidency. She was architect of his attempt to reform the U.S. health care system in 1994, a move now seen as perhaps the biggest failure of his term in office.

She is an accomplished lawyer, and many of the allegations against her stem from her work as a partner in a Little Rock law firm when her husband was governor of Arkansas.

In January, she became the first U.S. president's wife ever forced to testify before a federal grand jury. She was questioned about the mysterious sudden appearance in the White House family quarters of legal billing records that had been missing and sought for two years by Whitewater investigators.

Polls show Mrs. Clinton is less popular than her husband. And a CBS/New York Times poll conducted May 31 to June 3 said only 12 percent of those surveyed thought she was telling the whole truth on Whitewater. Sixty percent felt she was hiding something and 15 percent thought she was lying outright.

REUTER

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FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
CHAPTER FOR
AMERICAN WOMEN IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

The 75th anniversary of women's suffrage in America offers a special opportunity for all Americans to reflect on the historic contributions of women to our families, our communities, and our nation. The following are excerpts from speeches by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton about the role of women in our society.

Scripps College Keynote, Claremont, CA, 4/26/94

There is no recipe book, there is no road map for one's life. Each decision, everyday, has to be made in the best way you know how....

...I look back now in the last 25 years and think about the choices my women friends have made. I have friends who are living very much like my mother lived. They are full-time homemakers, full-time mothers volunteering in their communities.

And if they feel good about their choices, then they are living the lives they were meant to live, with integrity and excellence. And I have friends who never married -- who have not yet had children, although that becomes an increasing possibility as the years go by, unlike the past, and who have devoted themselves to one career or many, taking joy and enthusiasm out of everywhere they've lived, everywhere they've worked, every challenge they've met and confronted. And if they are satisfied

and have lived their lives with integrity, then that is the right choice for them.

Most of us struggled to balance family and work at different points in our lives. I have friends who have had their children in their 20's. And by the time they are in their late 30s and 40s, are embarked on a whole new set of life experiences. I have friends who have had their careers in their 20s and their 30s and started having children in their 40s. All different combinations of possibilities that are now open to women.

And the only thing that is holding women back from realizing their full potential is their own insecurity about the choices they make in their own lives, and their unwillingness to listen to the silent voice inside themselves which tells them what is the right decision for them, and not the siren calls of either praise or condemnation that come from the outside.

The real opportunity that exists for all of us, and this is one of the great gifts of being a woman today in our society, is the opportunity we have to make the choices that are right for us, and to know that the choice you make at 20 may be different than the choice you make at 30, or 40, or 50, or 60, or 70, or as the woman I met in the receiving line earlier, at 90....

...You young women have that opportunity today. And what I hope is that, once and for all, we can break free of the stereotypes that imprison women and their potential, that tell them the choices they made are not right because they are not right in somebody else's eyes. And I hope that we can respect

the choices women make, and support those choices, giving each other the nurturing and the love and the friendship that enable all of us to listen to that internal voice and to pursue the direction it gives.

I'm often asked if what I am doing in Washington creates a new role model for First Ladies. And I always say, I don't want to create any new stereotype. I want to free women to live according to their own needs and desires.

National Women's Law Center Dinner, Washington, DC, 11/30/94

As women...we have learned that we can use our skills to affect the world around us to make changes. And we can also acknowledge the progress that we have seen occur. But we know very well there continue to be impediments to that progress, and that we find ourselves in a time not only of taking stock, but of rebuilding. We need to rebuild how we approach problems. We need to rebuild how we see ourselves and our institutions....

...The path to restoring and rebuilding, whether we talk of families or communities, political institutions, is work that has to involve those of us who care about and share that vision. That vision often comes from working against the odds...That vision is fueled by the need to balance family and work. That vision is rooted in our hopes about what we can become and not just what we are....

...Of course women are not monolithic. We know that. But

as we spend more time listening to one another and working with each other, we find that the universe we inhabit has many characteristics in common. We worry about our roles. We worry about our places. We worry about our families and relationships. We worry about our jobs. And as we worry we need to appreciate that those individual concerns have a political, cultural, social, economic, and legal character as well....

...We know that many of the advances that women have made have not been seen as they should be seen as increasing the pie of opportunity, as expanding the horizons for all of us, but as being a zero/sum game, in which others have lost because women have been given a chance to fulfill their own potential....

...And we know that whether you are Janet Reno or Ruth Bader Ginsberg or any of the other women pioneers in the law, in government, or in business, that you have much in common with every other woman in our country. And what we must do now is make common ground with all women. We must make it clear that advances for women, protections for women, choices for women, are for all women. There is no special class of women. What we want to do is to give all of our children, men and women of the future, the chance to make the choices that are right for their lives.

Rajiv Gandhi Foundation, New Delhi, India, 3/29/95

I want to talk with you today about what I consider central

to a good common future that we can create together -- the importance of ensuring that women are invested in their own lives and able to participate fully in our national lives. Women represent half the world's population. And yet in country after country, they lack access to education, to health services, to jobs, to political and civil rights. Where women lack access to education, health care and economic opportunity, children tend to be less educated, less well nourished and families tend to be both larger and poorer. Where women are illiterate, experience has shown that the environment is often poorly managed and democracy remains fragile. One lesson the experience of the last several decades teaches us is that where women prosper, countries prosper.

But the education of women has even greater benefits for societies. Education helps us understand and tolerate differences and so holds out the promise that we can live together more harmoniously. Education helps us comprehend the unsettling changes in our lives today and helps us better manage those changes. Education is as important to peace as it is to prosperity.

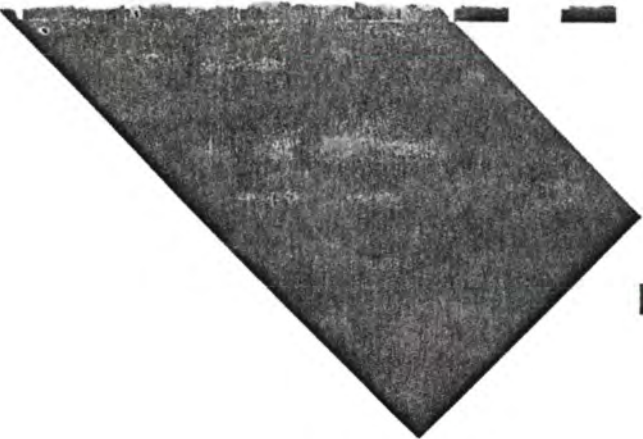
But what is it that we must do to bring women fully into our national lives? Among other things, we must be able to attend school and learn, not just to be literate but to acquire the knowledge and skills -- of medicine, of engineering, of management, of computers and so forth -- that will contribute to the prosperity of their families and nations. Women must have

access to health care, especially the care they need as expecting or new mothers. Wives, together with their husbands, must have access to family planning services to enable them to make voluntary, responsible and informed choices about the size of their families. And, children -- girls as well as boys -- must have access to preventive and curative medical care that will enable them to grow into healthy adults.

Often the discussion of such problems as education and health care for girls and women is viewed by some as "soft," labelled dismissively as a woman's issue belonging, at best, on the edge of serious debate about all the 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. Governments, business and citizens must recognize and act upon the truth for the betterment of nations and our global family.

Women have to be responsible for their own lives and their own futures and work together to provide opportunities for themselves and others. It is particularly important that women find their own voice and become participants and decision-makers in the home, the work place, community, and nation.

All of us must participate in a conversation about how to shape the changes we seek in the world we share. Too often a deafening silence still sounds when women's concerns are raised.



The 1994 Elections and Gender Gaps in Economic Insecurity

Presentation of Findings





Overview

Elections

- ✓ Democrats had trouble with white women, middle brow women, married women, and boomer and senior women.
- ✓ Women's turnout was down. In 1992, women made up 54% of the electorate. In 1994, 51% with declines among white non-college educated women.

Economic Insecurity and Money

- ✓ Women were less likely to think the economy was in recovery and felt worse off, not better.
 - ✓ Women worry about jobs and keeping up.
 - ✓ Men worry most about taxes and deficit.
 - ✓ Women also tend to worry more about health care and crime.
 - ✓ In 1992, both men and women worried that government had become too intrusive.
- 
- 



The Democratic Coalition Has Frayed

Our Vote Among Key Groups Dropped Steeply From 1992 to 1994

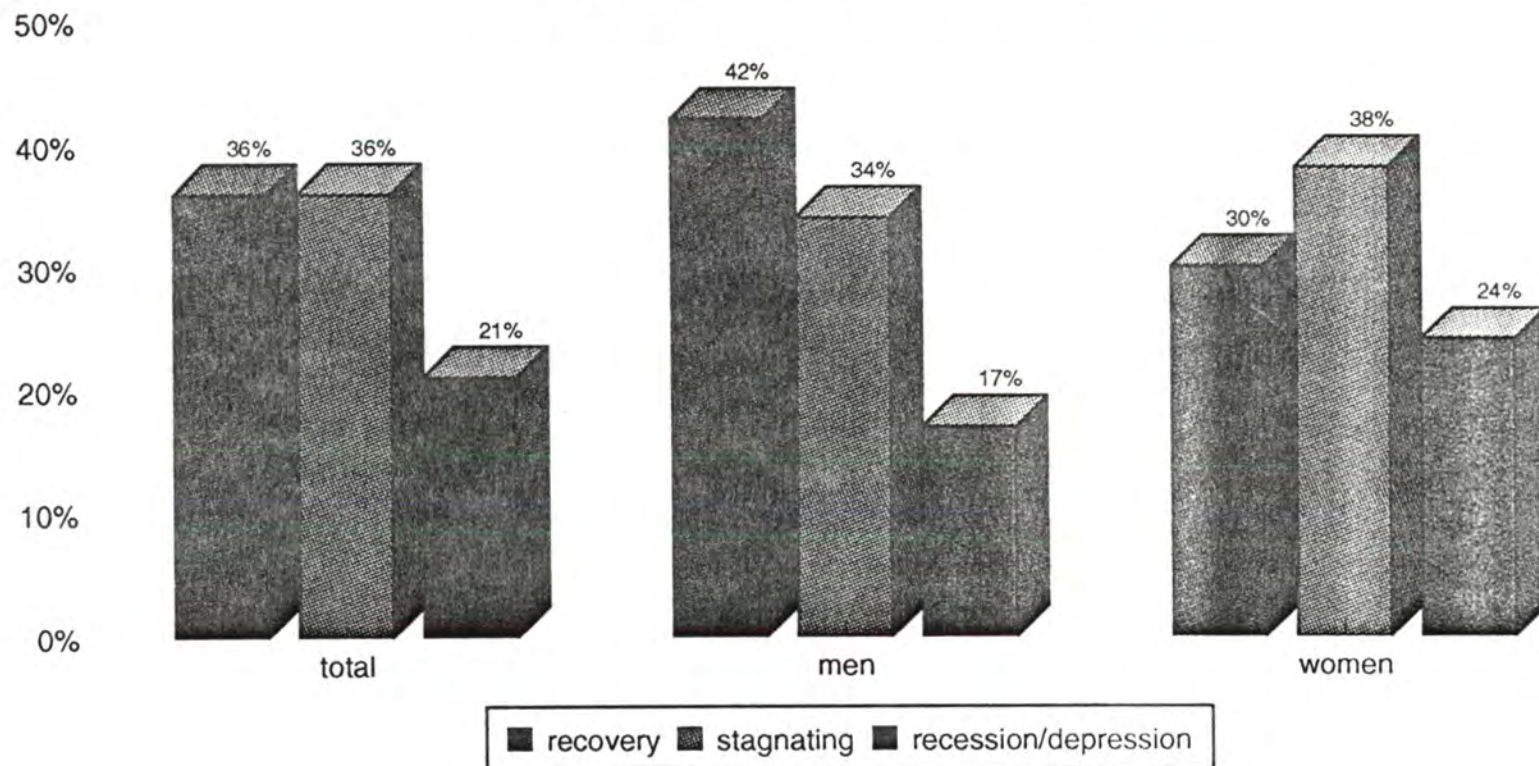
(% Democrat minus % Republican)

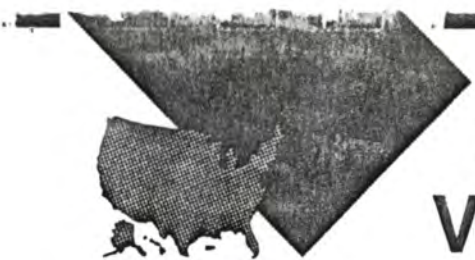
	1992	1994	Shift
Total	8	0	-8
Men	4	-8	-12
Women	10	8	-2
White men	-2	-24	-22
White women	2	-10	-12
No HS men	34	20	-14
No HS women	30	40	10
HS men	18	-4	-22
HS women	14	10	-4
Some coll men	2	-12	-14
Some coll women	10	0	-10
Coll men	-6	-10	-4
Coll women	6	6	0
Men 18-29	4	4	0
Women 18-29	16	12	-4
Men 30-44	2	-14	-16
Women 30-44	8	2	-6
Men 45-59	0	-8	-8
Women 45-59	8	12	4
Men 60+	12	-2	-14
Women 60+	14	6	-8
Married men	-4	-12	-8
Married women	2	-4	-6
Unmarried men	16	4	-12
Unmarried women	26	32	6



Voters Are Not Convinced That The Economy Is In Recovery

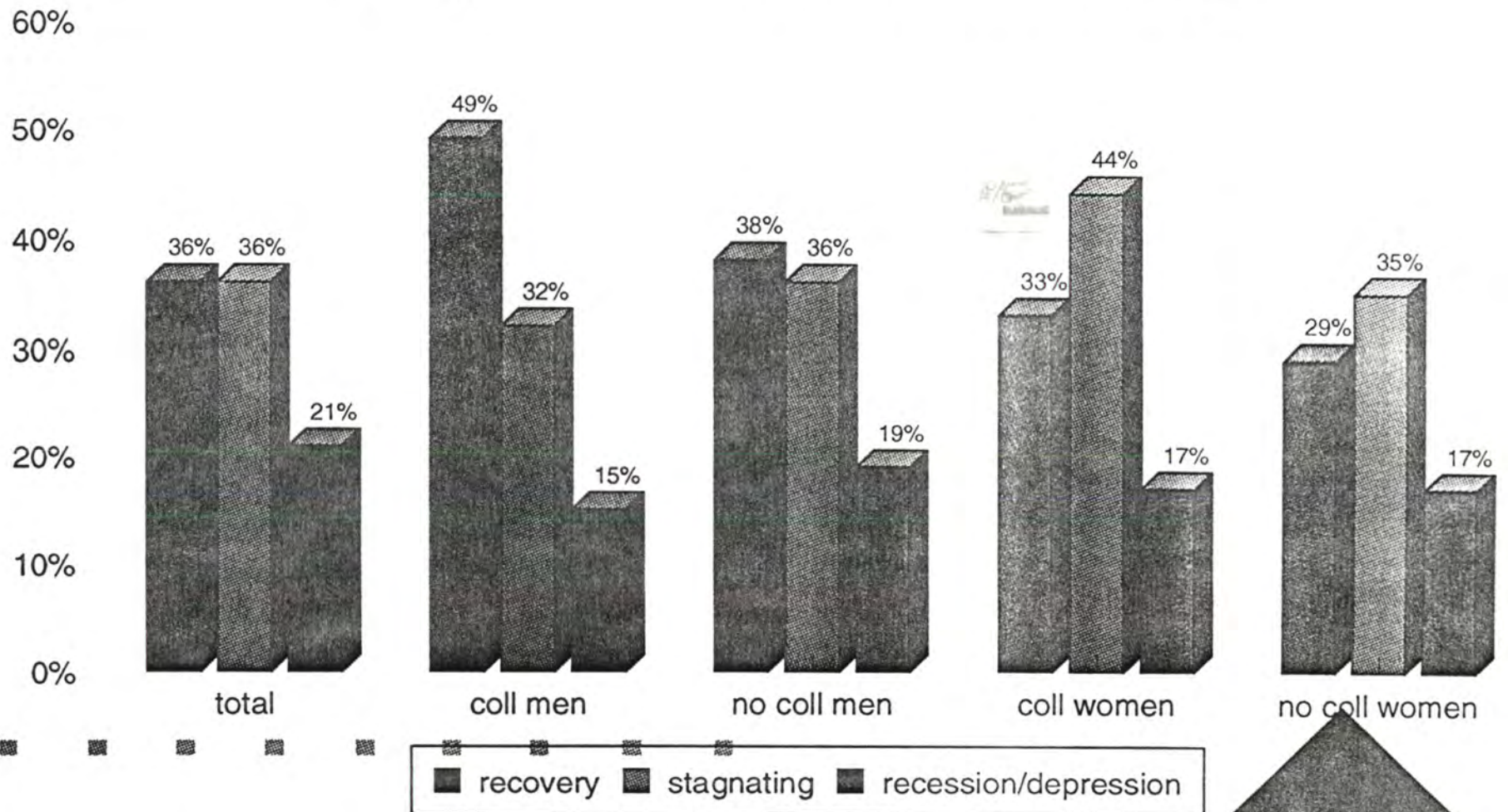
Women Are More Pessimistic Than Men

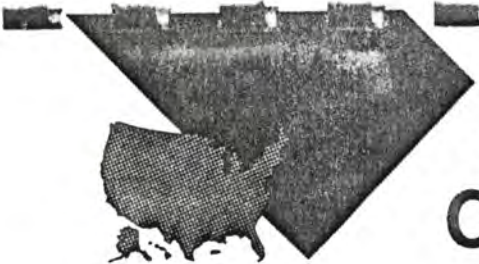




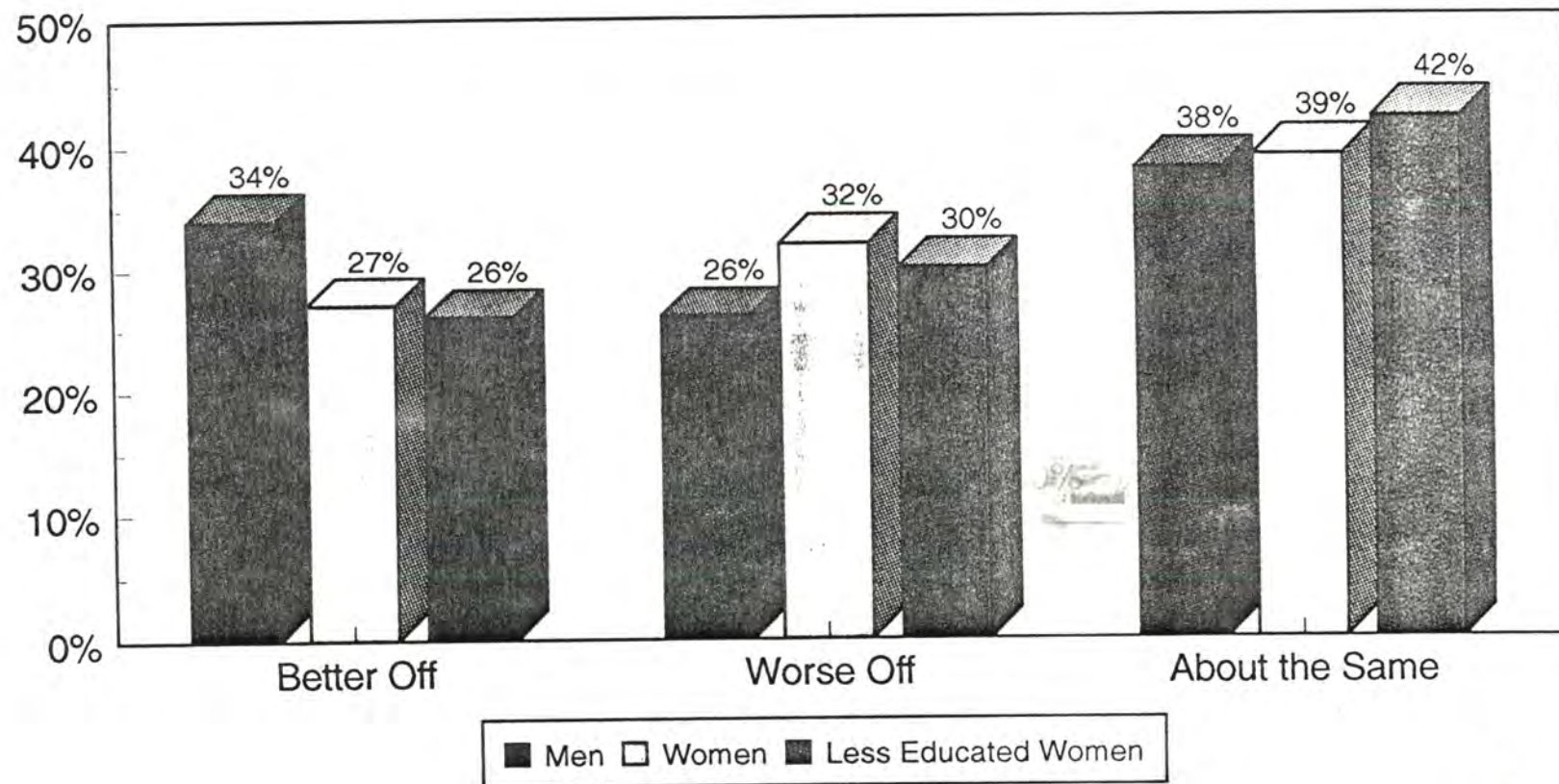
Voters Are Not Convinced That The Economy Is In Recovery

