

## FORUM ON WOMEN AGREES ON GOALS

### Beijing 'Platform for Action' Centers on 3 Key Issues

By PATRICK E. TYLER

BEIJING, Friday, Sept. 15 — The Fourth World Conference on Women reached agreement early this morning on a broad declaration calling on world governments to raise the economic circumstances of women, protect them from increasing levels of violence and improve the status of girls throughout the world.

The "platform for action" will be presented for ratification later today, and the vote is expected to be unanimous. Some states, including the Vatican and other countries with large Muslim or Roman Catholic populations, may register objections to specific sections.

The completion of the document brings to an end 10 days of debate on issues such as how to free women from poverty with new forms of credit, how to raise girls' education level and how to insure their legal rights, including equal inheritance.

In the morning hours, women groaned, cheered and applauded through the final arguments in an atmosphere that was largely free of rancor. An Iranian slapped an Irish delegate on the back after they had gone head to head in a daylong negotiating session over sexual rights. Both seemed to like the outcome.

While passage of the document here does not bind countries to action, delegates say it gives the issues new visibility among governments and international agencies, and can serve as a template for national policies and legislation.

After a series of key compromises on language relating to sexual rights

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and cultural and religious differences, delegates from 185 countries debated final sticking points until 4:45 A.M.

"We have a platform," said Patricia B. Licunan, who was chairwoman of the final drafting meeting that will present the document to a session later today.

"I promised we would be out of here before sunrise and I kept my promise," she said.

Chief among the final obstacles to consensus was whether "sexual orientation" should be included in the antidiscrimination clauses of the document.

But this language was jettisoned at 4:15 A.M. over the objection of more than 30 countries, including South Africa, whose delegation chief, Dr. Nkhosasna Zuna said, "We shall promise ourselves and future generations that we shall not discriminate against anyone ever again."

The United States and Israel also spoke in favor of including sexual orientation.

In an era of tight domestic budgets in many countries, the conference failed to win sizable financial commitments from governments to pay for new programs for women, but it managed to elicit a large number of pledges to redirect national budgets.

"There is not much new money around," said Msgr. Diarmuid Martin, a Vatican representative here, "but the benefit of these conferences is that they focus the attention of everyone on how money ought to be spent and how it can be refocused."

India committed to raise the level of its investment in education with a focus on women and girls. Britain pledged to raise its child care expenditures 20 percent. The United States is setting up a White House Council on Women and will step up attacks on domestic violence.

The conference ground to its conclusion with far less rancor than had been expected on the sensitive issues of contraception and abortion.

Thomas H. Kean, former Governor of New Jersey and the most prominent Republican on the 45-member delegation, said: "This is a document that guarantees the same rights for women that have long been enjoyed by men. I don't see why anyone would want to oppose it."

This conference on women, which follows meetings that began in Mexico City in 1975, was suffused with a sense of urgency by the rise of the number of women in poverty and the systemic rape and violence directed at women in the "ethnic cleansing" campaigns in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda.

In the document's opening declaration, the conference will seek to "insure women's equal access to economic resources including land, credit, science and technology, vocational training, information, communication and markets, as a means to further advancement and empower-

ment of women and girls."

China had hoped to be one of the greatest beneficiaries of this conference by virtue of Beijing's selection as its site. But instead, China's fears that pro-democracy and human rights campaigners among the delegates would set off a new outpouring of dissent against the Government led, at times, to heavy-handed and oppressive security measures.

It seemed for a time that the controversy over China's security assault on the delegates would mar the visit of Hillary Rodham Clinton, who delivered the most forceful address of the conference on human rights.

The greatest fear of many of the delegates was that they would have to debate once again the issues relating to women decided last year in Cairo at a United Nations conference on population and development.

At that conference, the Vatican and countries with large Muslim and Roman Catholic populations sought to defeat a clear statement of a woman's right to regulate her fertility and reproductive health.

But in Beijing, the Cairo declarations became a benchmark that many states, including the Vatican and Iran, sought to maintain.

However, among the final sticking points early today was a footnote to the document that sought to subordinate some women's rights to national and religious customs. The footnote was finally rejected when a majority of delegations preferred to state the relationship between human rights and national custom in the document's preamble.

The preamble now states: "While the significance of national and regional particularities and various historical, cultural and religious background must be born in mind, it is the duty of states, regardless of their political, economic and cultural systems, to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms."

Ms. Licunan, in a ruling as chairwoman, struck the final compromise of the night when, to satisfy the competing interests in the hall, she killed both the sexual orientation references and the sensitive footnote.