College Educated Women Are Most Pessimistic





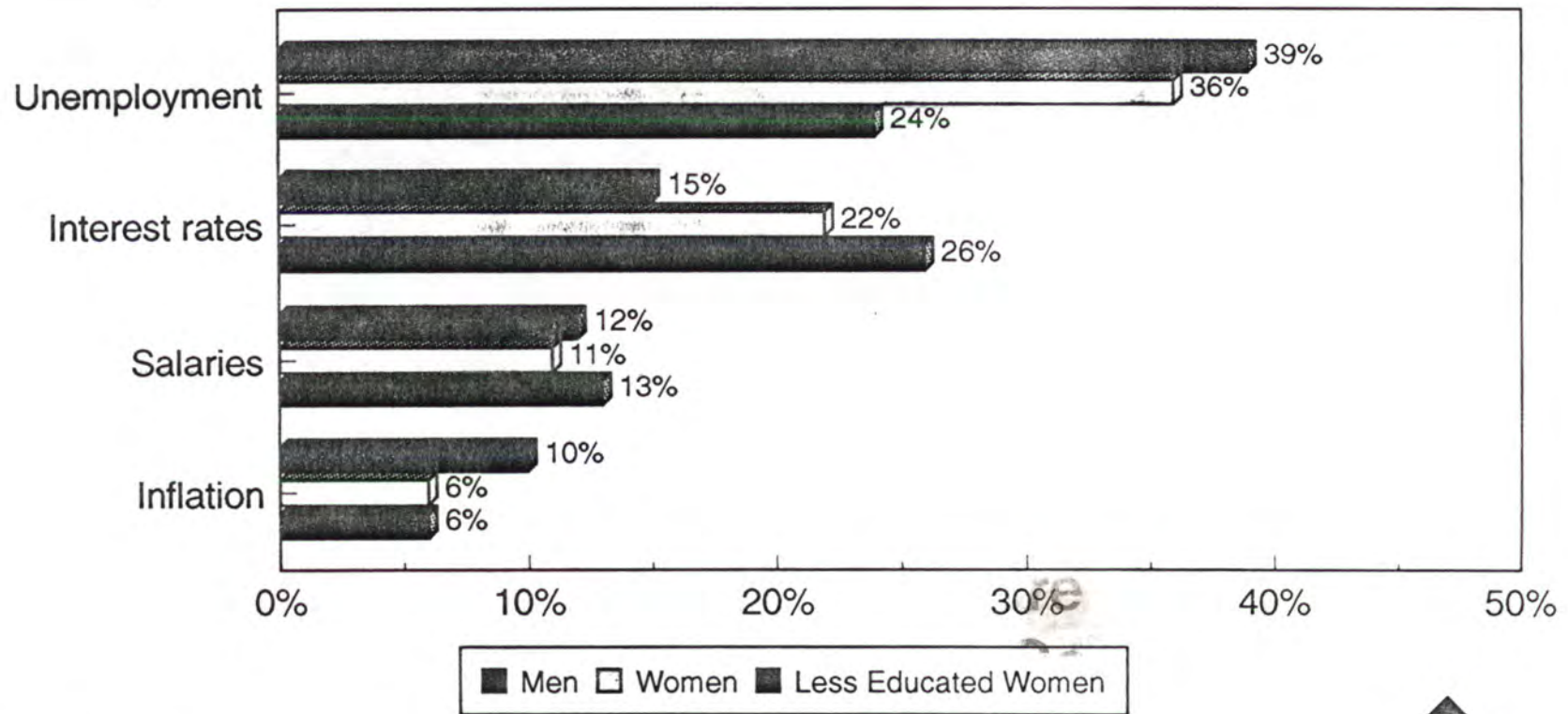
Compared to a Year Ago, Women Are More Likely to Believe They Are Financially Worse Off Than Are Men



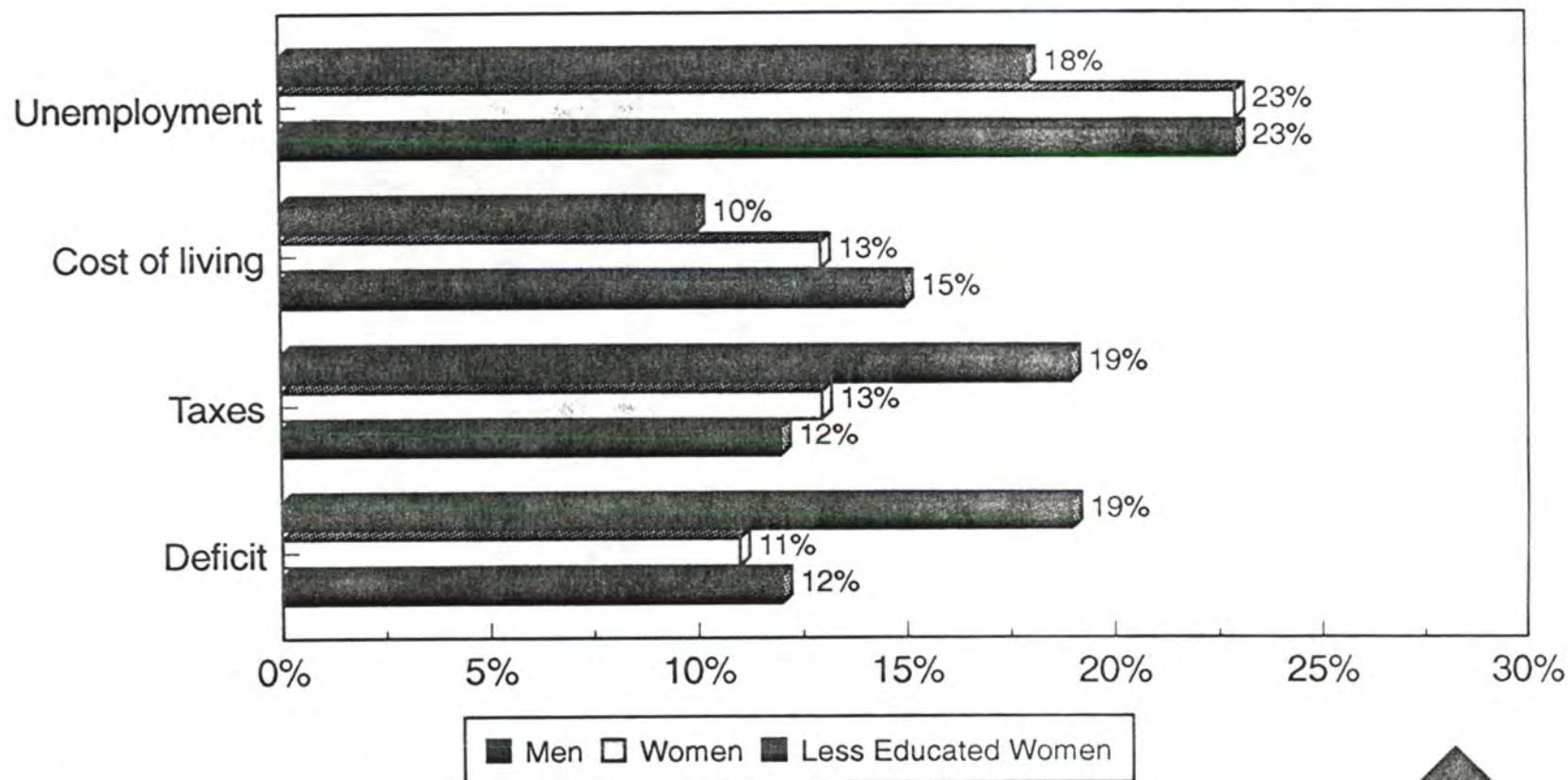


Women and Men Agree That The Unemployment Rate Is Better -- Less Educated Women Are Most Insecure About Jobs

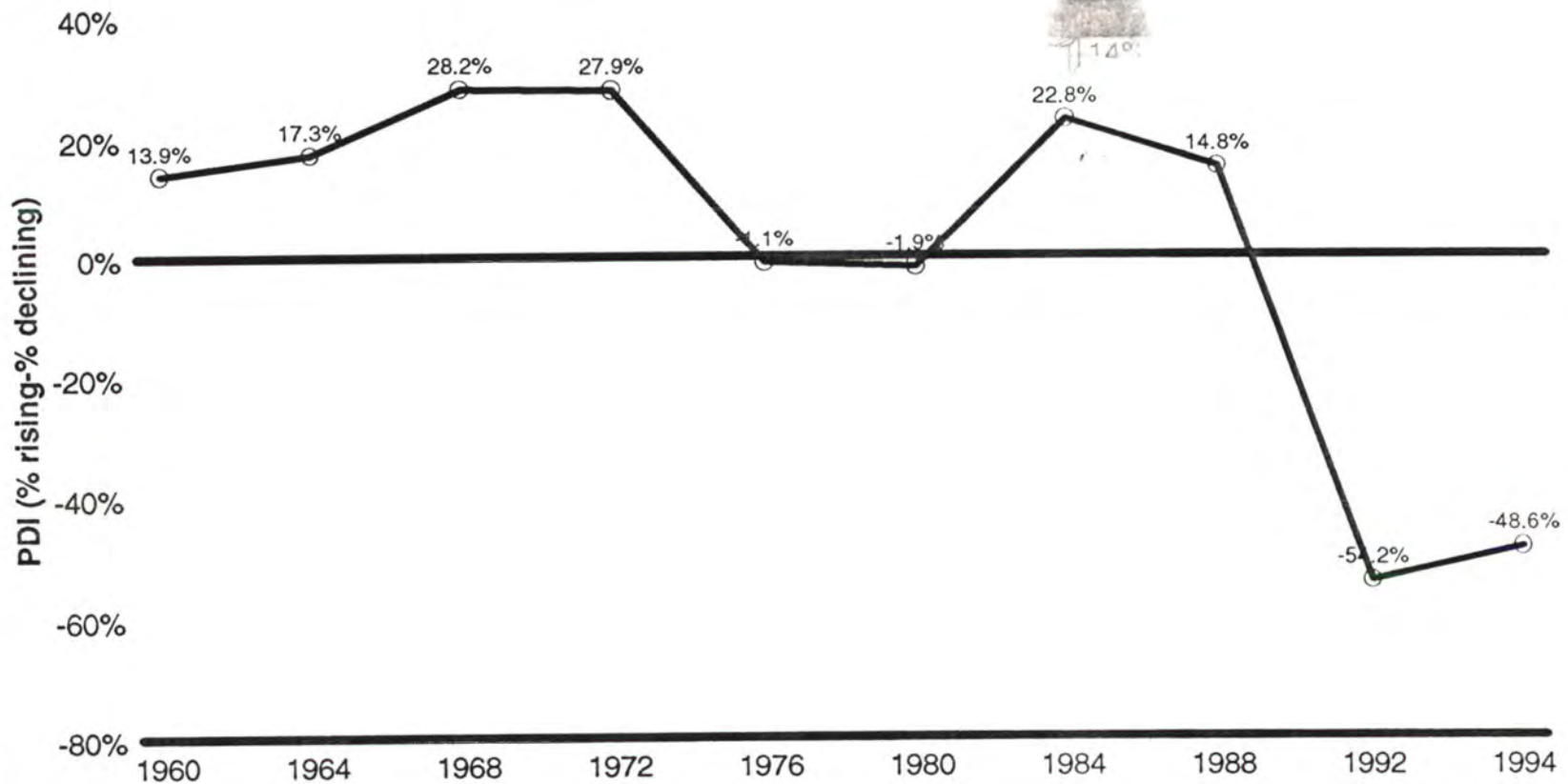
When you think about what is better about the economy, what comes to mind?



**Currently Women Are More Worried Than Men
That Unemployment and Cost of Living Are Not
Going Well For the Economy -- Men Worry More
About Taxes and the Deficit**

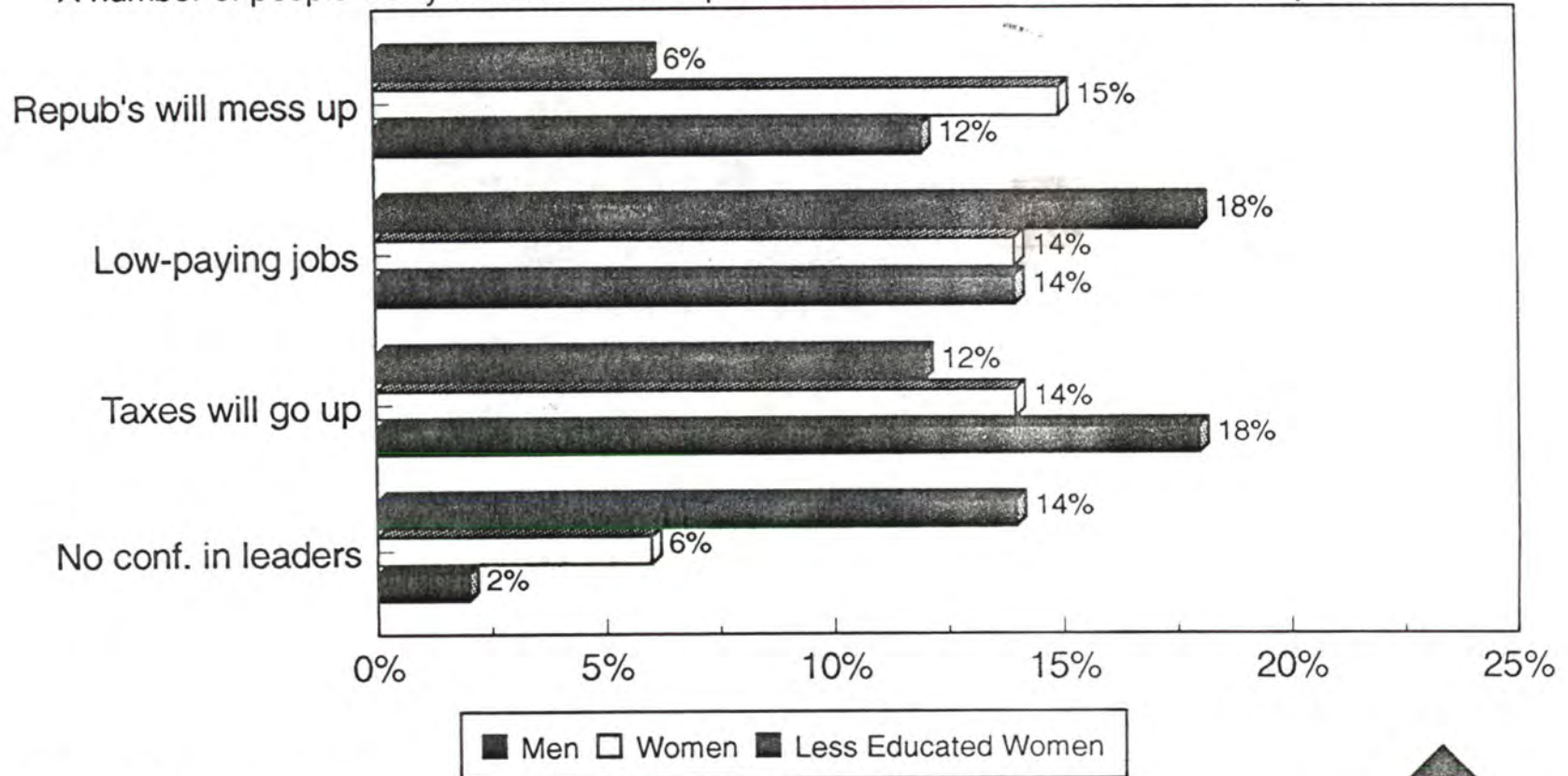


Voters Believe Their Incomes Are Declining



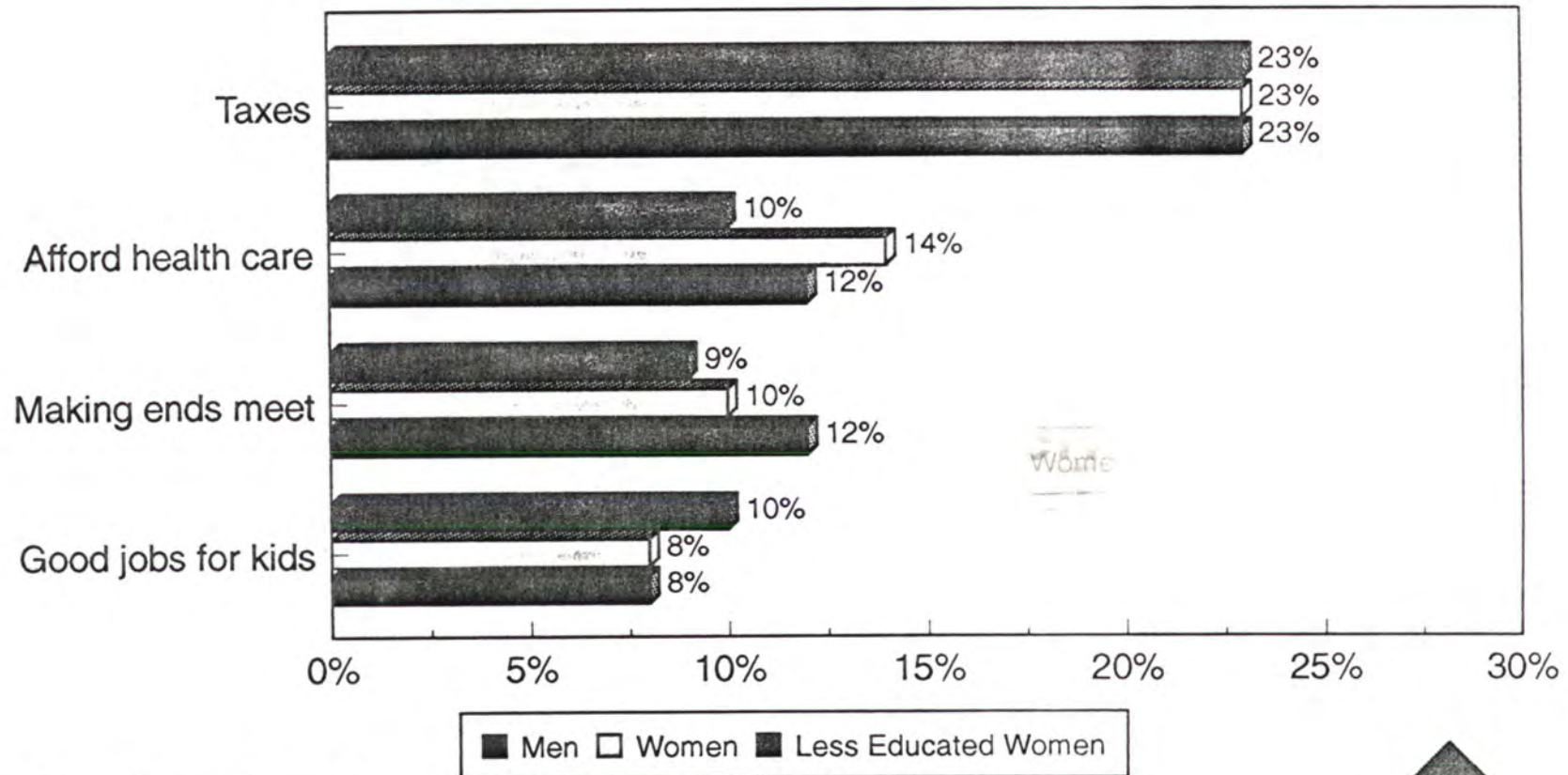
Non-College Educated Women Are Most Apt to Think Taxes Will Go Up -- Men That Jobs Pay Little and Have No Confidence in the Country's Leaders

A number of people worry that economic improvements will not last -- what worries you the most?

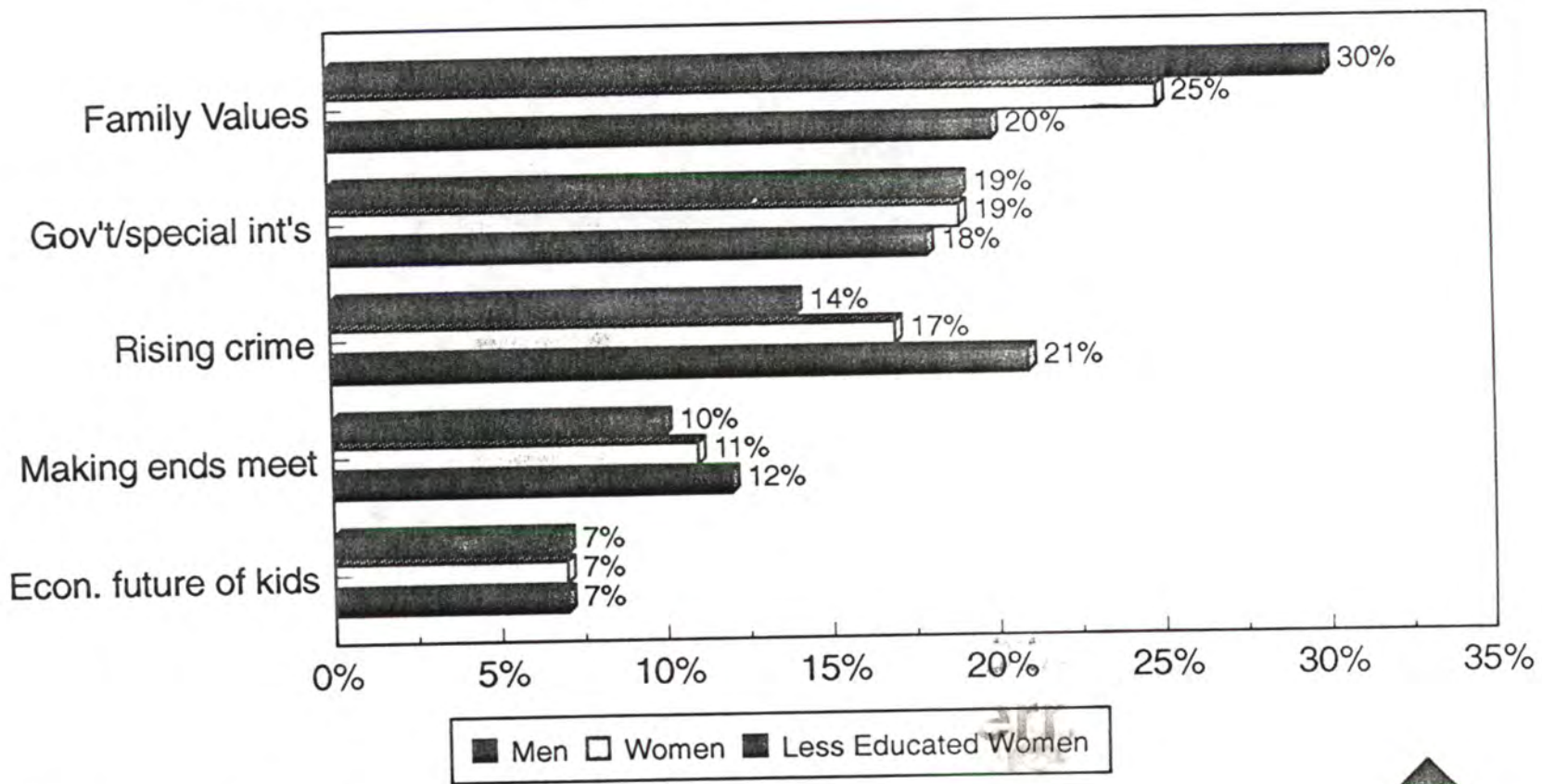




Thinking About Future Pressure on Families -- All Worry About Taxes, Making Ends Meet, and Good Jobs; Women Worry Slightly More About Health Care



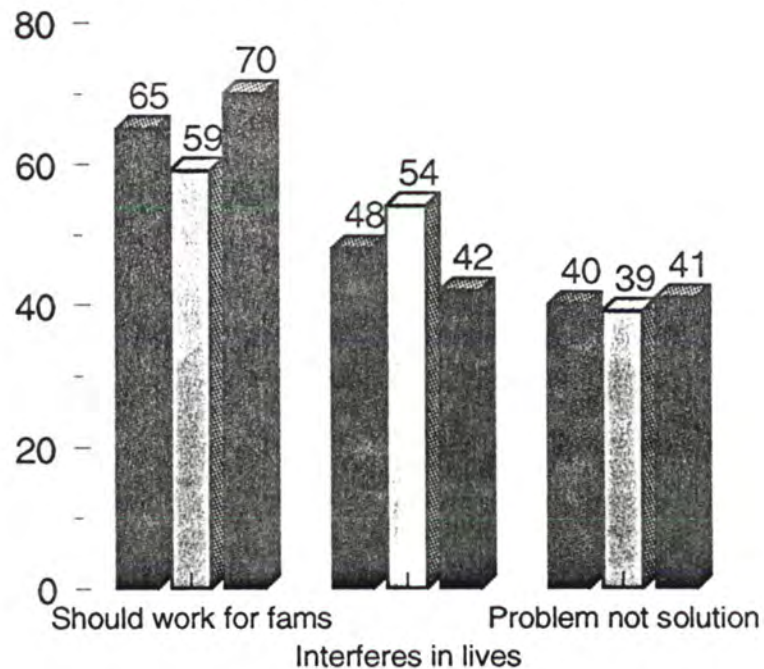
Men Are More Likely to Believe Family Values Is The Biggest Problem Facing the Middle Class -- Non-College Educated Women Are More Worried about Crime



Voters Have Fundamental Doubts About Big Government

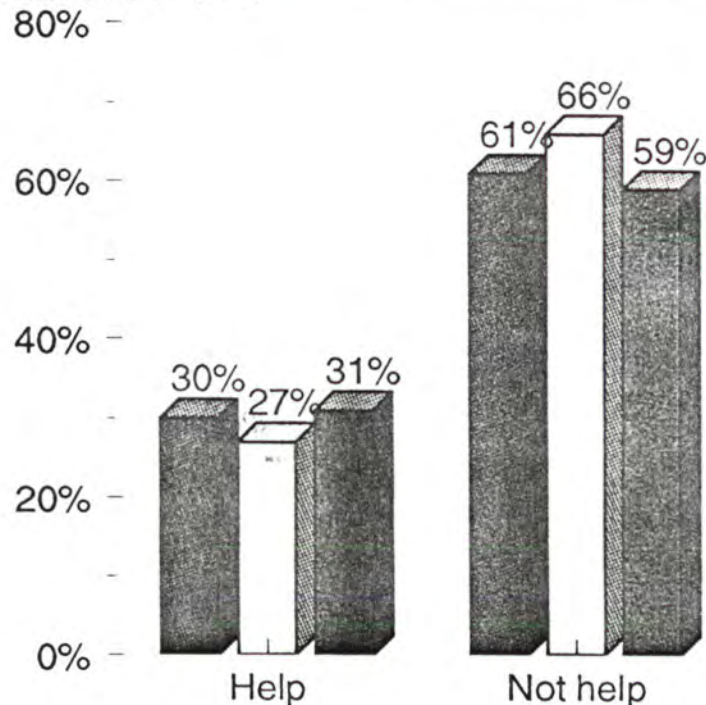
Government...

(agree minus disagree)



■ Total □ Men ■ Women

Should government do more to help families achieve the American Dream, or should government stay out of these issues and let people get ahead on their own?

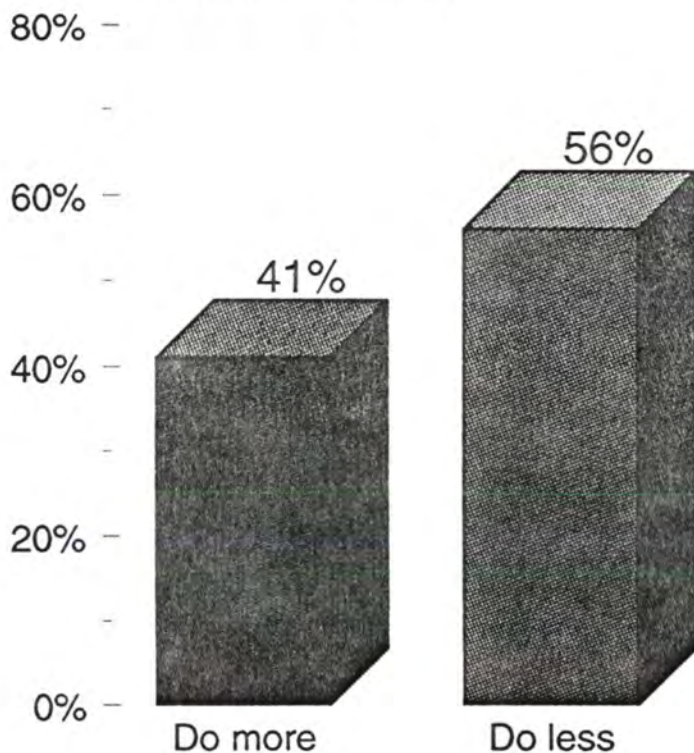


■ Total □ Men ■ Women

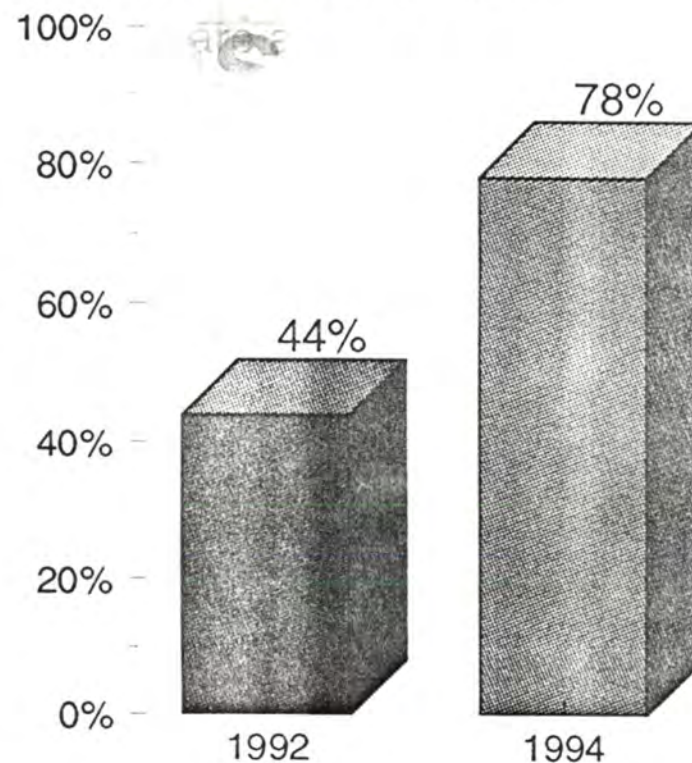


Voters Have Fundamental Doubts About Big Government

Government should...



Government is too intrusive



11:51 DEC 07, 1994

*1257 PAGE: 2/6

**MEMORANDUM**

TO: Womens' Leaders
FROM: Celinda Lake
RE: Women Voters in the 1994 Election
DATE: December 6, 1994

Overview

As Democrats analyze the wave of the 1994 election, much has been made of the "angry white man," but little attention has been paid to "ambivalent women." In the past Democrats have won elections by generating strong support among women and narrowing the gap or winning men. In 1994 Democrats failed on both scores and saw an erosion of support among both men and women, particularly among white men and women. In fact Democrats in 1992 had won Congressional races by generating positive support among white women (51% Democratic, 49% Republican) and narrowly losing white men (49% - 51%). In 1994 Democrats solidly lost both white men (37%-63%) and white women (47% - 53%). Realistically, the Democrats will come back in 1996 only by putting together a message and strategy that excites the base of women and rebuilds support among men.

In the past when a gender gap existed, Democrats tended to win because they excited women as much as Republicans excited men. That was not true in 1994, when women were at best lukewarm and ambivalent towards Democrats, and men were enthusiastic about Republicans. In 1994 according to the VRS exit polls, women gave Democrats only an 8 point margin overall

11:52 DEC 07 1994

(54% Democrat, 46% Republican), while men gave Republicans a 14 point gap (57% Republican, 43% Democratic). Democrats would have retained control of both the House and Senate if women had been as excited about the Democrats as men were about the Republicans. 1994 represented both frustration among women and anger among men, and the party must deal with both to come back.

1994 saw white women drop 4.4% from their average level of support for Democrats between 1980-1992 and white men drop 7.5%. Overall women dropped 1% and men 8%.

Table 1 -- Congressional Vote

	1994 Vote		1994		
	% Dem	% Rep	Dem margin	Ave Dem vote 80-92	Dem dropoff
men	43	57	-14	51	-8
women	54	46	+8	55	-1
white men	37	63	-26	44.5	-7.5
white women	47	53	-6	51.4	-4.4

Comparing 1992 to 1994, there was a dramatic fall-off in women's support for Democrats among white women (-12 points), among seniors (-8), among married women (-6), and among middlebrow women with some college education (-10). 1994 represented erosion of support for Democrats among swing and base voters.

Finally, preliminary evidence suggests that a lack of enthusiasm among women also manifested itself in lower turnout. According the Gallup/CNN survey, non-voters were 56% women, and 35% non-college women (10 points higher than their proportion of the population). In the past Democrats have won in part because of higher turnout among women than men. Women overall supported Democrats by 8 points and non-college women supported them by 12 points. Lower turnout among women costs Democrats important votes.

State Races (see appendix)

Gender gaps were evident in all but two of the top statewide races. Democrats won 7 offices because of the support of women. Women carried the day in the New Jersey Senate race, the California Senate race, the New Mexico Senate race, the Virginia Senate race, Florida

Governor's race, the Georgia Governor's race, and the Maryland Governor's race. In addition, according to exit polls, the Nevada Senate and Nebraska Senate races would have gone from solid wins to 1-2 point races if not for the strong support among women.

There were significant gender gaps in another key 10 races. However, in these races men's enthusiasm for the Republicans was not matched by the same level of enthusiasm among women for the Democrat. Women voted for, but men voted against, the Democratic candidate carrying the day in the Arizona Senate, the Michigan Senate, the Minnesota Senate, the Pennsylvania Senate, the Washington Senate, the Alabama Governor, the Arizona Governor, the Connecticut Governor, the New York Governor, and the Texas Governor's race.

What Happened?

What happened? Why were women not more enthusiastic? Why did the Democrats have erosion among women? First, both men and women were discouraged with the job Congress and Bill Clinton had done. For both men and women, anti-incumbents became anti-Democrats because they perceived the Democrats to be in charge and not to have gotten the job done. Sixty-four percent of women and 76% of men disapproved of the job Congress was doing. By a margin of 41% to 39% women wanted someone new in Congress, joined by men who wanted someone new by a margin of 48% to 35%. When women assessed their feelings about Bill Clinton before the election, the dominant emotions were disappointment, uncertainty, and disgust (44%). Fifty-two percent of men agreed. Only 32% of women and 28% of men still described themselves as hopeful.

Perceptions of the economy were a major drag on the enthusiasm of women. Women are much more pessimistic about the economy than men -- worried about jobs and the incomes those jobs provide. While 42% of men believe the economy is in recovery, only 30% of women agree. Moreover, negative impressions of the economy may also have depressed turnout among women - 72% of nonvoters felt the economy was not in good shape.

Women thought Bill Clinton had done a bad job on crime, and crime is an important issue to women who worry about their own personal security and violence against children. Forty-two percent of women listed crime as their top issue compared to 31% of men. Both men and women believe that Clinton is doing a bad job on crime, even after the passage of the crime bill.

11:53 DEC 07, 1994

(Women: 42% approve, 46% disapprove/Men: 37% approve, 53% disapprove).

Women wanted health reform more than men but also had serious reservations about the Clinton package. Senior women, who most wanted reform, switched from support of the Clinton plan to opposition. Eighteen percent (18%) of women but only 9% of men said Bill Clinton's health care proposal was their biggest concern about him on the eve of the election.

In the 1994 election, both men and women said that they trusted the Republicans more than the Democrats to deal with the problem they cared about most (9 and 7 points respectively). This despite the fact that women lean Democratic in their party identification by 5 points while men lean Republican by 12 points.

Finally, older women and non-college women wanted Bill Clinton to pay more attention to home and less to foreign affairs. They were particularly angry about the time Bush spent on foreign affairs and do not want to see Bill Clinton do the same.