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# Women's Meeting Near Accord

## U.N. Conference Resolves Dispute on Sexual Freedom

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By Steven Mufson  
Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIJING, Sept. 15 (Friday)—Delegates to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women neared the end of their work this morning by resolving a dispute over sexual freedom and putting the finishing touches on a document meant to serve as a guideline for establishing and protecting women's rights around the world.

Of the 189 countries represented at the conference, at least 22 were planning to append formal reservations to the document later today, officials said. The reservations will reveal the extent to which fundamental rifts that existed when the conference started 11 days ago were not bridged.

"I think that, leaving Beijing, we have accomplished the goals we set for ourselves," said Geraldine A. Ferraro, U.S. ambassador to the U.N. Human Rights Commission and vice chair of the U.S. delegation. The document "addresses abuses that occur to women throughout the world, and hopefully governments will start to implement the recommendations when they get back home."

Women's groups say they have kept language they won in the Cairo conference on population last year and made further progress in defining women's rights. The document promotes women's economic "empowerment" and asserts that women should have a greater say in political decision making, have more control over their sexual lives and be protected from violence in or out of the home, in times of war or peace.

More than 50 governments have made commitments to follow through on the issues

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raised at the conference with new programs or new money.

Dorothy Thomas of Human Rights Watch said that the conference marked a change in the relationship between women and governments. Women, she said, had gone "from claiming handouts, from claiming privileges to demanding rights."

On the last day of the conference, delegates overcame a final stumbling block by dropping a controversial section of the preamble to the "Platform for Action" that lays out the meeting's recommendations.

Conservative Islamic nations agreed to drop a phrase on "cultural and religious differences" that opponents said could undermine or weaken the universal nature of human rights in the document, a U.N. official said.

In return, European Union delegates gave up a demand to enshrine sexual freedoms in the preamble. They agreed to "ensure the full enjoyment by women and girls of all human rights and fundamental freedoms and take effective action against violations of those rights and freedoms."

Many sexual rights and freedoms are still dealt with in the longer Platform for Action, which underscores that human rights of women include the rights to control and decide matters related to their sexuality—language that could still open the door to homosexuality, but in less explicit terms.

The Vatican, a strong voice of dissent on sexual issues through much of the meeting, was conspicuously silent during the final negotiations.

"It is only focusing on sexual things," Vatican spokesman Joaquín Navarro-Valls said Thursday, complaining about the document. "You ignore what is the main concern for women in Nigeria, in Zimbabwe and in India and so on—that is tropical diseases and elementary and basic health services and so on."

An alliance of the Holy See and official delegations largely from Islamic nations fought to stress the role of women within the family and to delete language that might be interpreted as encouraging abortion, promiscuity, lesbianism and premarital sex.

Sudan's Islamic government, meanwhile, found a way to deal with issues it did not like. It pledged to ignore the global blueprint for women's rights when it conflicted with its fundamentalist interpretation of the Muslim faith.

The reservations of the dissenting countries underscore the extent to which the U.N. declaration and platform have no binding effect. "This document is not a magic carpet," said one Iranian exile hoping to use the document to loosen the grip of the conservative Islamic Tehran regime.

"The political power has got to be there," said Mona Zulfikar, an Egyptian corporate lawyer active in women's health organizations and a delegate here. "No matter how strong the words are, without the political will they will not be implemented."

But Zulfikar said she believed the recent growth in nongovernment organizations (NGOs) representing women around the world had in-

creased the likelihood that governments would be pressed to follow through on many of the recommendations in the U.N. document.

Indeed over the past three weeks, while the government delegations at the U.N. conference haggled over words and phrases—one woman said she negotiated for seven hours over a single paragraph—NGOs who gathered at a parallel meeting an hour away in the town of Huairou demonstrated a boisterous energy that was not dampened by rain, poor facilities, or Chinese government harassment and surveillance.

And yet, many of the issues raised at the U.N. conference—such as sexual freedoms and abortion—are likely to be intractable.

Earlier today and Thursday, sexual freedoms were the last stumbling block of the U.N. conference as Islamic nations and the Vatican made a final effort to add to a conference document language noting "cultural and religious particularities" that some delegates fear could become an escape clause used to justify restrictive practices.

While the Vatican worked largely behind the scenes, Islamic nations criticized other countries for trying to impose sexual mores on them.

"There has been a lack of understanding and respect for the views of some, while from another side there are views that are being imposed," Shahla Habibi, Iran's presidential adviser on women's affairs, said Thursday. "Particular groups are endeavoring to turn the world into a model they deem appropriate."