Don't Ignore the Base

Coming back from the 1994 represents a real challenge to the Democrats -- both in rebuilding their base and regaining swing voters. The Democrats must find a way to both energize their base and rebuild support among swing voters.

Today, and for most of the last two years, the Democrats would have been a permanent minority party without the support of women. Moreover, Bill Clinton would have been a defeated President without their support. While Democrats contemplate regaining angry men, they must also develop strategies to deal with ambivalent women.

In the 1994 election, women leaned Democratic 43% to 38% Republican. Men leaned Republican 48% to 36%. In a two-way Presidential race with Bob Dole, women voted 49% for Bill Clinton, 35% for Dole with 16% undecided.

Men went 35% for Clinton, 49% for Dole, and 16% undecided. In a three way race women supported Clinton 45%, with Dole at 40% and Perot at 8%. At the same time men went 34% for Clinton, 48% for Dole and 10% for Perot.

However, Democrats and Bill Clinton cannot take women's votes for granted. Post-election, both men and women disapproved of the job Clinton was doing. Women disapproved 55% to 42% approval. Men disapproved 70% to 29%. As we have seen, winning over both

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requires much of the same -- a solid economy, progress on reinventing government and politics. However, men and women often see these issues in different ways. For example, women worry about the economy -- particularly jobs and incomes, while men are more optimistic about the economy but worry about taxes and deficits. Women want a crime agenda that gives equal weight to punishment and prevention, while men favor punishment. Women split on whether current policies should be changed (47% continue, 47% change), while men overwhelmingly want a change in direction (66%).

DEC- 7-94 WED 12:47

APPENDIX: 1994 VRS EXIT POLLING RESULTS BY GENDER

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind
AZ Sen				
Male	48	35	57	
Female	52	44	50	
CA Sen				
Male	49	41	52	
Female	51	52	38	
CT Sen				
Male	49	62	37	
Female	51	71	26	
DE Sen				
Male	48	42	56	
Female	52	42	56	
FL Sen				
Male	45	28	70	
Female	55	31	69	
ME Sen				
Male	48	38	60	
Female	52	37	60	
MD Sen				
Male	48	53	47	
Female	52	66	34	
MA Sen				
Male	50	53	48	
Female	50	63	36	
MI Sen				
Male	52	37	57	
Female	48	50	46	
MN Sen				
Male	49	38	54	6
Female	51	50	45	5
PA Sen				
Male	47	45	51	
Female	53	48	47	
MO Sen				
Male	50	31	64	
Female	50	40	56	
MT Sen				
Male	51	38	64	
Female	49	40	60	
NE Sen				
Male	50	51	49	
Female	50	49	41	
NV Sen				
Male	49	48	47	3
Female	51	54	35	3
NJ Sen				
Male	49	44	53	
Female	51	55	41	

DEC- 7-94 WED 12:47

APPENDIX: 1994 VRS EXIT POLLING RESULTS BY GENDER

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind
NM Sen				
Male	49	50	50	
Female	51	59	41	
NY Sen				
Male	50	54	44	
Female	50	56	39	
OH Sen				
Male	48	37	55	9
Female	52	41	52	7
OK Sen				
Male	47	36	60	
Female	53	43	51	
TN Sen (S)				
Male	50	37	61	1
Female	50	45	53	1
TN Sen (C)				
Male	50	35	64	
Female	50	41	59	
TX Sen				
Male	47	38	61	
Female	53	38	61	
VA Sen				
Male	48	40	48	11
Female	54	50	39	11
WA Sen				
Male	52	40	60	
Female	48	52	48	
WI Sen				
Male	50	54	44	
Female	50	63	37	
WY Sen				
Male	49	35	63	
Female	51	43	54	

APPENDIX: 1994 VRS EXIT POLLING RESULTS BY GENDER

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	
AL Gov					
Male	47	48	54		
Female	53	53	47		
AZ Gov					
Male	48	40	57		
Female	52	49	48		
AR Gov					
Male	47	52	48		
Female	53	68	34		
CA Gov					
Male	49	36	60		
Female	51	45	50		
CO Gov					
Male	49	49	43		
Female	51	61	34		
CT Gov					
Male	49	31	39	15	14
Female	51	35	33	22	9
FL Gov					
Male	45	46	54		
Female	55	55	45		
GA Gov					
Male	48	50	50		
Female	62	52	48		
ID Gov					
Male	49	39	57	4	
Female	51	48	48	3	
IL Gov					
Male	48	32	66		
Female	52	37	61		
KS Gov					
Male	51	29	71		
Female	49	43	57		
ME Gov					
Male	48	31	23	7	38
Female	52	38	23	6	34
MD Gov					
Male	48	44	58		
Female	52	57	43		
MA Gov					
Male	50	27	71		
Female	50	29	71		
MN Gov					
Male	50	31	67		
Female	50	37	61		
NM Gov					
Male	50	37	54	9	
Female	50	43	46	12	

APPENDIX: 1994 VRS EXIT POLLING RESULTS BY GENDER

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	
NY Gov					
Male	49	42	53	1	4
Female	51	48	46	2	4
OH Gov					
Male	48	24	72		
Female	52	25	72		
OK Gov					
Male	47	27	51	22	
Female	53	31	45	24	
OR Gov					
Male	48	47	46		
Female	51	57	35		
PA Gov					
Male	47	37	47	13	
Female	53	42	43	13	
SC Gov					
Male	47	48	51		
Female	53	47	51		
TN Gov					
Male	50	41	57		
Female	50	46	53		
TX Gov					
Male	47	41	58		
Female	53	50	49		
WI Gov					
Male	50	28	69		
Female	50	34	65		
WY Gov					
Male	49	36	62		
Female	51	44	55		

**ADDRESS OF SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY
"WHAT DEMOCRATS SHOULD FIGHT FOR –
PRINCIPLE IS THE BEST POLITICS"
NATIONAL PRESS CLUB
WASHINGTON, D.C.
JANUARY 11, 1995**

I come here as a Democrat. I reject such qualifiers as New Democrat or Old Democrat or Neo-Democrat. I am committed to the enduring principles of the Democratic Party, and I am proud of its great tradition of service to the people who are the heart and strength of this nation -- working families and the middle class.

I would have lost in Massachusetts if I had done what Democrats who were defeated in other parts of the country too often tried to do.

I was behind in mid-September. But I believe I won because I ran for health reform, not away from it. I ran for a minimum wage increase, not against it. I continued to talk about issues like jobs, aid to education, and job training. And I attacked Republican proposals to tilt the tax code to the most privileged of our people.

I stood against limiting welfare benefits if a mother has another child, and I will stand against any other harsh proposals that aim at the mother but hit and hurt innocent children. I spoke out for gun control, and against reactionary Republican proposals to abandon crime prevention as a weapon in the war on crime. I rejected the Republican double standard that welcomes government as benign when it subsidizes the affluent, but condemns government as the enemy when it helps the poor.

I ran as a Democrat in belief as well as name. This turned out to be not only right in principle -- it was also the best politics.

I talked about the issues that mattered to working families, and about what I had tried to do to address their needs and concerns. I take some sense of pride and satisfaction that exit polling showed 89 percent of Massachusetts voters -- by far the highest percentage in the country -- said they had learned enough about the candidates and the issues in the Senate race to make an informed choice.

Our issues, if we defend them, are popular. The working families in New Bedford, Fall River, Lowell, Lawrence, Springfield and Worcester in my state voted for me, and they have the same concerns as working families throughout the country.

The caricatures of us by the other side will be ineffective -- as long as we vigorously oppose them and expose them, instead of sheepishly acquiescing in them. If Democrats run for cover, if we become pale carbon copies of the opposition and try to act like Republicans, we will lose -- and deserve to lose. As I have said on other occasions, Democrats must be more than warmed-over Republicans. The last thing this country needs is two Republican parties.

If we fall for our opponents' tactics, if we listen to those who tell us to abandon health reform, or slash student loans and children's programs, or engage in a bidding war to see who can be the most anti-government or the most laissez-faire, we will have only ourselves to blame. As Democrats, we can win, but only if we stand for something.

The election last November was not a ratification of Republican solutions. By the narrowest of margins, they gained control of Congress. But less than 40 percent of eligible voters turned out on election day, and only slightly more than half of those -- about 20 percent -- cast ballots for Republicans. Some mandate!

As the current controversy over the motor voter law demonstrates, Republicans thrive by depressing voter turnout. Intensity matters for Democrats. Turnout will certainly be higher in 1996 -- fifty or sixty percent higher. We must stand our Democratic ground. We must fight for the ideals that are the very reason for our party's being. We must prove to working families and average citizens that we are on their side, fighting hard for them. If we do, then Democrats will turn out and come home in 1996. The defeat of 1994 will be history, and we will be back, stronger than ever -- not stale from the past, but renewed for the future.

But to achieve that victory, we must not repeat the mistakes of the past. We must make explicit to the American people our core values and beliefs which form the basis of our political philosophy and underlie our legislative proposals -- specifically and most important, that we as Americans, with all our diversity, share a common purpose, a common sense of family, neighborhood, community and country, of fairness, responsibility, and decency.

Unfortunately, we have failed in the past to make these vital and important points as clearly as we should. We Democrats have always considered family, community, faith and love of country to be core values - the foundation upon which all of our proposals are based. But we allowed Republicans to take these values as their own. We assumed too quickly that our commitment to such values was self-evident in the proposals we made and the legislation we passed. We were wrong, and we paid a price because of it.

So let me set the record straight. Family, community, love of country, fairness, responsibility -- all of these values underlie the philosophy of the Democratic Party. And these are the values that underlie and must underlie all of our legislative proposals.

This is not to say, however, that I believe these core values should be used as a superficial rationale for bumper sticker solutions to the complex problems we face. No, these core values require us to reject simple, easy answers which may make us feel good today, but do absolutely nothing to solve these problems. Our values oblige us to address these problems in a thoughtful and productive way.

We are, without apology, the party that believes in assisting the poor and the disabled and the disadvantaged -- but not to the detriment of the hard-working middle class, which is justifiably frustrated and angry. They feel left out and left behind, because they know they are losing ground. They see the wealthiest Americans becoming wealthier. They see the poorest Americans being taken care of by society's safety net -- which their tax dollars have put in place.

Americans are angry, and rightly so. Rapid economic change and surging global competition have made many jobs and people less secure. The vast majority of Americans are working harder and making less. Yet fair reward for work has always been essential to their hope of creating better lives for their families and their children.

As Democrats, we must address that anger and frustration. But the answer is not to create larger problems by dismantling the safety net, leaving the poor to fend for themselves. Such a result is not only inhumane, it is wrong and destructive to our country, our communities, and our values.

Nor is the solution to give more tax breaks to the wealthiest Americans, in the hope that something will trickle down to the middle class. This country was founded on equal opportunity for all, not unequal opportunity for some.

Instead, we must be more responsive and give a greater helping hand to working families and the middle class. In this central battle for their minds and hearts, heritage and history are on our side. Recall the great victorious battles of the past -- for Social Security and Medicare, for the minimum wage and the rights of workers, for civil rights and equal rights, for protection of the environment, for a Head Start for every child and the education of all children regardless of their parents' income, for family and medical leave, for opportunity for women and a woman's right to choose. By any standard, these were extraordinary achievements. And all of them were won because they were sought and fought for by members of the Democratic Party.

Let us not forget that many of these measures, which the American people now accept as part of our way of life, were opposed at the time by the majority of Republicans in Congress. Democrats bled -- and suffered lasting battle scars for these victories. But there are few if any Republicans who would refight them or repeal them now.

These historic victories strengthened families, strengthened communities, and brought Americans together. They reflect the fundamental dedication of the Democratic Party to a sense of progress that embraces all Americans. Our achievements remind us of our roots, inspire us to fight harder now, and give us a credibility and a vision that history denies Republicans in fighting for the future.

Surely, the challenges we face in the 1990's are no greater than those we faced in other years. People want government to be more responsive to their problems and more effective in resolving them. I'm talking about basic things that make a difference in people's lives. A strong growing economy. A clear commitment to keep the current recovery going, and to keep the deficit heading down. Good jobs and decent wages where hard work pays off in rising standards of living, not falling farther behind. Safe streets and neighborhoods. Schools that give students a good education. Child care and health care that are accessible and affordable to all. Rekindling the sense of community and patriotism, of shared values and individual responsibility, of service to others -- to neighborhoods and the nation alike.

These ideals are, have always been, and must continue to be our Democratic priorities. And we made more progress on them in the last two years than most voters ever knew on election day.

But there is no profit in endlessly regretting the denial of credit to President Clinton and the Democratic Party for a remarkable record of achievement.

One reason for the lack of credit is that the President and the Democratic Congress took on an almost unprecedented array of tough challenges, and did not win every battle. Another reason is that we live in a period of vast economic and social transformation, in which the politics of fear is easily marshaled to overrun the politics of hope.

And another reason, I am convinced, is a Republican strategy of obstruction, distortion, and massive personal attack on the President and the First Lady. In the wake of this election, Democrats need to fight back for our beliefs, not turn our back on the Clinton Administration.

Blaming Bill Clinton by some in our party comes with ill grace from those who abandoned him on critical votes in the last Congress, then ran from him in the campaign -- and then lost, often by wide margins. Now they come forward to advocate a strategy discredited by their own defeats.

My fundamental recommendation to the President is that he stay the course of change and do what he thinks is right. My advice to my fellow Democrats is that we work with the President for change -- instead of seeking to change our principles, or distance ourselves from him.

No one wants a repeat of the Republican tactic in 1994 that made the "G" in G.O.P. stand for gridlock. We must try to reach across party lines -- and build bipartisan coalitions to do the things the nation needs and deserves. This is an obligation on both sides, Republicans as well as Democrats. We must never forget that it takes two parties to be bipartisan.

I believe in free enterprise -- but I believe in active government too. A practical way to blend them both and make government more effective is through what I have called public enterprise -- using market forces wherever possible, not asking taxpayers to blindly pay for programs, but insisting that programs be genuine investments in a brighter future, and produce results commensurate with their cost.

There is no doubt that many programs are not successful. A federal program is not the solution to every problem. But there continues to be an important federal role in solving the problems of our society by investing in people and the infrastructure needed for our country to succeed and our citizens to thrive. To believe otherwise is hostile to the basic values of our country and to the historic concept of "We the People" in our Constitution. We must not rob the people of the resource of government. It is their government, and we must make it work for them.

We do need to streamline government and make it more responsive to average Americans. But as President Clinton said last month, people want government to be lean, not mean. There is a large difference between reinventing government and rejecting it -- and an even larger difference between using government to promote the general welfare and misusing it to pander to the powerful and punish the powerless.

If we keep these truths in mind, we can find real solutions that work for health care, schools, and jobs, and achieve a rising standard of living for all. We can deal effectively with crime, welfare, race, and immigration -- instead of allowing our opponents to keep on welding grievances, anger, suspicion, and even outright bigotry into weapons of mass destruction for their next campaigns.

Democrats can win the current debate on the budget and on tax relief for the middle class. Republicans can disguise their intentions all they want. But at the heart of the Republican plan are deep reductions in Medicare and Medicaid, and lavish tax cuts that favor the wealthy -- especially their capital gains tax cut, the classic Republican tax break for the rich -- trickle down economics at its worst. That is not what the 1994 elections were about, and the Republicans and the voters know it.

We must also resist our opponents' mindless anti-government vendetta against regulation -- a rhetoric leading to an across-the-board assault on government that hides a multitude of injustices and indifferences.

Republicans wanted to get government out of the savings and loan industry in the worst way in the 1980s -- and they did. Deregulation ran amuck. The S & L mess became one of the most serious scandals in our history, costing taxpayers more than a hundred and fifty billion dollars.

So my advice to Republicans is to make sure there is water in the pool before they leap off their pro-business anti-regulation diving board. Government is there for a reason -- to help people, including the middle class.

There are mounting needs and frustrations in this land. But it will only make things worse, not better, to shred the safety net, or deregulate health and safety. Nostalgia for a past that never was is not a policy for the future.

Where do we go from here? Let me outline some key priorities that should be part of our Democratic agenda for 1995, because they are part of our strategy to strengthen and invest in the community we call America.

No issue better represents the commitment of the Democratic Party to strengthen families and communities than the drive for comprehensive health reform. It is a total misreading of the election -- and a deliberate misreading of the public will -- to conclude this issue is no longer important or urgent.

For some in Congress, with their blue chip coverage under the federal government plan, health reform may be only a political game, where points are won or lost. But to the majority of Americans, it is a continuing worsening problem, where their health, their children and their family, their financial security, and often their very lives are at stake.

The real value of the average working family paycheck has been stagnant for many years, but the share that goes for health has soared. Excessive inflation in health costs means less and less of the paycheck is available for everything else. Millions of working men and women risk losing the insurance they have, if they change or lose their job. And for too many senior citizens and persons with disabilities, the high cost of prescription drugs and long term care has broken the promise of Social Security and Medicare.

Democrats fought for health reform in the last Congress, but we did not fight well. We made serious mistakes that contributed to our failure. But I am certain that in large part we were defeated because of the cynical Republican calculation that successful health reform would benefit Democrats at the polls and thwart Republican election goals. And so they settled on a strategy of relentless obstruction.

No one can know for sure. But I believe voters would have rallied to Democrats in 1994 if we had gone down fighting as hard as we could for health reform. Instead, we engaged in a search for a phantom compromise that our opponents never intended to achieve. We allowed the great debate in Congress to end without a vote -- with a whimper, not a bang -- and we must not make that mistake again.

Now, Republicans have had their election -- and their victory. I ask them -- and challenge them -- to join us in fashioning a health bill and enacting it into law in 1995. Sit down with us for real. Get serious about coming to agreement. Bring Harry and Louise if you like -- but let's expose special interest pleading for what it is. Shape a compromise that deals realistically with the problem, rather than treating each offer of compromise as a pretext for new demands -- which is what happened last year.

It would be nice if the Republican Contract with America contained even a hint of this simple pledge -- to give every American the same health care that the newly-elected signers of the Contract are receiving from the federal government. We are now making Congress abide by the same laws we pass for others. Why not give the American people the benefit of the same laws that Congress passes for itself?

A second major challenge, if we are serious about revitalizing our communities and investing in families and the nation's future, is reform in job education.

Today, we have scores of separate job training programs costing billions of dollars a year -- and workers are not getting their money's worth. President Clinton and the Democratic Leadership Council are right to call for vouchers and greater reliance on market forces, so that workers can circumvent the bureaucracy and choose the training they want.

We must also focus more on outcomes. Too often, the path of least resistance has been to create more and more training programs -- without the follow-through to see that they succeed in actually preparing people for jobs and placing them in jobs. We must reward those that are successful -- and de-fund those that fall short.

We must do more to redress the widening gap between soaring profits and stagnant wages. We must insist that firms provide training for their workers. I make no apology for supporting a mandate in an area like this. Often, a mandate is the only practical way to assure that free enterprise is fair as well as free. Through the minimum wage, we ask business to invest in the lowest paid workers, and the time has come to ask business to invest in all workers by providing a minimum level of training.