DEMOGRAPHICS

# Women Pack Up After Fractious Meeting

By KATHY CHEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

The world's largest conference on women is scheduled to end today after passing an action plan that urges governments to recognize women's rights and allocate resources to support them.

The vote on the Beijing Declaration and a 149-page Plan for Action caps more than two weeks of confrontation and negotiation among 45,000 participants from 189 countries. The Fourth World Conference on Women is the United Nations' biggest forum, and the only major international forum ever held in modern China.

The plan endorses a range of advances that the U.N. has vowed to pursue and member countries have promised to implement. Among key steps: The platform recognizes women's rights to determine when and with whom to have sex; gives leeway to teenage girls to seek sexual-health care without parental approval; and urges developed nations to help poor ones implement the program.

Although the platform bitterly angered some participants — notably the Vatican, Iran and religious groups — it won the warm endorsement of the U.S. And feminists say the document is an important step forward for the women's movement. They say the platform lays out a comprehensive vision of women — largely as seen by women — and a strategy for its implementation.

Early Friday morning, negotiators raced the clock to reach agreement about final wording of the platform and Beijing Declaration. Melinda Kimble, negotiating coordinator for the U.S. team, said participants reached a compromise on the two documents before dawn after deleting a loophole that would allow countries to opt out of implementing parts of a disputed health section because of cultural differences. Negotiators dropped references to a policy of nondiscrimination due to sexual orientation, she said.

"This is a culmination of the 20-plus

years of the women's movement," said Betty Friedan, an early feminist. "There's a sense here of the enormous empowerment of women."

Even while several issues remained unresolved Thursday, many delegates were trumpeting the conference as a suc-

**The platform angered some participants, including the Vatican and Iran. But feminists say the document lays out a vision of women and a strategy for implementing it.**

cess. "What has emerged from this conference is a remarkable document, but—more importantly—consensus in the global community that improving the lives of women makes for strong, healthy and loving families," Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, director of the U.S. delegation, told reporters.

One major gain for women is a clear acknowledgement that women's rights are human rights, delegates said. The platform pledges to enforce that view by calling on countries to bolster education and health care for women and girls, to fight violence against women, and to empower them economically and legally.

But delegations representing the Vatican and some 20 countries have threatened to lodge reservations about the sensitive health section, which deals with illegal abortions. By doing so, they would be leaving open the option of not implementing that section.

"The platform should be addressing [the problem of obtaining] electricity for every village," grumbled Babette Francis, an unofficial representative with the pro-family coalition. "Instead it talks about sexual orientation. Such controversial sec-

tions make it unacceptable to many governments and families."

A more vital concern to developing nations is how to pay for the ambitious programs espoused by the conference. While the platform urges developed countries to provide aid to poor ones, it also calls for financing from other sources. But donor countries like the U.S. are cutting their foreign aid and advocating reallocation of existing funds instead.

The conference itself has been plagued by problems. Logistical difficulties and China's heavy-handed security measures marred some proceedings, especially the meetings of unofficial delegates in the Beijing suburb of Huairou during the first week. Clashes between Chinese police and women protesters grabbed attention from the real issues being discussed and tarnished China's international image.

Beijing's tight control over local media coverage meant that many average Chinese learned little about the issues being debated at the conference. With a ban on reporting sensitive topics like sexual rights, the Chinese were left to speculate on what was really taking place. One popular rumor, for example, has delegates taking off their clothes while sightseeing in Tiananmen Square.

A single, poignant voice of dissatisfaction rose from the flurry of last-minute lobbying Thursday. A young Chinese woman placed a stack of plain documents on a table at the media center. Titled "Note from a Chinese Woman," it complained that the many problems Chinese women face today weren't adequately represented by the Chinese delegation chosen by Beijing's male-dominated government.

After outlining in politically risky detail the problems women face, the author concluded: "How can I keep silent over such blunt discrimination and suppression of women at our women's conference?"

—Marcus W. Brauchli contributed to this article.



# OPINION

## Hillary Clinton out-Eleanored Eleanor Roosevelt in China

She came, she saw, she gave them hell. Now the Chinese understand how crotchety American critics feel about Hillary Clinton.

They too wish she'd stick to baking cookies and working on her hairstyle.

Maybe her Beijing hosts were hoping Mrs. Clinton would stay with the softer, wifely image she's adopted lately. Or at least talk in genteel diplomatese.

Instead, she tongue-lashed the last communist superpower like a

schoolmarm bullying a mob of muggers and misfits.

It was risky, overseas stardom no first lady since Eleanor Roosevelt could have performed. And for direct, in-your-face anger at tyranny toward women, Clinton out-Eleanored Eleanor.