Companies make choices. Some firms train their workers well, upgrade their skills, and offer good benefits. They treat workers as valuable resources, and still earn good profits. Other companies rely on a harsher strategy that exploits workers. They downsize. They lay off good workers. They hire part-time employees to avoid paying benefits. They cut corners on safety.

Congress should do more, not less, to encourage companies to do the right thing and prevent unfair competition from those that don't. Mandates make sense in areas like job training and health care. We must break the iron grip of a Gresham's Law of Business, in which irresponsible firms drive out firms attempting to be responsible.

A third major challenge to invest in our future and strengthen our American community relates to education. With college costs rising -- over \$8,000 a year at many public universities and over \$20,000 at many private colleges -- the American dream is too often an impossible dream for many families.

Let's hold the line against even one cent of Republican cuts in college aid. How dare anyone offer a Contract with America that professes allegiance to the middle class, but that would slam college doors in the face of their children. Basic values are at stake. Let's strengthen the Department of Education not abolish it. Let's oppose and defeat education cuts that would be nothing more than federal aid for ignorance.

Finally, a top priority for this Congress is reform of the lobbying and campaign finance laws. No change will do more to strengthen our American community and make greater progress possible on every other issue than breaking the stranglehold of special interest groups and restoring government that truly represents "We the People."

We must end the power of special interest money and political action committees, and take elections off the auction block. We must make lobbyists disclose what they're doing in the back rooms to subvert the public interest. It is time to end the lavish gifts, meals, entertainment and expensive trips paid for by special interests.

A sunshine law for lobbyists will pay a dividend to you in the press as well, because it will enable you to expose what really happens in the ongoing battles between the special interests and the public interest.

These are major items on a Democratic agenda for recovery in 1995. But in a larger sense, they are at the heart of a constructive and needed American agenda to restore the sense of family and community, of caring for one another, and of building a brighter future that will once again reflect this nation at its best.

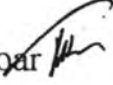
In all this, we must understand that sometimes the task of a great political party is to face the tide -- not just ride with it -- and to turn it again in the direction of our deepest convictions. We will lose our way -- and our elections -- if we abandon our principles and drift with the shifting politics of the moment.

Let's renew our cause as Democrats. Let's hold our standard high and advance it proudly. Let's be who we are, and not pretend to be something else. And if we do, we will have a strong and winning case to take to the American people in this new Congress and in all the years ahead. The Republican majority will be a transient one, and Democrats will be proud to be Democrats again.

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January 9, 1998

TO: C - Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: G - Theresa Loar 

SUBJECT: This week's highlights

Expanding Women's Political Participation

o As a follow up to my meeting with Dr. Rasha Al-Sabah, Kuwaiti Minister for Higher Education, I will be in contact with IRI about a program on women and politics they conducted some months ago in Kuwait. I will also be in touch with NDI to learn what, if anything, NDI is doing in Kuwait or in the region to explore partnering with them or building on their efforts. Dr. Al-Sabah, who is a member of the royal family, also met with the First Lady and invited her to visit Kuwait.

Violence Against Women

o After our meeting in December with DOJ to encourage coordination and activity in their agency on trafficking in women and children, Justice has created a working group co-chaired by Ray Fisher, the Associate Attorney General and Bonnie Campbell, Director of the Violence Against Women Office. This is a very positive development. The group will fit in with my broader interagency working group and will deal specifically with the prosecution of traffickers and protection for victims.

o Dani Lett from my office wrote the introductory section of the human rights reports on the rights of women. We will review the entire introduction as soon as it is completed and continue to review the reports to assure women's human rights are fully integrated. We have added new information on trafficking in women and girls which came out of a CA tasker on the issue.

o INL did a briefing this week on the early results of a two year study they are funding through the University of Minnesota on the legislative and enforcement mechanisms around the world on trafficking. The final result of the study will be to identify an international framework on legislation to protect women and children from commercial sexual exploitation.

Staffers from Rep. Slaughter's and Sen. Kennedy's office attended and asked us to provide a fuller briefing on trafficking and USG efforts to combat it. We are working with H to set this up for January 23.

o Also on trafficking, I met with Phyllis Oakley this week to enlist her support in getting better and more thorough data collection on trafficking. As you heard in the Secretary's retreat today when Julia Taft mentioned the lack of data on trafficking, Phyllis believes we should rely on NGO sources and standard embassy reporting. In the enforcement area in particular, I think we need serious intel, along the lines of the intel we get on drug trafficking. May I enlist your help on this? I will send up some talkers on the issue early next week.

Miscellaneous

o With March 8, International Women's Day as a hook, State Magazine has agreed to focus the March issue on the advancement of women as a U.S. foreign policy objective. We are proposing four articles to highlight:

- the work of the Office of the Senior Coordinator and the President's Interagency Council on Women (written by me)
- a report from the field. Embassy Windhoek's approaches to integrating women's human rights into their mission (written by Ambassador George Ward)
- USG efforts to eliminate the practices of female genital cutting (written by Lois Gochnauer in my office)
- USG programs to expand women's political participation. This article could be written by the Asia Foundation which has run successful programs funded by AID and State in a number of countries.

We will also draft a message from the Secretary. Please advise if this lineup of articles sounds good.

o Congratulations on today's retreat. Thank you for including me. It helped me to get a big picture of the Secretary's goals for the coming year and how my work can be better integrated into the regional bureaus. I used the opportunity to introduce myself to some new A/Ss.

January 23, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: S/PICW - Theresa Loar

SUBJECT: This week's highlights for the President's Interagency Council on Women

Quarterly Briefings:

Yesterday, the Council held the second public briefing of this quarter. In opening remarks I summarized our excellent Council meeting last Friday for the group of about 75 NGOs. There was a positive response to the Secretary's high level of commitment and leadership for the Council. Four of the Council working groups reported on their activities: Mentoring, Women Incarcerated in the U.S., International Women in Agriculture Conference, and The Globalizing Economy.

Following the overview presentations, each working group met separately. The Globalizing Economy group led by Kitty Higgins drew the largest crowd. All groups reported lively and useful interaction.

Take Our Daughters to Work Day:

We are talking to *Marie Claire* magazine about their interest in hosting a roundtable for me with editors of young women's magazines in mid-February. This roundtable will highlight Secretary Albright's commitment to promote the advancement of women and the *Take Our Daughters to Work Day* project on April 23. *Marie Claire* may also sponsor a closing reception at the State Department or the White House in honor of the participants.

Council Networking:

On Tuesday, Anita Botti and Kathy Hendrix met with Nancy Hendry, General Counsel for the Peace Corps, to discuss possible coordination and cooperation overseas on mutual objectives. Hendry is setting up a larger meeting with several relevant Peace Corps staff where we can have a mutual exchange on priorities, current operations and initiatives under consideration.

February 6, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: S/PICW - Theresa Loar

SUBJECT: This week's highlights for the President's Interagency
Council on Women

WORKING GROUPS

o **Seneca Falls/Women's History.** Plans for Seneca Falls continue to firm up. Secretary Shalala and Tipper Gore have both agreed "in principle" to participate in activities planned for July 13, which is focused on Women's Health. Their schedulers will confirm soon. Letters of invitation are going out on Friday, February 6, to Secretary Herman and Attorney General Reno. We should try to firm up Secretary Albright's participation in the Hall of Fame induction ceremonies.

o **Mentoring.** The Mentoring group met on Thursday at Education. About 17 people attended and the main thrust of the discussion was on "Take Our Daughters to Work." Agreement was reached that criteria for participation should not be limited to academic performance but to girls who would benefit from the experience and show interest in participating. A volunteer from the VA is drafting the letter to go out to the 18 DC high principals inviting their participation. The group also recommended advance "bios" both ways, so that Council representatives and girls would have a sense of each other in advance. They are also working out transportation logistics.

o **USAID Conference on Girls' Education.** Margaret Lycette and Susie Clay of AID's Women in Development Office met with Kathy Hendrix and me to discuss their upcoming conference on girls' education scheduled for May in Washington. There are many possibilities for Council involvement and other forms of coordination where our office can be helpful. We have put them in touch with several contacts and plan to meet regularly

on this. We will invite them to discuss the conference at our April public briefing.

- o **Agriculture Conference.** Jill Long Thompson and her staff are traveling in Europe and told us before they went of numerous meetings they have set up to encourage participation in the conference. They will schedule a meeting in late February upon return.

STAFFING

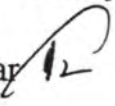
- o Carolyn Becraft, our DOD representative, has identified a prospective candidate whom she highly recommends, to join the coordinating team here for a six-month to one-year term. Iris Bulls accompanied Carolyn to the Council meeting of Jan. 16 and has spoken with us since about her enthusiasm for coming here. However, her immediate supervisor (between her and Carolyn) has asked that this be postponed until July due to the current workload there. Both the immediate supervisor and Carolyn wants to make Iris available, and we would like to make arrangements for July.

OUTREACH

- o Ten national representatives from United Methodist Women met with Kathy Hendrix, Alyse Nelson and me on Friday afternoon. (We have worked closely with their Washington representative Pam Sparr who arranged the visit and came with them.) These women are intensely interested in what the Council is doing and many of their projects directly parallel the agendas of some of our working groups. They were especially interested in the new group on Women and the Global Economy, and specifically stated their hope that the group look into the Multilateral Agreement on Investments. (They are conducting an education campaign on it.) They are also targeting a campaign for CEDAW in May, rallying their North Carolina members to become especially active. They were very interested in the Incarcerated Women group and will be contacting the special rapporteur's office directly to see how they might support her visit. They would like us to do more on poverty, and are hopeful that the two gender groups eventually lead to a federal analysis of the budget in terms of gender impact.

February 6, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: G - Theresa Loar 

SUBJECT: This week's highlights

Expanding Women's Political Participation

o We met with Sima Wali of Refugee Women in Development, Manhaz Afkhami of Sisterhood is Global Institute, DRL and PRM to discuss a project proposed by Sima for human rights training and capacity building of Afghan women refugees in the border camps in Pakistan. DRL funds all its women in democracy programs through the Asia Foundation contract with AID. This is too limited for the scope of projects we want to support. I'm meeting with AID and David Yang in John Shattuck's office on this next week. I'd like to have some agreement on this proposal before March 8.

o Our luncheon in honor of six women elected officials from Bosnia-Herzegovina was terrific. We delivered a message of support from the Secretary. These women are truly inspiring. They are planning a conference funded by Swanee Hunt to be held in March in Bosnia to encourage more women in the region to run for elected office. At the luncheon they spoke with State Dept. folks who work on issues in the region and heads of American NGO working on women's political participation to get their support and ideas for this upcoming conference.

o Anita, INL, Peace Corp and DOJ met DCM Ron Deutch to further explore the proposed women's initiatives in Mongolia. We will continue to follow-up and put Ron in touch with the right people.

o We are providing advice and moral support to Morningstar's office as they plan the First Lady's slideshow on her trip to Russia and the NIS scheduled for February 17 at 2:30. We provided lists of our NGO for the approximately 1,000 person invitation list. Secretary Albright is scheduled to introduce the First Lady and kick off the event. This event is part of a larger Civil Society/NIS initiative involving the First Lady's office and Morningstar.

Violence Against Women

- o I hooked up our human rights NGOs focused on Afghanistan with Jonathan Winer to discuss the Taliban and USG anti-narcotics campaigns in Afghanistan. The NGOs will set up a meeting and both Joel Danies and I will attend.

- o We met with INR to explore seminars on topics such as women in Islam and trafficking. We will follow-up with a draft agenda for a trafficking seminar and an initial guest list. We also agreed to work together to identify women's issues experts and ways to integrate gender issues into ambassadorial seminars.

Outreach

- o Our articles and photos have all been sent to State Magazine and will be featured in the March issue. We worked with Kitty Bartles on photo selection and Heather Hurlburt on quotes from and about the Secretary.

- o Anita spoke with the Catholic Coalition on Women about the working group on trafficking in women. They discussed various ways that their constituents (i.e., Catholic Charity networks, national and international advocacy groups) could support these efforts. We will host a follow-up meeting to discuss their social service efforts (shelters, medical and legal counseling) worldwide which could be made available to victims of trafficking. Anita, along with INL and PRM, briefed the InterAction Migration and Refugee Protection Committee on trafficking. The scope of this group covers U.S. NGO migration and refugee activities abroad. They view trafficking not only as a serious violation of human rights but also as a migration issue in need of economic and humanitarian responses.

- o Anita presented an update on our trafficking working group to a Carnegie Endowment event. Gillian Caldwell of Global Survival Network presented her documentary on trafficked women from the NIS. The session was very well attended (>100 participants), including a number of NGOs, Hill staff and media types. Bill Branigin from the Washington Post will come in next week to talk to us about doing a series of articles on trafficking. We will advise PA.

o As part of our youth outreach efforts, this week Alyse Nelson spoke at the National Network for Youth conference to over 200 young people representing community organizations throughout the nation. Alyse highlighted the Secretary's commitment to the advancement of women and addressed the importance of young people becoming more actively involved in international issues.

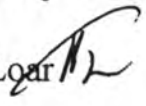
o Alyse also met with forty youth leaders from countries around the world who were in Washington as part of the Emerging Leaders Project of the State of the World Forum. These young people are big fans of the Secretary. They are working on international youth projects for the coming millennium and are interested in learning more about how the State Department addresses global youth issues.

Miscellaneous

o Thank you for taking the time to come down and meet with our team on Tuesday. Your words of encouragement and support for our issues will go a long way.

February 13, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: S/PICW - Theresa Loar 

SUBJECT: This week's highlights for the President's Interagency Council on Women

WORKING GROUPS

o **Women and the Global Economy.** The group met for the first time Tuesday. There was good representation from Labor, State (EAP, OAS, PICW), Commerce, USTR, with SBA, EPA, USIA, CIA, World Bank, and USAID also represented. Treasury was not there and we are seeking to ensure their participation. Kitty asked for volunteers to form subgroups on the APEC ministerial, the establishment of a bibliography on the issues, the April 1998 Summit of the Americas and the Revision of the ILO Maternity Protection Conventions. Sue Esserman, General Counsel, USTR and our Council representative, agreed to do a briefing on the USG's trade agenda for the Working Group and also for the NGOs. We will schedule her presentation to the NGOs for one of the quarterly public briefings in April.

o **Incarcerated Women.** The group met Thursday and has scheduled another meeting for February 24. Justice is trying to arrange a meeting with the Special Rapporteur on March 4, during the Commission on the Status of Women meeting. Bonnie Campbell and Wendy Patten of Justice would meet with her as well as someone from IO. The working group is looking ahead to its role after the Rapporteur's visit and is asking members to inventory what they do that relates to incarcerated women, their families or those in transition from prison. They are scheduling a meeting with NGOs.

o **Microenterprise.** At the time of the Beijing Conference, the US announced two initiatives that involved Treasury's CDFI Fund as the lead agency -- the Presidential Awards for Excellence in Microenterprise Development and an initiative to promote coherence and interagency

collaboration on microenterprise. The Awards were launched in 1997 but CDFI was slow to start on the collaboration initiative. However, CDFI tells us that recently, with the new director on board, they have made this a priority and have held preliminary meetings with SBA on how to proceed. CDFI is coming in next week for a general orientation with us and to discuss this initiative. It will be similar to the other working groups, except that it is the result of a Presidential Directive.

- o **Mentoring.** We met with Theda Zawaiza from Leslie Thornton's office at Education to move forward on the April 23 Take Our Daughters to Work event. After considering extending the invitation to private schools, the working group has decided to keep it focused on the 18 D.C. public high schools. Principals will be asked to forward the names of three girls who would benefit from the experience and have expressed interest. The girls will submit brief essays on themselves and their interests, and we will ask Council members to do the same. This will help us in matching mentors with girls and in serving as an ice-breaker for both. Participating principals will be invited to the reception at the end of the day. The Save the Date notice is going out to Council members.

- o **Seneca Falls/Women's History.** Ann Lewis is running the traps at the White House on Brooke Shearer's excellent idea for a public relations/ media steering committee of private sector experts. We explained that the Interagency Council cannot set up a private advisory council. Brooke herself would probably put it together and be the liaison.

OUTREACH

- o Bella Abzug and Susan Davis of WEDO have been in touch with us, Linda Tarr-Whelan, and Secretary Albright by letter, about proposals they would like the US to promote at the upcoming session of the UN CSW meeting. One proposal involves a joint five-year review of both the Fourth World Conference on Women and the Copenhagen Social Summit. The other two relate to peacekeeping -- a study of human rights violations by peacekeeping troops and sending peace delegations of women to areas in conflict. There are some workable ideas here, although not as proposed, and we are arranging with relevant State and USUN people to give them a hearing.

o Pat Reuss of NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund came in to meet with us about her attempts to have domestic groups “build a bridge” with international groups, using domestic violence as the issue. We had a very productive meeting that may lead to several ventures.

February 13, 1998

TO: C - Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: G - Theresa Loag 

SUBJECT: This week's highlights

Expanding Women's Political Participation

- o We gave DRL our proposal for a joint initiative with Canada for a program to integrate gender issues into training for UN and other peacekeepers. Betsy Clark agreed that the project is a good use of G-8 follow-up money and she will circulate it through the proper channels. This is to be a deliverable for the Secretary's meeting with Axworthy whenever that takes place. The Canadians came up with the idea.
- o We also have agreement that somewhere between DRL, PRM and AID/WID we will fund human rights training and capacity building for Afghan women in refugee camps. This will be an initiative to announce at the March 8th event.
- o Anita found \$1 million for Mongolia through the AID Democracy office. This can support Ambassador LaPorta's request for expansion of women's programs.
- o Re the CSW delegation, Mahnaz Afkhami reluctantly turned us down fearing that serving on a U.S. delegation would place her and her group too close to the U.S. in the eyes of some governments. Pat Rengel from Amnesty whom we discussed, has not been available to take my call and there is some thought that per Amnesty's unspoken policy, Pat may not accept. With WH concurrence, we approached Jill Merrick of ICRW. Jill would be terrific, has lots of international experience and has great standing in the human rights community. This would give us three public member delegates: Jill, Catherine O'Neill, and Celena Greene, a young woman from NYC working on international issues. Iris Burnet will serve as a self-funded public sector advisor.

- o Also, during CSW, we will do a showing of AmEmbassy Namibia's powerful public service announcements on family violence. USUN is helping to put this together with the Namibian delegation.

Violence Against Women

- o Dennis Ross delivered our letter to Minister Sharansky which discussed a bilateral agenda on trafficking. We are delighted that the Secretary raised this issue, over so many objections, and as you suggested I will follow-up with NEA front office. The Israelis will run with this and Sharansky can get the Russians to focus. We will follow up with a more comprehensive action plan for the Israelis as requested by our embassy.
- o As you know, we sent an action request to the Secretary today recommending that she participate in a White House event with the First Lady to celebrate International Women's Day with CEDAW as the lead. We added in the domestic violence focus and can use the event to demonstrate the linkage between the USG domestic and international work on this. Separately, I will send you an idea on how we can notch up this linkage.
- o Bill Branigin, from The Washington Post, came in to talk with us about a series he wants to do trafficking in women. PA endorsed this. We invited him to the Secretary/First Lady Russian/Stans briefing and will keep him up on developments.
- o Thank you for raising trafficking with the Attorney General. DOJ advises us she has called for a briefing on the status of their efforts on trafficking.
- o Anita met with EUR and the Italians to coordinate a visit by various ministry officials to discuss trafficking of women. A draft letter from the Italians to the Secretary is attached. The letter outlines their request for a visit on March 9-13 to Washington. Through our Council contacts, we will help EUR connect with DOJ and HHS to coordinate the visit.
- o Our plans for the Moscow conference on family violence against women are underway. A cable went out to post requesting that preparations begin. We also sent a draft letter to the Vice President's office for Gore to send to Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin endorsing the conference and

asking for his support. The Russians asked us to get such a letter. Funding will come from INL and probably DRL and AID.