China's deal makers must second-guess their swap: Did they spring Harry Wu only to get dissed by Hillary?

Oddly, it seemed nobody in the United States wanted Hillary to go



**Sandy Grady**

to the U.N.'s World Conference on Women except Hillary.

Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., the '96 hopeful, argued she should stay away from "this misguided conference with its radical, left-wing agenda."

Other Republicans growled Hillary would do for foreign policy what she did for Whitewater and health-care reform — another catastrophe.

Harry Wu, fresh from a Chinese prison, grumped that Hillary would be used as a propaganda pawn.

State Department stuffed shirts, nervous about upsetting Bill Clinton's summit with Chinese premier Deng Xiaoping, were jittery Mrs. Clinton might — gasp — speak the truth.

"If she insults them," one warned, "they'll go ballistic."

Even the prez, although mum, had to wince at his First Spouse invading the Beijing tumult. Chinese "security forces" who hassled delegates, videotaped protesters and shook down their rooms seemed to be as imitating as Mayor Daley's cops at the '68 convention.

Could FDR muzzle Eleanor?

Nothing short of a missile exchange could stop the Chinese journey of Hillary, who has a suffragette's intensity about women's rights and a mother's outrage about abused kids.

Despite 13-hour jet lag and bickering with U.S. diplomats who wanted her tone defanged, Clinton scalded the Chinese with blunt ferocity.

Her dress was soft pink but her words were brickbats.

Hillary hit hardest at China's notorious system of controlling its population by abandoning, starving or outright killing thousands of female infants.

"It is a violation of human rights," she said bitterly, "when babies are denied food or drowned or suffocated or their spines broken simply because they are born girls."

No names. But everyone knew China was the main target when Mrs. Clinton savaged countries where "women are forced to have abortions or be sterilized."

"Let me be clear," said Mrs. Clinton. "Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize, debate openly. No one should be forced to remain silent for fear of religious or political persecution, arrest or torture."

She was scathing on Chinese harassment of women delegates. But her words could have won ghostly cheers from students shot or jailed for facing the Tiananmen Square tanks.

When Hillary finished — "Women's rights are HUMAN rights" — 1,500 women from Afri-

**"Nothing short of a missile exchange could stop the Chinese journey of Hillary, who has a suffragette's intensity about women's rights and a mother's outrage about abused kids."**

ca, Europe and Latin America stood and wept and clapped.

They shouted, "Yes, yes, yes!" — roaring support Hillary rarely hears at home.

"She made me proud to be an American," Philadelphia Bonnie Squires told a Knight-Ridder reporter.

Her impassioned speech changed the skepticism of Harry Wu. "She rattled the bars of prison cells all over China," said Wu.

Her trashing of China won't smooth the president's October session with Deng Xiaoping. Even before Hillary's blast, her husband had a rough agenda — China's sale of missiles to Pakistan, saber-rattling toward Taiwan, a \$35 billion U.S. trade deficit.

Will Clinton shrug, "Oh, that's just Hillary," or stand by his woman?

He could be consoled that Hillary's Beijing bombshell should win approving nods from feminists and young, working women pivotal to Democrats' base and Clinton's '96 hopes.

But exultation over a China triumph hardly redresses Mrs.

Clinton's dreary year. Her Arkansas real estate, stock market and law deals haunt her. She's watched ex-partners Susan and Jim McDougal indicted and legal pal Webb Hubbell shuffle off to prison.

Sen. Lauch Faircloth, R-N.C., tried to paint her as lady villain at Whitewater's heart. While friends and aides were grilled by Congress, even allies wondered, "Why doesn't Hillary stand up for them?"

She had to go 8,000 miles to stand up to tyranny.

In her first column — a no-pay, syndicated effort that hasn't caught fire — Mrs. Clinton wrote, "Sometimes it is hard for me to recognize the Hillary Clinton other people see."

Critics should grudgingly admit she was brave and eloquent in the Chinese dragon den.

Hillary of Beijing was the real thing.

Somewhere Mrs. Roosevelt must have said, "Yes, yes, yes."

*Sandy Grady is Washington columnist for the Philadelphia Daily News.*

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Opin

**THE KANSAS CITY STAR.**

Vol. 115, Thursday, September 7, 1995, No. 355

A Capital Cities/ABC Inc., Newspaper

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## An American triumph

Hillary Rodham Clinton's speech in China was a powerful message to the world, and a masterful deflection of criticism over the first lady's decision to attend the Fourth World Conference on Women.