Outreach

o This week Alyse Nelson met and spoke to organizations in Boston which focus on women's leadership and international issues, Wellesley Women in Politics Organization, and Harvard Kennedy School of Government's Women's Caucus to raise awareness about the work of our office under the leadership of the Secretary. There is a very strong community which works on international women's issues in the New England area and as we approach international women's day in March it is important to reach out to our constituents in this region. Alyse also met with refugee youth leaders in Boston.



*Presidenza
del Consiglio dei Ministri*

IL MINISTRO PER LE PARI OPPORTUNITA

Rome, 11 February 1998

To the Secretary of State
Ms. Madeleine Albright

Dear Madam Secretary,

In the last few weeks, I have had the pleasure of working with my staff and the Italian Embassy in the United States to prepare the visit to the U.S. of an Italian interministerial delegation. This delegation will study working proposals for effective action against trafficking in women and children for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

The Italian government is firmly committed on this subject. In my Department, an Interministerial Coordination Committee, to be co-chaired by the Minister for Social Solidarity, Mrs. Livia Turco, and myself, will be established shortly. This Committee will act as a task force, to develop and coordinate the implementation of a packet of targeted actions aimed at rendering government action against trafficking consistent and effective.

The exchange of information between the Italian delegation and representatives of the State Department, and the "President's Council", will certainly be valuable in orienting the work of our Committee. Furthermore, we could use this opportunity to launch a form of stable bilateral consultation.

Trafficking in women is a crime of unspeakable severity which has long been underestimated. It represents a deep violation of women's human rights, a modern and barbaric form of slavery, and a new source of illegal profit for organized crime.

I am convinced that the opportunity for us to work together on this issue stems not only from the interests of our two governments, but also from your personal sensitivity to women's rights and empowerment.

The visit of our Italian delegation - which we hope will soon be followed by a visit of your delegation to Italy - may be a first opportunity for an exchange of information and assessments, as well as a discussion of the initiatives already taken and forthcoming on a national scale, and a chance to envisage common actions that could be agreed by the two governments.

I would like to submit a few topics which could go to form an outline of the issues to be discussed and help ensure that the meetings of our delegations are fruitful.

The conversation between representatives of our Embassy and the State Department have identified two major areas to be addressed: 1) prosecution of trafficking; 2) promotion of the human rights of the victims of trafficking.

As regard investigation and prosecution of trafficking, the following suggestions for joint work may be worth considering:

a) Exchange of information and assessments on the general features of trafficking and the recent changes which have occurred, with special focus on certain geographic areas from which

trafficking originates; a comparison of our respective systems for data gathering and quantitative and qualitative assessment of trafficking;

- b) Exchange of information, data and investigation reports between law enforcement agencies;
- c) Examination of the efficacy of law enforcement measures and judicial practices in the two countries;
- d) Exchange of information on measures adopted or to be adopted on a national scale, to encourage victims to report to the police against traffickers and to act as a witness in criminal proceedings, including the issuance, when necessary, of temporary residence permit, as well as favorable criminal and procedural regulation;
- e) Consultation concerning the following proposals for the use of the already-established bilateral fora: dedicate a specific session of the Enhanced Consultations to trafficking, or put the issue on the agenda of a forthcoming session; establish an *ad hoc* subgroup within the Bilateral Committee on Judicial and Police Cooperation;
- f) Consultation on the initiatives to be undertaken in multilateral fora, especially concerning the preparatory work for the International Convention on Organized Crime and the International Criminal Court, the use of Interpol facilities, the optimization of the CEDAW forum.

Concerning the human rights of women who are the victims of trafficking, we could initiate an exchange of information on best practices and projects for initiatives in the following sectors:

- a) Information, with special focus on information campaigns in the countries of origin, starting from joint initiatives already launched by the U.S. - E.U.; communication and information campaigns on the rights of women who decide to escape from the exploitation of traffickers in the transit and destination countries;
- b) Appropriate assistance to victims, through the intervention of health care and social and human services and support the initiatives of NGOs operating in the field;
- c) Training of police and the judiciary, and of workers in the fields of legal aid, health care and psychological and social counselling;
- d) Measures to ensure to victims the appropriate "fair treatment" in criminal proceedings;
- e) Adequate compensation of material damages, physical and mental harm resulting from trafficking.

I hope that it will be possible during the visit to initiate discussions concerning these items and lay the groundwork for fruitful consultation. Bilateral initiatives may take into account the talks and initiatives already underway in Europe, as well as concertation in the G-8 context. I believe that this matter will require long-term efforts, and that is why it is foreseeable that our bilateral discussion on the subject will continue in the future.

There are many issues to be addressed, and they all require a multi-disciplinary approach. Trafficking should always be dealt with by combining investigation and prosecution with the social side, in a comprehensive perspective. This is why I suggest that in addition to using all of existing bilateral fora, an *ad hoc* bilateral committee be established to monitor the situation and study proposals to be submitted to the two governments in view of enhancing the quality of actions to repress trafficking, along with initiatives aimed at promoting the victims' human rights. The committee could be the framework for routine consultations concerning both the implementation of bilateral initiatives, and the fine-tuning of cooperation in multilateral fora.

In the hope that we will soon have the opportunity to meet,

Your sincerely,

Anna Finocchiaro

February 20, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: S/PICW - Theresa Loar *TL*

SUBJECT: This week's highlights for the President's Interagency Council on Women

Transition

- o Kathy Hendrix is preparing an "exit memo" for us, laying out some ideas she has for the Council's future and presenting detailed information on the current status of activities.

APEC

- o At John Andre's (EAP) suggestion we asked AmEmbassy Kuala Lumpur to cover the Women's Ministerial preparatory meeting in Penang next week. They e-mailed back that they are already over-committed to other APEC related events. At this point we do know that Dept. of Labor and USTR will be there. We are trying a few other possibilities for State representation, including a Philippines Econ Officer, who would be good because the Philippines is hosting the Ministerial this fall and the Embassy is likely to cover it.

Working Groups

- o **Incarcerated Women.** Bonnie Campbell, Wendy Patten and I will attend the meeting with the UN Special Rapporteur in New York on March 4 during the CSW.
- o **Mentoring.** We have sent "Save the Date" notices for April 23 to the Council.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. memo	Theresa Loar to Wendy Sherman re: This week's highlights [partial] (1 page)	02/20/1998	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20060

FOLDER TITLE:

Women and Politics [1]

2013-0534-S

rc1708

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

o **Women and the Global Economy.** The sub-group on APEC met last Friday. Unfortunately EAP did not attend, although the office was represented at the regular meeting of the working group. USTR and Commerce have expressed considerable interest although DOL tells us that no one has strong views for the agenda. We and DOL are following up with EAP to make sure they stay involved at the working group level.

o Sue Esserman of USTR has agreed to a briefing on the U.S.' trade agenda at our April 7 quarterly NGO public meeting and briefing.

o **Work and Family.** CIA has been in discussion with us about a working group on Work and Family that they, i.e. (b)(3) the Alternate [602] Rep, would like to chair. (b)(3) submitted a proposal and we put them in touch with Janice Lachance's office at OPM to make sure they weren't duplicating anything. CIA and OPM met last week and agreed the group would be valuable and should go forward. They are drawing up a plan/outline which they will send us along with a draft notice and proposed date for a meeting. We will hold off launching this working group until Kathy's replacement is on board. CIA is very eager to do this and one bonus is that they will staff it adequately.

Outreach

o **WEDO.** Bella Abzug and Susan Davis, as a result of their letter to the Secretary, are scheduled to come to the State Department on Monday, February 23 for two meetings in my office. Linda Tarr-Whelan and Bisa will attend both. The first will be with Ed Hull, IO, on WEDO's peacekeeping ideas. Later, the agenda will shift to WEDO's ideas about the five-year review process at the UN for Beijing and the Copenhagen Social Summit. We are not wild about a Social Summit review since it will water-down the focus on women.

February 20, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: G - Theresa Loar

SUBJECT: This week's highlights TL

Expanding Women's Political Participation

- o We are working with the Secretary's Open Forum to co-sponsor an event in March focused on women's human rights. We are arranging the panel of speakers and will include members of the President's Interagency Council.
- o Our Vital Voices planning committee met again this week. It looks like the conference will be held in either Buenos Aires or Montevideo in early September. We are drafting a cable to all Posts in the region which will detail the plans for the conference. We will ask each Embassy to select a point person who will help us choose participants and speakers and will accompany the delegation to the conference. The IADB will also use our guidance to help select participants.

Violence Against Women

- o We sent a cable to AmEmbassy Tel Aviv with a copy of the letter to Foreign Minister Sharansky. We asked Martina Vandenburg, whose report the New York Times article was based on, to come in and share her thoughts on the action plan.
- o The Economist published an article on the international sex trade that completely missed the element of coercion that is involved. Dani is drafting a letter to the editor from me describing the efforts being made by the USG to combat trafficking.

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o We are delighted that (b)(3) was accepted in the Exceptional Analyst program offered by the CIA. She will be doing research for one year on trafficking in women. Thank you for your support. This is another important step in getting appropriate intelligence community attention to this issue. [003]

o Anita and I met with Gillian Caldwell of the Global Survival Network. Gillian formed an NGO advisory group on trafficking to serve as the liaison between the NGOs and the USG. We have been working with Gillian for a few months. She has received press attention and has always been fair in her assessment of the USG response to trafficking.

o As an outcome of the meeting with Gillian, we will meet with Mary Ryan to highlight the important role CA plays in preventing trafficking. One idea is for the consul general in significant source countries to pull together colleagues in other embassies to work on providing protection for young women trafficked into those countries. When I met with the Ukrainian Ambassador earlier this week on another issue he told me that a great challenge he faced while posted in Israel was how to provide assistance to young women who came into the Embassy seeking assistance.

o Human Rights Watch asked us to advocate on their behalf for a senior coordinator-type role in the OSCE. We arranged a meeting at the Department between EUR/OSCE and the NGOs to discuss existing and potential mechanisms to institutionalize women's issues into OSCE. Creating a senior coordinator position may not work now because EUR would like to try other mechanisms first.

o To fully monitor the developments in Afghanistan, Lois joined a meeting that SA arranged here at the Department with three UNOCAL officials. UNOCAL described their efforts to include women in training programs and projects in Afghanistan related to the pipeline. Lois feels their efforts showed some positive results.

o We are preparing testimony which I will give on March 2 at Senator Diane Feinstein's mock hearing about the status of women in Afghanistan. We are circulating draft testimony and will hold a mock murder board on February 26 to prepare.

February 27, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: G - Theresa Loar 

SUBJECT: This week's highlights

Expanding Women's Political Participation

o Some fifty representatives of the USG, NGOs and foundations joined our second Vital Voices Vienna Working Group meeting this week. Melanne Verveer, Dick Morningstar, AID, and USIA spoke about the continued governmental follow-up to the conference and the additional funds available for women's democracy-building projects in the region. We also heard reports from the private sector and NGOs on their follow-up activities. The level of private/public partnership on these issues in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union is very strong.

o Plans for the March 11 White House event are underway. I will try to get on your calendar for Monday to bring you up to speed. We are hard at work generating the deliverables. We pulled together the interagency working group to speed up the process.

o We met with the Canadians again to fine tune the gender and peacekeeping initiative. This is on the Secretary's agenda for a deliverable during her trip to Ottawa in March.

Violence Against Women

o We met with Martina Vandenburg, the NGO who wrote a report on trafficking in women in Israel picked up in the NYTimes article, to discuss an action plan on trafficking for the Israelis. We will send a cable suggesting that the Israelis use the prevention, protection and enforcement framework for combating trafficking. We will propose that the U.S. and Israel co-sponsor a public awareness campaign in Russia. We will also suggest that the Israelis explore laws on the buying and selling of human beings, the treatment of trafficked women in detention facilities, prosecution reforms, deportation

procedures, intelligence and access to social and legal services. NEA is working with us on this.

- o We initiated a meeting with AID, INL, and PRM to discuss an integrated strategy on the trafficking of women in Ukraine. We could use Ukraine as a model of U.S. bilateral cooperation and using our foreign aid to integrate issues affecting women into our foreign policy.
- o We met with Geeta Gupta, President of the International Center for Research on Women to discuss their AID-funded research project on violence against women in India. The project is good but seems slow and too academic.
- o I am going up to testify at Senator Feinstein's mock hearing on women in Afghanistan Monday morning. H, PRM, INL, and the Afghan desk have helped us prepare for this.
- o Anita, Dani and H went to the Hill to brief Senator Biden's staffers on our office. They discussed our role within the State Department, trafficking in women, the Interagency Council, and CEDAW.

Outreach

- o I spoke to the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) on the State Department's activities to integrate women's issues into American foreign policy. There was interest in CEDAW and enthusiasm about assisting in the efforts to get the treaty ratified. As usual, a quote from the Secretary drew big applause.
- o Alyse spoke to 200 women at the Women in American Political Activism Conference at Wellesley College about the work that we are doing to advance the status of women. The group was particularly interested in the on-going Beijing follow-up process within the government. The conference brought together college women, professors, NGOs, politicians, and professionals.

February 27, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: S/PICW - Theresa Loar 

SUBJECT: This week's highlights for the President's Interagency Council on Women

Working Groups

- o **Incarcerated Women.** Bonnie Campbell, Linda Tarr-Whelan and I will meet with the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women in New York on March 4 during the CSW. The Special Rapporteur plans to come to the U.S. in May to investigate the treatment of women in prisons in the U.S. We are working closely with the Special Rapporteur to make her visit productive.
- o **Mentoring.** We are working with Education to get letters out to DC public school principals asking them to identify girls to partner with Council representatives for *Take Our Daughters to Work Day*. We have had a very good response from Council members (including you!).
- o **Rural Women.** We're looking at the draft brochure prepared by USDA for the International Conference on Women in Agriculture (June 28-July 2). The brochure will generate interest in attending this conference.

Outreach

- o **WEDO.** We had a good meeting with Susan Davis, Executive Director of WEDO, and Ed Hull from IO on peacekeeping and Beijing Plus Five. IO and USUN will take action on the WEDO proposal on peacekeeping which builds on our work with the Canadians and integrates human rights training into the training program for peacekeepers. The Beijing Plus Five idea needs more work. Bisa is helping us on this.

Personnel

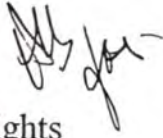
o I talked with Gare Smith about DRL picking up a contract for Kathy Hendrix to work with the Women in the Global Economy working group. He was receptive and shared your view that State should continue to play a leading role in this working group. We'll talk further.

o I touched base today with Lidia. She is enthusiastic about the prospect of coming on board. We will ask the White House to put her on the list for the International Women's Day event. White House personnel has begun her vet.

March 13, 1998

TO: C - Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: G - Theresa Loar



SUBJECT: This week's highlights

o We hosted an Italian delegation this week to discuss trafficking issues; they met with State and Justice folks, NGOs, Congressional staffers, and made site visits to shelters for women both here and in San Francisco. They proposed and we agreed to work jointly on issues and initiatives of victim's human rights and protection, and law enforcement training. Justice Department is also considering a possible exchange of information on criminal organizations, investigative procedures, and measures to facilitate victim's protection and cooperation.

o Counselor Turunen of the Embassy of Finland was in to discuss a visit by the Foreign Minister to Washington in May. They would like to work with us on the issue of trafficking and may wish to have a deliverable for the the Minister's meeting with the Secretary in May.

o We have two staff in New York on the U.S. delegation to CSW working on human rights and violence against women.

o We will be scheduling a briefing meeting for you to review all aspects of the March 11 event, including necessary follow-up. You were missed at the event!

o We continue to work out details for the Moscow Family Violence Conference. The Russian Government appears to need more time to plan for the conference; therefore, we are now looking at October/November rather than June.

March 20, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: G - Theresa Loar 

SUBJECT: This week's highlights

Expanding Women's Political Participation

o We had an amazing meeting as part of Vital Voices Vienna follow up with Dick Morningstar and a consortium of several US-based NGOs working with women's groups on projects in the NIS. After hearing concerns about sporadic AID support for projects and the need for a regional funding strategy, Dick called for an inventory of all US projects affecting women, a needs assessment, and a policy directive. This process will culminate in a donors conference next fall involving all the major governmental and non-governmental funders in the region. Dick's leadership on this is so important since AID will not do this unless he, their funder, directs it. We got nowhere when we requested an inventory of projects affecting women prior to the Vienna conference. If we succeed in this region, we can use this model for a comprehensive approach for programs affecting women in other regions as well. I will be working with Dick to move this along. For all the difficulty in putting the Vital Voices conference together, it has had a useful long term effect.

Violence Against Women

o The NGO response to the March 11 WH event has been very positive. As follow up, we have scheduled a series of meetings to move ahead on implementation. Specifically, we are pulling together:

- USAID, INL, and S/NIS/C on the new \$10 million for violence
- USAID, INL, PRM, S/NIS/C, CA, and the Ukraine desk on the Ukraine trafficking model
- DOJ on trafficking criminal sanctions and victims protection
- USIA on public information programs on trafficking and
- SA, PRM, DRL, and AID on the \$2.5 million for Afghanistan

We are also inviting in NGOs on each of these issues to solicit their ideas on implementation. This extra step is important to demonstrate our vigorous follow through to the WH announcements. The new Afghan programs will be complicated given the competing Afghan factions and their US reps. We will count on good guidance from SA to make sure we cover all the bases.

- o Today we pulled together SA, PRM and AID to coordinate a USG response to the latest Taliban edict requiring that Muslim UN international female staff traveling to Afghanistan must be accompanied by a close male relative. This new restriction is very serious because Muslim women are the ones with the greatest access to Afghan women at this time. We agreed that if this edict is enforced, we would support suspension of UN non-life sustaining humanitarian programs.

Outreach

- o I joined the WH Women's Office and Ann Lewis in their briefing for editors of women's magazines. *Marie Claire* wants to do a story on violence against women and our new \$10 million and *Glamour* wants to do highlight specific initiatives for women under Secretary Albright's leadership. We will be back in touch with them and work with PA.

- o Tom Lippman came to see me with no specific story in mind, but rather as part of his book chapter on global issues and foreign policy. I gave him many examples of how the Secretary has put our issues into the mainstream. I expect that he will raise with you the question about how we can be sure that we are institutionalizing all of this so that it does go away under different leadership. Good question that we have to keep working on.

- o I did an interview with VOA Ukraine TV re trafficking in women from that country and a radio interview re March 11 with Common Ground radio which will run on NPR during odd hours. I also joined a teleconference on women's human rights that linked up colleges in Iowa, Afghan women in Pakistan and Paris and NGOs in NY.