Sen. Bob Dole and others who have been critical of her going to Beijing at the forefront of the American delegation have been put in their place. Clinton did not mince words with her hosts in Beijing about the human rights abuses in their country. She made it abundantly clear to all countries in attendance that the U.S. is not waffling on its commitment to improving human rights, even as it is trying to improve political relations with China and other similarly disposed nations.

As a woman, Clinton was believable when she said it is no longer acceptable for countries to decouple women's rights from human rights. Her denunciation of female infanticide, genital mutilation, rape, prostitution, dowry burnings and other abuses against women and girls undoubtedly was meaningful to many conference delegates not only because of who she is but because of her gender.

The first lady showed courage in talking bluntly before the whole world about China's loathsome abuses in its one-child population control policy in which some women are forced to undergo abortions and sterilizations and girl babies are killed or abandoned by parents.

Clinton also criticized as "indefensible" the

fact that many women who wished to participate in the conference were turned away by the Chinese.

Any concern that her strong words will lead to further deterioration of American-Chinese relations should be regarded in the context of her message. Should the United States tiptoe quietly around the abuses in China while playing trade games with that country? Or should we use our position as a trading partner to get a better deal from the Chinese for its people as well as its dissidents? Hillary Clinton spoke for the latter course.

Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the U.N., aptly summarized the correct position. She declared that this country stands for human rights and "That is an issue that needed stating in a compact way, and Mrs. Clinton did that very well."

The content of Clinton's speech deflected much of the criticism by American conservatives over her appearance at the conference. Even the chief of the Vatican's delegation praised the sections that spoke of the protection of motherhood. The first lady also exceeded the expectations of human rights groups who had wanted her to stay at home, but subsequently were obviously pleased at what she had to say when she got there.

It was an excellent speech. Hillary Clinton won respect for the U.S. in this address. She also left her most vocal critics at home at least temporarily speechless.



# Opinion

Tuesday, September 12, 1995

## As much as I hate to admit it, Hillary did OK

**First lady did better than critics, including yours truly, expected of her in Beijing.**

Pass the plate. I think I'll have a bit of that crow. Not that bit — not the part where, in my last column in this space, I portrayed the U.N. Conference on Women as shaping up as something of a circus. By and large, the spectacle has lived up to expectations. In fact the Chinese security people have been kind enough to provide the clowns.



**E. THOMAS**  
*McClanahan*

It's almost touching to see individuals so free of media-culture taint. Chinese security guards are unconcerned with outward appearances. They don't give a fig for bad press. They don't know about "spin."

As a result, their tactics have been wonderfully straightforward. After all, it's not hard to keep people from attending a meeting. You simply shove them aside, or slam them against a wall. No need for complicated negotiations. If you want to stop someone from taking a picture, just smear your

hand on the lens. If you disapprove of a videotape, grab it and run away. Give it back only after determined protest.

In the space of only a few days, the Chinese government has done more to highlight the reality of life in China than anything since the 1989 crackdown at Tiananmen Square.

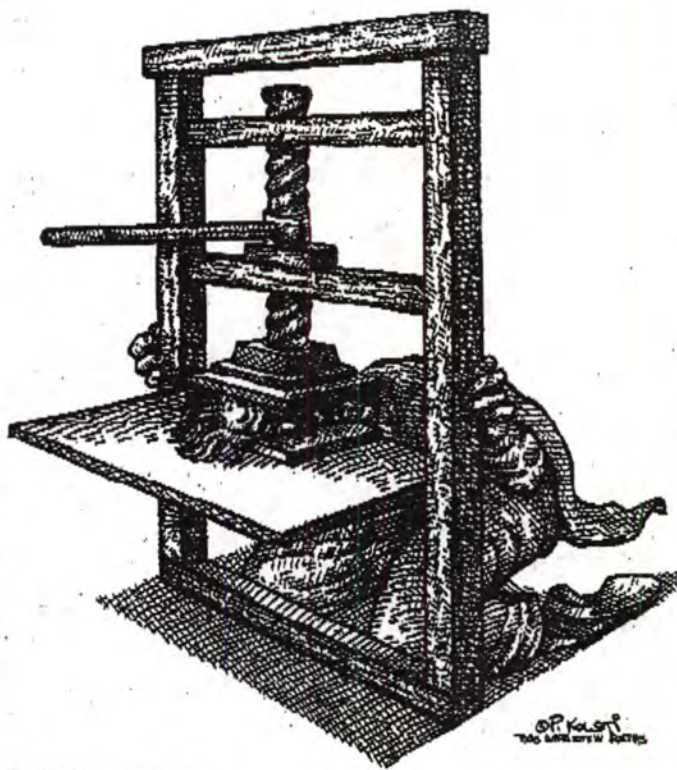
No, the bit of crow to be eaten here was the prediction that Hillary Rodham Clinton, due to questionable political judgment, was heading into a no-win situation.

Her dilemma was this: Failure to mention China's human-rights record would leave her vulnerable to domestic critics, while bashing China in China could damage Beijing-Washington relations at a sensitive moment.

To be sure, the unvarnished character of her remarks undoubtedly created further strains in relationship. But what she said was appropriate to a women's conference, which made her message one step removed from formal diplomacy. Any damage will probably be short-lived.

In short, give credit where it's due. The speech was a winner. Hillary Clinton did not mention China by name, but her catalogue of ills facing women prominently mentioned forced abortion and female infanticide — byproducts of Beijing's one-child policy. Moreover, this policy has been one Western feminists have been reluctant to address, even though it represents the ultimate perversion of "reproductive rights."

She also condemned as "indefensible" China's refusal to



PAUL KOLSTVPen Tip

grant visas to many who had hoped to attend the parallel forum for non-government organizations. "Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize and debate openly," she said. "It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments."

In China, this is high-protein stuff, and Beijing's initial reaction was icy. A Foreign Ministry spokesman said the critics should "pay more attention to the problems in their own countries."

China's rise as an economic and, increasingly, a military power is the most important strategic challenge facing the United States. How Beijing deals with Taiwan, how it manages Hong Kong's economy after it regains sovereignty in 1997, how it treats its neighbors — these questions will provide clues about whether China's rise will contribute to or undermine East Asian stability.

Asia's continued stability also depends on Washington's continued influence in China and the region as a whole. Human rights, in other words, make up only a small part of the picture, and Americans must accept that in China our leverage is limited. We simply do not have the means to materially influence how the Chinese government treats its citizens if it chooses to treat them badly.

China's rise is likely to be less destabilizing if we concentrate on issues directly connected to the national interest — issues where progress is possible, such as curtailing China's weapons technology transfers, and resolution of the impasse on the Korean Peninsula, where 37,000 U.S. troops are still stationed.

Even so, there's something to be said for occasionally reminding the Chinese where we stand. Hillary Clinton made the most of her opportunity and delivered a real bell-ringer.

Now I'll take that plate, please.

*McClanahan is a member of The Star's Editorial Board. His column appears on alternate Tuesdays.*



# Mrs. Clinton's Unwavering Words

Hillary Rodham Clinton proved to be just the tonic for the besieged meeting of women in Beijing. With their surly Chinese hosts trying to stifle debate and spontaneity, the women needed a leader prepared to challenge the constraints and defend the principle of women's rights. Mrs. Clinton delivered on both counts yesterday in an unflinching speech that may have been her finest moment in public life.

Many in Washington had argued that the First Lady should not attend this conference. Human rights advocates feared that her presence would be taken as an official American endorsement of Beijing's gross mishandling of the gathering and more general abuses of human rights. Some conservative Republicans caricatured the agenda of the conference as somehow offending mainstream American values. Diplomats worried about a chance incident that might damage already troubled Chinese-American relations.

Mrs. Clinton demonstrated that a clear and forthright speech makes a far more powerful point than staying home in sullen protest.

Making good use of her prestige and eloquence, she resoundingly affirmed the conference's main themes of protecting women against violence, improving their access to education and health care and giving them more control over their lives. Addressing those who imagine it is somehow possible to uphold "family values" without addressing women's rights, she reminded the conference that by helping to "bring new dignity and respect to women and girls all over the world," it can "bring

new strength and stability to families as well."

Mrs. Clinton spoke from America's own experience and invoked broadly shared American social and political values as well as universally recognized human rights. She did not mention her Chinese hosts by name, but unsparingly criticized their compulsory abortion and sterilization policies, their wholesale denial of political rights and their attempts to intimidate and censor free expression at this conference's non-governmental forum.

Then, in remarks that could have been aimed directly at the Chinese leadership but apply to others as well, she proclaimed that: "Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and failing them, mistreating them or denying them their freedom or dignity because of peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions."

Those attending the conference responded to Mrs. Clinton's points enthusiastically. Not surprisingly, the Chinese Government omitted her speech from official broadcast coverage of the conference. International shortwave transmissions will soon remedy that.

Mrs. Clinton's unapologetic affirmation of American values is a departure from the bland and euphemistic rhetoric of other recent United States diplomatic visitors to Beijing. The Clinton Administration should follow her good example.