- o We are clearing a letter to the editor of *Marie Claire* magazine in response to their good article on the status of women and girls in Afghanistan. We describe the Secretary's visit to the refugee camps and USG efforts to aid Afghan women and girls.

March 27, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: G - Theresa Loar *TL*

SUBJECT: This week's highlights

Expanding Women's Political Participation

o We are working with the White House Women's Office to coordinate a CEDAW strategy meeting with NGOs on April 1 as follow-up to the March 11 event.

o We will be in to see you Monday afternoon to review plans for the Vital Voices of the Americas: Women in Democracy Conference planned for September/October in Latin America. The conference will be co-sponsored by the IADB and modeled somewhat after the Vienna Conference. We are adding a private sector commitment piece to ensure follow-through funding; alas, we don't have Morningstar's megabucks in Latin America. The First Lady has expressed interest in the conference and may give the keynote address as in Vienna. We need strong ARA support and will look for your ideas on how to lock it in.

Violence Against Women

o We requested that non-specific language about new Taliban restrictions on the flow of humanitarian assistance be included in Ambassador Richardson's speech to the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva on March 25. There had been a reference in the draft speech to the treatment of women by the Taliban. We have since learned that he dropped all reference to Afghanistan in his speech.

o We met with our colleagues from USAID and INL to discuss the types of violence against women projects to be funded by the additional \$10 million announced by the President on March 11. We are scheduling an open meeting with NGOs in April to hear their suggestions on projects for U.S. funding. I'd like to use this NGO group, adding DOJ and our regional bureaus, for an on-going working group on violence against women with the goal of identifying policies and programs to address this issue. This mechanism is a way to carry out the President's March 11 directive to strengthen and expand our efforts to combat violence against women in all its forms around the world. I would like to flesh out this idea and have you kick off our next expanded meeting.

o Looking ahead to the possible visit of the President and First Lady to China at the end of June, we are beginning to work with DRL and EAP to identify issues on the status of women.

Outreach

o I am delighted that you can kick-off the Secretary's Open Forum on the international human rights of women to be held on Tuesday, March 31 from 12:30 p.m. to 2:00 p.m. I will be joined for a panel discussion by Gillian Caldwell, Mahnaz Afkhami, and Jill Merrick. They will speak about trafficking, violence against women, and women's human rights, respectively. We will highlight the March 11 White House event, perhaps with some footage. Following the Open Forum, we will host a roundtable discussion which will include Lula Rodriguez, Bisa, an AID representative, Jeff Meer from the UN Foundation, and young women interested in international issues who have displayed leadership within their communities. This discussion will help us to build linkages with young women and to reach out and address the global concerns of the next generation.

o I had a very successful trip to California. I addressed the Soroptomists International and the World Affairs Council and Women's Foreign Policy Group. These groups are big fans of the Secretary and were very interested in her agenda on women's issues.

o I also had some productive meetings while I was in California. I met with the Global Fund for Women, an organization which funds women's projects and had convened a conference on trafficking last year. They have some very helpful ideas on how to build an NGO-USG alliance for our international conference on trafficking. I also met with the State of the World Forum about integrating the issues affecting the lives of women into their agenda for an upcoming October gathering. They are very receptive and can help us build linkages with the corporate community and the West Coast organizations. This organization will also invite the Secretary to give a keynote address at their international gathering.

March 27, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: S/PICW - Theresa Loar 

SUBJECT: This week's highlights for the President's Interagency Council on Women

Working Groups

- o I plan to attend all working group meetings until Lidia is fully on-board.
- o **Incarcerated Women.** This working group, chaired by Bonnie Campbell will meet April 1 at DOJ to discuss the visit of the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women. Her visit is tentatively scheduled for May 20-June 6. The Special Rapporteur has tentative plans to visit state facilities in New York, Minnesota, California, and Virginia, and the federal facility in New Jersey. IO has not stepped forward as it should on this issue, so I am talking to the IO front office.

I asked Bonnie Campbell to speak at our April 7 public briefing on the details of the Special Rapporteur's visit. I want to be sure that the NGOs understand there are some limits on the role of the federal government in this visit and they can play an active and helpful part. The Special Rapporteur is likely to request a meeting with the Secretary, which I would encourage.

- o **Mentoring.** This Working Group is scheduled to meet on April 2 at Education to move forward on the Welfare to Work activities in each agency.

- o **Take Our Daughters to Work Day.** We are working with Education to solidify the day's program which aims to engage the girls while educating them about the important functions of the U.S.G. We are receiving an enthusiastic response from Council members and school principals about their involvement in the program. We hope to also include other high-level women

from the State Department in this program. Attached is our current thinking on the event based on some helpful suggestions from the Ms. Foundation who originated the program. We are working to ensure that the government participants at all levels of this program are diverse and fully representative to provide the greatest benefit for these DC public high school girls.

o **Rural Women.** I met with Jill Long Thompson at USDA for an update on the International Conference on Women in Agriculture (June 30-July 3). Support from other agencies has been weak, in part because the decision-makers have not been approached. Agriculture will prepare a wish list and I will call some Council reps to suggest how they can help. Agriculture will invite the Secretary to keynote the Conference. I suggested that they get the letter moving.

Outreach

o **Soroptimists International.** I spoke to approximately 300 Soroptimists in Sacramento on Sunday, March 22 about the work of the Council. Some of them, led by the former mayor of South Lake Tahoe, Del Laine, had visited Washington in September. They're an active group with many interests and programs that fit well with our work, such as mentoring and women in prisons. They are eager to partner with us on women's projects and could be particularly effective on CEDAW. I am putting them in touch with the U.S.-NIS Consortium. They will invite the Secretary to address their international gathering this summer in New York.

**The President's Interagency Council on Women
Take Our Daughters to Work Day
Theme: Imagine a Day . . . When a Woman is President**

**PROGRAM FOR THE DAY
Thursday, April 23, 1998**

9:00 a.m. ARRIVAL

- Girls arrive at the State Department and gather in the Exhibit Hall
(PICW will provide juice and donuts/bagels for the girls)

9:15 a.m. WELCOME

- Girls are welcomed to the State Department by PICW Director, Theresa Loar and Leslie Thornton, Chair, PICW Working Group
- Girls hear overview of PICW Take Our Daughter to Work Day
- Girls are introduced to Group Leaders
(The Group Leaders are five young, charismatic women who will prepare the girls for their day of mentoring.)

10:15 a.m. - 11:45 p.m. WORKING GROUPS

- Group Projects with Group Leaders
At this time the girls will be divided up into five small groups. Each group will be lead by Group Leaders (Each of the Group Leaders have extensive experience working with girls). Over the next 90 minutes the girls will work together to answer a series of question (which will later be posed to them at the lunch) surrounding the idea of "Imagine a Day . . . When a Woman is President of the United States." This process will educate the girls about the structure of the U.S.G. and the important functions each of the federal agencies.

Questions might include:

- Why would a woman make a good President?
- If you were President, what is the first law you would work to pass?
- If you were President who would you pick to be in your cabinet? Why?

Each Working Group will elect one girl to represent their group by answering a question at the lunch. The Group Leaders will come together at 11:45 to decide which group will answer which questions at the lunch)

(We will have a brainstorming meeting in early April with the Group Leaders to develop group questions and discuss how we can best structure the working groups so the girls have fun while they are being educated and prepared for the day.)

12:00 p.m. - 1:30 p.m. LUNCH RECEPTION

- Girls move to the 8th Floor Diplomatic Reception Rooms for Lunch
- Girls are seated for lunch next to their mentor.
- Lunch Program
 - Welcome, Theresa Loar, Director of PICW
 - The importance of mentoring and an overview of the day, Chair of the Mentoring Working Group, Leslie Thornton
 - A (Council Member TBD) will pose one of the prepared questions to each of the five groups, and the girl chosen to represent each group will respond.

2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. SHADOWING

- Girls shadow mentors at Federal Agencies
- Possible On-line Chats with Girls and Mentors

5:15 p.m.

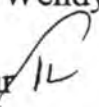
- Girls are picked up by School Principals at Federal Agencies and taken to the Closing Reception

5:30 - 7:00 p.m. EVENING RECEPTION

- "Celebrate Girls" Reception at State Department
- School Principals accompany girls to the reception.
- NGOs & Private Sector Organizations participating in other Take Our Daughters to Work Day Programs are also invited.
- One of the Girls will speak about her experience.
- Secretary Albright closes the day by speaking about the importance of "imagining a day".

April 3, 1998

TO: C -Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: G - Theresa Loar 

SUBJECT: This week's highlights

Expanding Women's Political Participation

o Thank you for going over our plans for the "Vital Voices of the Americas: Women in Democracy" conference to be held in Montevideo this fall. We have a meeting next week with Pete Romero and John Hamilton to discuss the role of ARA and to determine how the other bureaus can assist with the conference preparations. The action cable is now circulating for clearance.

Violence Against Women

o We met with Margo Squire of Morningstar's office who recently returned from Russia about the regional conferences on domestic violence we are planning this fall. There has been a significant lack of interest about the conferences, not only from Russian officials, but also from our Embassy, despite the fact the Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested a conference on domestic violence and our First Lady endorsed it during her fall trip to Russia. I'd like to put this issue on the agenda for a meeting I am planning with Sestanovich and Morningstar to follow-up on the March 11 Executive Order to expand our efforts to combat violence against women. I'd like to meet with you briefly on this.

o We met today with DRL and EAP to discuss how can they integrate our issues into the June visit of the President and First Lady to China and Hong Kong. We came up a number of ideas under the democracy and human rights umbrella. This is new territory for EAP China folks.

o David Satterfield will be in on Monday to discuss the U.S.-Israel action plan on trafficking in women and girls. We will encourage NEA to be more proactive in addressing our issues.

Outreach

- o Thank you for participating in the Secretary's Open Forum on the International Human Rights of Women on Tuesday. I am passing along to S/P a copy of Mahnaz Afkhami's comments on Muslim women shaping their culture and their religion.

- o Following the Open Forum, I chaired a roundtable which brought together 25 young women leaders representing organizations throughout the nation and senior State Department representatives including, Lula Rodriguez (PA), Teresa Hodgood (OES), Barbara Turner (AID), Joel Danies, and Jeff Meer (U.N. Foundation) for a discussion on U.S. foreign policy. This is the second year we put this program together around International Women's Day. The roundtable was very inspiring and can part of an ongoing dialogue between the Department and these young leaders. We are currently working on a article for State Magazine to highlight this program and encourage PA and other Department bureaus to reach out to young people.

April 3, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: S/PICW - Theresa Loar 

SUBJECT: This week's highlights for the President's Interagency
Council on Women

Working Groups

o **Incarcerated Women** - Following IO's unhelpful and incorrect cable to Geneva requesting the delay of the visit of the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, I am talking directly to our human rights delegation in Geneva which is in contact with the Special Rapporteur. I have also asked DRL, which handled prior Special Rapporteur visits, to be more actively involved. Princeton is holding a meeting on Monday afternoon to sort out which lucky bureau will take action on this. I quoted you to both IO and DRL to remind them that we can guide and coordinate bureau efforts but that they must take action.

o **Take Our Daughters to Work Day** - The Ms. Foundation has approached us about sponsoring a lunch reception for the Council mentors and D.C. high school girls. We will be meeting with Marie Wilson, President of the Ms. Foundation, in New York next week to discuss their involvement with our program and how we can get this "great story" out to the press. The Secretary is not available for lunch but is available for the evening reception.

o **Rural Women** - I am calling around to Council reps to suggest ways they can support the International Conference on Women in Agriculture (June 30-July 3). Jill Long Thompson is glad for the support.

o **Gender and Institutional Change** - As you suggested, I met with Craig Johnstone who valiantly stepped forward to head up the Department's efforts as a model agency. Given his unique role in rationalizing policy and resources, he can move us toward institutionalizing our issues. As a first

step, we are meeting with Sally Shelton, to hear what she has done in this area at AID.

Outreach

o **Women's National Democratic Club** - I spoke at a WNDC luncheon this week on Beijing follow-up. As usual, my stories about working to advance the status of women at Madeleine Albright's State Department drew an enthusiastic response. Afterwards, a number of older women came up to tell me stories of what it was like to be a female working in foreign policy in the bad old days.

April 17, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: G - Theresa Loar 

SUBJECT: Welcome home highlights

Expanding Women's Political Participation

o As we discussed, plans are underway for a Vital Voices: Women in Democracy Conference in Northern Ireland. We are working closely with EUR, Jim Lyons, the NSC, the First Lady's Office and our consulate in Belfast on preparations for a mid May or early June conference, assuming the peace agreements hold. The conference will be a smaller version of the Vienna model. Our Consulate in Belfast is identifying a venue, Northern Ireland participants, and assembling a team on the ground. We will give you a full briefing upon your return.

o We joined EAP and NSC for a meeting at the White House laying out preliminary plans for the President's and First Lady's trip to China in late June. I asked Susan O'Sullivan from DRL to come along given her expertise on China and women's issues. There will be high expectations for a strong human rights speech from the First Lady matching her speech in Beijing at the UN Women's Conference. Even though the context is very different, this will be a challenge.

o We met with Peter Hakim from the Inter-American Dialog to discuss their potential involvement with Vital Voices Latin America. They think the OAS Commission on the Status of Women should be strengthened. We asked for specific ideas on how to do this. They delivered a copy of their Communique directed to the heads of state in the hemisphere for the Santiago Summit. I suggested that their public statements in Santiago emphasize the progress made by women in the region this year and the importance of having these issues integrated into the Summit documents.

- o I met with Pete Romero and John Hamilton from ARA to discuss their role in Vital Voices Latin America. They suggested the cable to the region announcing the conference come jointly from Jeff Davidow and me. This is just the message we want to send about high level ARA support and involvement.

Violence Against Women

- o We had a productive meeting about trafficking to Israel with David Satterfield. It took some convincing but he acknowledged the important role for NEA in the discussions about trafficking with the Israeli government. We are cleaning up the action plan which suggests a joint US-Israeli working group along the lines of the US-Italy model. NEA and I would co-lead this working group combining the regional and issue expertise. NEA prepared a briefer and talking points for the Vice President for his trip to Israel at the end of this month.

- o We convened a public meeting of folks from SA, DRL, AID, and PRM and Afghan and human rights NGOs to discuss ideas for types of projects that can best benefit Afghan women. This was the follow up to the March 11 announcement of \$2.5 million for projects to improve the skills of Afghan women. We had a good, open discussion that demonstrated our commitment to take into consideration the opinions of various Afghan factions and human rights groups. The human rights groups got a reality check from the Afghan groups. We are planning another meeting in a few months to keep the NGOs informed of progress.

- o Also as follow-up to March 11, we pulled together the key players for the Ukraine trafficking project. EUR and S/NIS are drafting a cable to post outlining the process for this initiative. This will pull AID back from its lopsided approach. We will coordinate the AID, PRM, INL, and CA input for a balanced initiative which includes the full range of prevention, protection, and enforcement.

o We met with Dave Scheffer, Bonnie Campbell, and Jamie Borek to discuss the NGO concern that there is no true "gender expert" on the U.S. delegation that is working to create a permanent International Criminal Court. Jamie Borek is resisting both NGO and gender specific input. Dave has asked Bonnie to advise the U.S. delegation. This should be helpful and settle some of the concerns of the NGOs.

o Lois Gochnauer met with Ambassador Prudence Bushnell to discuss Pru's work on the status of women in Kenya. Her main concern is that U.S. bureaucratic systems (i.e. USAID's system) are inhibiting the Embassy from moving funds into rural areas where women are most in need. She also suggested a Vital Voices conference for African women. We are plugging her into the USDA conference on Women in Agriculture.

o Anita and Bonnie Campbell are in Rome this week to nail down the specifics of the US-Italian initiative on trafficking to be announced during the Proddi visit in May. They have had very little support from the embassy. I called Tony Wayne today to ask him to step in.

April 17, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: S/PICW - Theresa Loar  TL

SUBJECT: Welcome home highlights

Working Groups

o **Incarcerated Women** - This group's primary focus is the visit of the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women now planned for June 1. I met with Gillian Sorenson at the UN last week to follow-up on her request that we work closely with the UN to ensure a good visit. The State Department's participation is now firmly on track thanks to Princeton Lyman's leadership. Sue Jacobs in H is helping us with Hill contacts to get senators on board to provide access to the state prisons and to build support for the rapporteur's mission. We will hold regular conference calls with human rights NGOs and prison advocates on USG efforts to facilitate the visit. This should head-off the NGO criticisms that have plagued the visits of other rapporteurs.

o ***Take Our Daughters to Work Day*** - We are moving ahead with this program and the closing reception on Thursday, April 23. Forty-five girls from the D.C. public schools will begin their day here at State in discussions on the theme "Imagine a Day When a Woman is President of the United States." Then the mentors will pick up their girls and return to their own agency for lunch and an afternoon together. At close of business all will return here for the reception in the Treaty Room. The Secretary will address the girls, their principals, and their mentors. We will provide talking points for the Secretary.

Outreach

o **NGO Briefings** - The Council held NGO public briefings and discussions on Tuesday, April 7 attended by about 75 people in the Loy Henderson Auditorium. Kitty Higgins reported on her group, Women in the

Global Economy, which had recently met for a presentation by Sue Esserman, USTR, on trade issues. Bonnie Campbell presented an update on the visit of the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women. Anita Botti reported on the new initiatives on Trafficking in Women. For the break-out discussions, Anita was joined by George Pickart (SA) and Jim Puleo (INL). Summaries of these presentations will be posted on our web site.

o While in New York I met with editors at *Glamour* and *Marie Claire* magazines who contacted me after a White House event for last month. Both magazines are increasingly covering international women issues and are interested in story ideas featuring the Secretary's work in this area.

April 24, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: G - Theresa Loar 

SUBJECT: This week's highlights

Expanding Women's Political Participation

o After John Hamilton's meeting with FMP, L and M, we got agreement on language that allowed us to get the cable out to posts announcing the Vital Voices Latin America conference. We have spoken with the White House to firm up timing for the Vital Voices Latin American conference which will be October 1-3, with the First Lady speaking on October 3. At Jim O'Brien's suggestion, he and I will meet with Bonnie Cohen next week to lay out the conference goals and to get her thinking on how to structure private sector support.

o The Vital Voices Belfast conference I mentioned before your trip has been moved to early September. All parties thought this timing made better sense strategically. I hope to attend a planning meeting in Belfast in mid-May to get an on-the-ground group and the EU activated. Given that this will involve Northern Ireland primarily, it will be a much more manageable scale than the other Vital Voices conferences.

Violence Against Women

o We held a meeting this week with NGOs to ask for their help in designing a strategic policy framework to address violence against women. This was a follow up to the International Women's Day directive to expand our efforts in this area. The NGOs welcomed this approach. We will see what develops. Meanwhile, we are sending an ALDAC from the Secretary asking posts to identify their programs and policies on violence against women.

o I met with Julie Taft on the issue of UNDCP counternarcotics projects remaining in Afghanistan as "life sustaining" projects as proposed by INL. Julia is very concerned about the NGO reaction on this subject and doesn't feel it necessary to make a decision until two-three months down the line. I will discuss this with Randy Beers and Jonathan Winer next week.