# China ights

## on Defends Women U.N. Conference

By Steven Mufson  
Washington Post Foreign Service

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BEIJING, Sept. 5—First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, declaring that it was "time to break the silence" about the abuse of women, condemned rights violations around the world and rebuked China for its "indefensible" treatment of women taking part here in a forum of nongovernmental organizations.

Speaking this afternoon before a plenary session of 1,500 delegates and observers at the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women, which opened here Monday, the first lady made a stirring call for an end to violations of women's rights.

"If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, it is that human rights are women's rights, and women's rights are human rights once and for all," she said to applause.

Despite concerns among many groups here that Clinton would shy away from criticizing China at a delicate time for strained Sino-U.S. relations, the first lady strongly denounced human rights violations here as well as elsewhere around the world.

Although she did not mention China by name, Clinton clearly was taking aim at the Beijing regime when she said: "It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will."

Clinton's criticism of Chinese policies fell on receptive ears. Approximately 20,000 women have been

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### CONFERENCE, From A1

struggling for days with Chinese police harassment, searches and restrictions on meetings and demonstrations at the Nongovernmental Organizations Forum on Women taking place about an hour's drive from Beijing in the town of Huairou. These actions followed weeks of uncertainty and confusion over the granting of visas to those wishing to attend the meeting; some groups critical of Chinese policy have been barred from coming.

"It is indefensible that many women in nongovernmental organizations who wished to participate in this conference have not been able to attend or have been prohibited from fully taking part," Clinton said, to strong applause.

"Let me be clear," she added. "Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means

not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them or denying them their freedom or dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions."

The official New China News Agency carried brief excerpts from speeches by N.K.A. Rawlings, the first lady of Ghana; Ivan Kuras, vice prime minister of Ukraine; and a Jordanian princess. Clinton's name was last on a list of other speakers who were not quoted.

The news agency devoted more space to the comments by Peng Peiyun, deputy head of China's delegation and head of China's family planning and one-child policy, lauding China's "achievements." And the agency described a demonstration it said took place in Huairou in which people allegedly carried a banner saying "Stop U.S. imperialism. Women of the toiling class unite."

The first lady's comments could further complicate Sino-U.S. relations. Those ties were frayed in May when the Clinton administration yielded to congressional pressure and granted a visa to Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui to attend a reunion at his alma mater, Cornell University. The two-month detention of Chinese American Harry Wu, a crusader against conditions in China's prisons and forced labor camp system, also dealt a blow to relations.

State Department officials have just begun to calm China's fury over the Lee visit. Ten days ago, the two nations agreed to a meeting of their foreign ministers in late September and to prepare for a possible summit meeting between President Jiang Zemin and President Clinton. And the Chinese ambassador to the United States, recalled in June, is expected to return to Washington soon.

Because of the recent warming in relations, some administration advisers opposed Hillary Clinton's visit, saying that if she failed to deal with the human rights issue it would appear as though the United States had been intimidated by China—and that if she did deal with the issue, it could further damage relations between Washington and Beijing.

In an interview with reporters, Clinton played down the strains her speech would put on U.S.-China relations, saying, "We are working toward having a very comprehensive and hopefully good relationship with China in many areas."

"For me, it was important to express how I felt and to do so as clearly as I could," she said.

White House officials said Clinton's remarks were designed to strike a balance between the obvious need to take account of China's behavior and its treatment of the delegates and the desire not to antagonize Beijing or be rude to the hosts.

"You couldn't not mention some of those things," one senior official said, because failure to bring them up would have exposed Clinton to charges of pandering to the Chinese at the expense of the conference goals.

The first lady has no meetings scheduled with Chinese officials during her visit. However, Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord plans to meet Wednesday with Chinese officials to prepare for the planned talks

between Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.

Some senior administration officials tried to soften the blow of Clinton's remarks here by stressing that she also cited women's rights abuses common in other nations. "Clearly this was a global speech on women and women's rights," a senior administration official said tonight. "It didn't single China out."

Indeed, without mentioning the name of any country, Clinton condemned the Indian practice of burning brides when their marriage dowries are deemed too small; the African custom of performing genital mutilation on women; domestic violence found in the United States and elsewhere; and the Bosnian and other conflicts in which "women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war." Many abuses she cited can be found in several nations.

Madeline K. Albright, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, said the intention of the U.S. team here was "not to mince words, not to put a gloss on the issues, but to talk about what we need to talk about to improve the situation in this country and all countries throughout the world."

"This was the most eloquent and forceful I've ever heard her," Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, said about Clinton's speech. "Everyone knows the countries she was talking about."