Outreach

o I spoke to the A100 class at a brown bag lunch this week. This was a great opportunity to spread the word about our work and to give them ideas how they can engage as junior officers. We will follow-up on our earlier discussions with Ruth Davis and the FSI deans to discuss their progress on integrating our issues into the regional studies courses.

April 24, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: S/PICW - Theresa Loar 

SUBJECT: Weekly highlights from the Interagency Council on Women

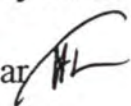
o ***Take Our Daughters to Work Day*** - Thank you for participating in the program. We had the opportunity to talk with your student, Elenora, following her afternoon with you. She had a wonderful experience and said that you work very hard and manage your time well. Forty girls from the D.C. public schools began their day here at State in discussions on the theme "Imagine a Day When a Woman is President of the United States." Four working-groups, led by young women from government and non-governmental organizations, brainstormed the possibilities for women in leadership positions. The working-groups sessions were lively and educational. Both Council members and students said the afternoon mentoring sessions went well. The Secretary was terrific in the evening reception. The students were so engaged and impressed. As follow-up, we are drafting a letter from the Secretary to send out to each of the girls along with the group picture.

o **Trafficking Working Group** - Steve Warnath, our proposed detailee from Justice to work on the trafficking conference, looks forward to meeting with you next week.

o **Seneca Falls Working Group** - *Glamour* magazine's July issue will feature an article on the 150th Anniversary of the Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls. They have asked the Secretary to write a brief response about the importance of the Declaration of Sentiments and what she would include if she was drafting the document today. We are working with PA on a response to *Glamour's* request.

May 1, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: S/PICW - Theresa Loar 

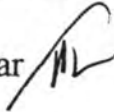
SUBJECT: Weekly highlights from the Interagency Council on Women

o **Trafficking Working Group** - We called a meeting of the interagency working group to discuss implementation of the March 11 Executive Memorandum. Representation continues to grow. HHS (Office of Secretary) finally sent a representative and S/NIS has joined the flock. I requested that they consider resources and plans needed for FY99/2000. Working group members gave briefings on their progress: Mary Ryan/CA has sent an ALDAC to post officers to sponsor meetings with Consular colleagues and host nationals to share strategies for protection and assisting trafficking victims; Anita reviewed the U.S.-Italy action plan to be announced by President Clinton and PM Prodi next week; DS briefed the group on its recent bust of a trafficking ring from the Czech to the U.S. DOJ plans to invite DS and CA to the next internal meeting to better coordinate future investigations. Cables on the U.S.-Ukraine initiative and the Israel action plan are circulating for clearance.

o **Rural Women Working Group** - The International Conference on Women in Agriculture to held on June 28-July 2 is moving along. A working group meeting will be held May 13 to finalize arrangements. I will contact Council reps to encourage their attendance; lower level folks have been covering these meetings to date. I have called some agencies to ask them how they intend to help with the Conference. At the January 16 Council meeting the Secretary announced that State would provide interpreter services as was done last year for the Women with Disabilities Conference, a \$30,000 commitment. We are working with Ag and State's Language Services to cost out their needs within our budget; we may have to seek additional funding from another Council agency. The request to S/S-EX will go forward shortly.

May 1, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: G - Theresa Loar 

SUBJECT: This week's highlights

Expanding Women's Political Participation

- o Vital Voices Latin America is beginning to take shape and we have been working closely with ARA and the Embassy to choose a conference site and hotel. Posts have responded enthusiastically to our cable. We are ready to select a steering committee and met with the IADB to discuss the next steps.
- o Carol Yost from The Asia Foundation came in seeking my assistance in securing NEA and SA Regional Democracy Funds for projects on women's political participation. She also said they were in the process of pulling together a subset of the Foundation focusing on women's political participation globally. I fully support their work; however, I explained to Carol that I hear complaints from other NGOs about the Asia Foundation receiving the majority of the Department's democracy funds. This is because DRL shifts the funds to AID which has an agreement with the Foundation. I urged her to consider bringing other NGOs into her new structure.

Violence against women

- o Thank you for agreeing to meet with the women's human rights groups on Afghanistan next week. They are concerned that if the peace talks go forward without addressing gender issues, the Taliban will be rewarded for achieving peace and there will be no progress on human rights. I do not agree but do think that there is value in your meeting them. Rick Inderfurth should join this group to brief on the Richardson peace process.
- o Lois Gochnauer met with panel members from State and Justice to evaluate proposals for projects on domestic violence in Russia and the Stans. These projects will be funded by INL as part of its anti-crime training and

technical assistance program. This is part of the \$10 million announced at the International Women's Day event.

- o We met with Alex Aleinikoff of the Carnegie Institute and Georgetown Law Center to discuss the international trafficking conference and how we can work together. Alex offered to host a roundtable discussion at Carnegie to flush out the objectives for an international conference. Alex also said that some of his law students are interested in researching international and domestic trafficking issues.

- o We met with Monsignor Diarmuid Martin, Secretary, Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace to enlist the Vatican's support on efforts to eliminate violence against women and trafficking in women and children. This was excellent follow-up to the meeting in Italy hosted by Ambassador Boggs and the Vatican Foreign Ministry representatives. We agreed to work together to distribute information to the Vatican Council worldwide to enhance support for our initiatives. Monsignor Martin was the Vatican's moderate and very skilled negotiator in the Cairo and Beijing conferences. He said that we have an enormous obstacle in the bishops who still see any effort to address domestic violence as an interference in the family.

Outreach

- o I delivered a message from the Secretary to the first Summit of Laura Liswood's Council of World Women Leaders held at the Kennedy School in Harvard. I also met with Swanee Hunt to go over some of her ideas re engaging ambassadors in our work. I'll do a separate note on the women leaders meeting.

- o Dani Lett attended the Presidential Management Internship job fair this week. She talked with the new PMI finalists about her position and her experience with the State Department. There was a great deal of interest in our office. Personnel created two centrally funded PMI positions for us which will begin in September. The PMIs expect to be converted into career civil servants upon completion of the two year program and we are working with the regional bureaus to find FTEs for our two candidates. We will make our final selections in the next couple of weeks.

May 8, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: S/PICW - Theresa Loar 

SUBJECT: Weekly highlights from the Interagency Council on Women

Working Groups

o **Women in Prisons** - IO is doing a good job managing our input to the visit of the Special Rapporteur. Your meeting with her is set for June 1 at the beginning of her trip. Princeton Lyman, John Shattuck, and I will join you. The Special Rapporteur will spend a full day at Justice and will meet with Bonnie Campbell's Interagency Council working group on women incarcerated in the United States. This discussion will include broader issues such as health, education, and training.

o **Seneca Falls** - I met with Ann Lewis to discuss the closing day Sunday, July 19 which has been designated as the International Day. The theme is to connect the women's rights movement that started in Seneca Falls 150 years ago with the efforts for women's human rights around the world today. We will use this opportunity to support the UN's role in strengthening the status of women. If the Secretary does not go up for the Women's Hall of Fame induction on July 11, we would explore her availability to keynote this closing event.

o **Rural Women** - We sent an announcement to Council reps with a specific list of funding and participation items that still need to be covered for the Ag Conference June 28-July 2. We called a meeting for next Wednesday and expect Council reps to come with a conference commitment from their agencies. We are working with Donna Bordley to secure funding for State's contribution of interpreter services. Neither the Secretary nor the First Lady is available to attend, but Ag is working on a commitment from the Vice President.

- o **International Trafficking Conference** - As you suggested, I have scheduled a meeting with Skip Gnehm to see if a senior State person is available to help us pull this conference together in 1999. We will need regional expertise and I will approach the regional bureaus for detailees. I would like to talk to you about this idea.

Outreach

- o **USAID's Girls Education Conference.** I moderated a panel about the role of religion and girls education at this three-day conference held at the Reagan Building/International Trade Center. This site and conference structure gave use some good ideas for our international trafficking conference.

Personnel

- o I brought Lidia over to meet with Audrey Tayse Haynes at the White House Women's Office. We're looking forward to having Lidia on board in late June.
- o Steve Warnath's paperwork is moving through Justice and he should be fully on board soon.

May 8, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: G - Theresa Loay 

SUBJECT: This week's highlights

Expanding Women's Political Participation

- o We met with H to review our CEDAW strategy. The NSC, White House Women's Office, and I will make a few strategic Hill visits.
- o Plans for Vital Voices of the Americas are moving along. We are planning an advance trip with ARA for the second week in June to assess the proposed conference site and meet the in-country coordinating team. We have also set up a weekly conference call with ARA and Embassy Montevideo. Mayra Buvinic from IADB and I are beginning to contact proposed members of the steering committee.
- o We are working with NSC and DRL about a proposed roundtable discussion for the First Lady with Mary Robinson, other UN reps and human rights NGOs in Geneva next Friday. We will include the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women if she is in Geneva on that day. This would be a nice send off prior to her US visit.

Violence against women

- o Thank you for meeting with the Working Group for the Human Rights of Women about the Afghanistan peace talks. You were very clear about the Secretary's commitment to the Afghan women and girls. One suggestion from the NGOs was that we establish benchmarks to determine Taliban progress on the treatment of women and girls. They also asked if we would support the inclusion of women scholars on the peace process Ulema Council. Rick Inderfurth asked the NGOs to suggest those benchmarks and women candidates for the councils. As difficult as this meeting was, we will continue to give the NGOs an opportunity to present their concerns and maintain a dialogue. In all of my dealings with the NGOs, this is the issue which seems to have attracted the most attention and emotion. Julia Taft has

agreed to brief them on developments coming out of her trip to the region. This will be a helpful update. We will be sure to include the refugee groups in this meeting to balance the human rights groups.

- o As March 11 follow up, we met with USIA re their role in the trafficking initiatives. They will revise their strategy paper to ensure that public diplomacy efforts fit into the broader coordinated approach. We provided them with a list of issue experts to be included in their media outreach efforts. They are not yet fully engaged. We set up another meeting with Joyce Kravitz to follow up and to discuss USIA's role in Vital Voices.

- o Anita's hard work and persistence paid off this week during a joint Clinton-Prodi press conference when President Clinton described the "work America and Italy have begun together to fight the horrendous international crime of trafficking in women and children." The U.S.-Italy initiative on trafficking was formally announced and will become an important element of our future bilateral law enforcement and political cooperation. Your message to Ambassador Foglietta on the importance of an embassy working group should help move the process.

- o AmEmbassy Tel Aviv sent in a reporting cable on trafficking in women which describes some good recommendations for U.S.-Israel cooperation on this issue. The proposed U.S.-Israeli action plan is ready to go. NEA should get this cable out very soon. You may wish to mention to Ambassador Walker how pleased we are with his leadership and Embassy support on this issue. I will meet with him on Tuesday morning. We have invited a GOI delegation to the U.S. to meet with our trafficking working group which Toni Verstandig and I will co-chair.

- o We are working with S/NIS and Embassy Moscow to follow up on our meeting on violence and trafficking with Dick Morningstar, Jim Collins and Steve Sestanovich. We can talk to Justice about Ambassador Collins' point on US enforcement response after we get some more info from our NIS posts. Thank you for holding the meeting.

Outreach

- o I met with a journalist from Newhouse News about our work, under the Secretary's leadership, to integrate the advancement of women into foreign policy. Newhouse is a national wire service for Newhouse Newspapers serving 22 cities in the U.S.
- o Anita and I spoke with *Newsday* about USG efforts to combat trafficking in women and girls.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

May 15, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: G - Theresa Loar

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'T. Loar'.

SUBJECT: This week's highlights

Expanding Women's Political Participation

o We had a productive Vital Voices meeting with Mark Schneider of USAID to confirm that AID will run the hands-on political training day to be held in Montevideo on September 30, the day prior to the opening of the conference. AID is compiling an inventory of all USG programs in the region that benefit women. This is similar to the exercise that Dick Morningstar has directed in the NIS. We also asked Mark to develop USG commitments for follow-through. Mark said they will explore ways to integrate the Santiago Summit objectives and the First Lady's Summit into Vital Voices.

o From our weekly meeting on Vital Voices with John Hamilton in ARA, it is clear that he is moving the bureau forward on conference preparations. We have also set up weekly conference calls with ARA/EX and our Embassy in Montevideo. ARA will draft the solicitation memorandum, coordinate the embassy points of contact, and create a database of all of the conference participants. We are planning an advance trip with ARA/EX in June. We will meet again with our Ambassador to Uruguay Kit Ashby when he is in Washington on May 26. (Frank Loy also has a meeting with him and we will prepare briefing materials.)

Violence Against Women

o Ned Walker stopped by to discuss next steps on trafficking to Israel. He is fully engaged and has good ideas about how to proceed. He believes it is essential to have high level DOJ participation. When and if the Israelis send a delegation to Washington as we suggested in our action plan, we will be sure to get them in to see Ray Fisher. Ambassador Walker thinks it would be helpful to incorporate language about the U.S.-Israel cooperation on trafficking in the Secretary's upcoming speeches and Hill testimony. He will also address this issue in his upcoming public events. He will try to enlist the support of some American Jewish groups that may be helpful in dealing with the Israeli Government and NGOs.

o Anita, EUR, and DOJ met with the Italian embassy to discuss next steps to implement the joint action plan. The information exchange portion of the plan is already underway. DOJ sent the Italians a report on current trafficking cases out of Europe. Our embassy and the Italians are already working together on some recent trafficking cases. The Italy desk officer will travel to Rome to meet with the Italians in country and to ensure that everyone in our embassy is fully engaged.

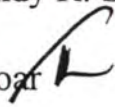
o I am in touch with Ambassador Steven Pifer in Ukraine to bring to his attention the cable S/NIS sent out on the trafficking plan the AID mission had proposed. I will mention Ned Walker's role in activating his embassy and the Israelis and encourage a similar role for Pifer in Ukraine. I will reference your meeting with the S/NIS team and advise him that Anita will brief the Chiefs of Mission conference in Istanbul on this issue. I will invite him to describe his active participation in the efforts underway in Ukraine. S/NIS is moving to put this on the Gore/Kuchma law enforcement track.

Outreach

o Alyse met with our Vital Voices webmaster at USIA to update our Vital Voices Vienna website with all the conference follow-up and program implementation and to expand this website to include information about the Vital Voices conferences in Latin America and Northern Ireland.

May 22, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: S/PICW - Theresa Loar 

SUBJECT: Weekly highlights from the Interagency Council on Women

Working Groups

- o **Women in Prisons** - IO reports that all the state prisons the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women asked to visit have granted her request. The UN characterized the states' responses as "friendly, helpful, and accommodating." This is a direct result of IO's careful staff work.
- o **Seneca Falls** - I am working with PA on the Secretary's participation in the celebration of the 150th Anniversary of the Women's Rights Convention in July. The First Lady will speak on July 16 at the Opening Ceremony. Events are spread over more than a week beginning with the Secretary's induction into the National Women's Hall of Fame (July 10) and closing with International Women's Day (July 19). We are suggesting a panel for International Day with an emphasis on USG and UN efforts to support the advancement of women around the world and the ratification of CEDAW.
- o **Rural Women** - I met with the Working Group, chaired by Jill Long Thompson at Ag, and underscored again the importance of Council support for the upcoming Conference on Women in Agriculture. The meeting drew a number of agency reps who came with commitments. However, we still seek financial assistance for international delegates. We have asked S/NIS to look into funding two delegates from Kyrgyzstan. I sent forward a memo to S/S-EX on State's funding of some interpreter services. DOD, through Council rep Carolyn Becraft, will also provide some interpreters. Many agencies indicated that they would help with volunteer staffing needs during the conference.

May 22, 1998

TO: C - Ambassador Wendy R. Sherman

FROM: G - Theresa Loar 

SUBJECT: This week's highlights

Expanding Women's Political Participation

o We met with Joyce Kravitz, Chief of Staff, and others at USIA to bring them into the planning of the Vital Voices of the Americas conference. They offered to have their *Media Guidebook for Women*, which was so popular in Beijing, translated into Spanish, French and Portuguese to distribute to participants. They will also work with AID to structure the pre-conference media and politics training program. They plan to engage USIS officers in the region to focus media attention on the conference. They will ask the First Lady to do an interview about the conference objectives and run the tape throughout the region prior to the conference. On follow-through, USIS proposed a Worldnet linking participants six months after the conference.

o We will likely have the League of Women Voters serve as our 501c3 for Vital Voices Montevideo and Belfast. We are working closely with ARA, FMP and L to make sure everything is arranged through the right channels. This will facilitate the private sector support we need for the conferences and follow through commitments.

o Vital Voices Belfast is coming together. Our consulate there is helping to assemble a team on the ground. On the substantive side, this could include David Pozorski from Mitchell's old staff and an FSO from our London embassy. For logistics we are looking at a conference planner based in Belfast who has worked well with the USG in the past. As you suggested, I will meet with Tony Wayne to explore an EUR-based follow up mechanism.

- o At a reception at the Embassy of Ireland this week, Willie McCarter, Chairman of the International Fund for Ireland, expressed his support for the Vital Voices conference. The WH announcement of the conference has gotten a lot of press in Northern Ireland. It was clear that you have many fans in the Irish crowd.

- o We met with Dick Morningstar's office to discuss the joint project assessing the efforts to target assistance programs to women in the NIS. USAID, USIA, INL, Commerce and Peace Corps are preparing inventories of their projects. Morningstar's office will collect the information and our intern/assistant will analyze the data and compile a report. This exercise will help us to prepare for a needs assessment to determine the next steps.

Violence Against Women

- o On the ICC delegation, I met with Bonnie Campbell, public member Minna Schrag, Nancy Rubin, L and DRL to see how we can be of assistance to Minna in her role on the delegation. Dave Sheffer has agreed to provide Bonnie with proposed language for her to review from a gender perspective. Nancy, Bonnie and I have been approached by a number of NGOs who want Felice Gaer included on the U.S. delegation as a "gender expert." Dave has agreed to explore how to informally include Felice in the process.

- o As follow up to Craig Johnstone's meeting on integrating gender, we are receiving information from posts in countries designated by the regional bureaus as "target countries" on promoting women's political participation and dealing with violence against women. Our next step is to look at the mission program plans and incorporate appropriate language. This will be followed by regional and global program plans.

- o Anita and Steve are working with PRM to discuss the substance of the July US-EU trafficking workshop in Ukraine. Given that there will be high level EU participation, in addition to evaluating the public awareness campaign, we want to discuss programs to provide economic alternatives for women and strategies to further engage consular officers. We will continue to work with PRM as they finalize the agenda.

o Steve met with Scott Busby of the NSC and DOJ to move DOJ along on proposals to protect victims of trafficking from immediate deportation (i.e. S-visas and alternatives). DOJ established three subgroups to their trafficking working group. One of these subgroups is developing policy options on protecting victims. They expect to complete a draft memorandum for distribution and comment within DOJ in two weeks. We also discussed how to make sure that the new International Crime Initiative is consistent with and does not eclipse the work being done pursuant to the President's directive on trafficking.

OUTREACH

o I spoke with 80 young women representing universities throughout the nation who are in town as part of a Washington Center's Women as Leaders Program. The Washington Center's programs have been very helpful in the past in putting us in contact with a diverse group who are interested in interning in our office.