But not everyone was satisfied with the first lady's remarks. Rep. Christopher H. Smith (R-N.J.), chairman of the House subcommittee on international operations and human rights, said that while he was happy that she denounced forced abortions, "for want of one word—China—the speech fell short."

"If women have a conference in Beijing and it doesn't mention that China has engaged in this terrible practice, it would be an opportunity lost and negligence, really," Smith said.

Clinton also tested some phrases likely to become standard usage during the upcoming U.S. presidential campaign.

She opened and closed her afternoon speech with the phrase "common ground," a phrase President Clinton often uses in trying to define his administration as lying between the extremes of American politics.

The phrase also resonated here as delegates from more than 180 nations are trying to reach a consensus about the wording of a 120-page document setting new standards for women's health, economic welfare, family planning and status in society.

"However different we may be," Clinton said, "there is far more that unites us than divides us. We share a common future. And we are here to find common ground so that we may help bring new dignity and respect to women and girls all over the world—and in so doing bring new strength and stability to families as well."

She also stressed the importance of women to "families," a word that the Vatican and other conservative delegations have said was used too seldom in the Platform for Action, the U.N. draft document under consideration here.

In the evening, the head of the Vatican delegation, Harvard University law professor Mary Ann Glendon, said: "The conference documents ...

are not bold enough in acknowledging the threat to women's health arising from widespread attitudes of sexual permissiveness."

Glendon reiterated the Catholic Church's opposition to abortion. "It will be a great reproach to our society if all we have to say to a woman or a girl who is pregnant and frightened is that she must destroy her own unborn child," she said.

Regarding abortion, Clinton said obliquely that the conference document should guarantee the "right to determine freely the number and spacing of the children [women] bear." It is a phrase borrowed from the U.N. conference on population last year in Cairo. She added in a morning speech on health issues that she endorsed the Cairo conference clause that "in no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning."

"There is no formula for how women should lead their lives," said Clinton, who upset some conservatives during the presidential campaign who felt she put down cookie-baking, child-rearing housewives. "That is why we must respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family."

On Wednesday Clinton will make a speech in Huairou, the site of the NGO Forum. On Thursday she will stop over in Mongolia before returning to the United States on Friday.

Staff writer Thomas W. Lippman in Washington contributed to this report.

### FOR MORE INFORMATION

For a full text of the proposed U.N. action platform for the conference, see *Digital Ink*, The Post's on-line service. To learn about *Digital Ink*, call 1-800-510-5104, ext. 9000.



# Hillary Clinton Uses Beijing Speech To Slam China, Though Not by Name

By HILARY STOUT  
And MARCUS W. BRAUCHLI  
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BEIJING — Hillary Rodham Clinton indirectly slammed China's human-rights record in a rousing speech to a United Nations women's conference in the Chinese capital.

Mrs. Clinton never mentioned China by name, but she left no doubt that her criticisms of state repression of dissent and reproductive rights applied to the host country. Her most pointed remarks sought to quiet critics who felt she shouldn't participate in the conference because of China's human-rights record and its refusal to allow some groups to attend a grass-roots



Hillary Clinton

forum running in tandem with the Fourth World Conference on Women.

"It is indefensible that many women in nongovernmental organizations who wished to participate in this conference have not been able to attend, or have been prohibited from taking part," Mrs. Clinton said, referring to reports the Chinese denied and delayed visas for some of the 27,000 non-governmental participants and harassed others once they arrived.

"Let me be clear. Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments," she told many of the 5,000 official delegates from more than 180 countries. Even as she spoke, police were keeping close tabs on a march by lesbians at the grass-roots meeting an hour's drive away, though without the shoving matches and confrontations that punctuated earlier events.

China had no immediate response to Mrs. Clinton's rebukes, which were broadcast live internationally and excerpted on Beijing's main news programs. Relations between the U.S. and China have been strained over such issues as Chinese nuclear tests and weapons proliferation, and were "part of the script, part of the U.S. decision in May to grant a visa to Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui to visit his alma mater, Cornell University. China considers Taiwan a breakaway province, out." and won't rule out force to get it back.

Mrs. Clinton also used her speech to call attention to serious problems affecting women in many other parts of the world.

Senior U.S. officials said Mrs. Clinton's speech wasn't intended to send a signal to Beijing, but to address crucial issues that affect many countries, including China, and to "energize" the conference. It did that. Delegates repeatedly interrupted her half-hour speech with applause. Some called her gutsy, but human-rights activists said she should have cited specific human-rights abuses in China.

Still, by addressing sensitive issues, Mrs. Clinton helped to defuse a controversy over her attendance at the conference. She raised many hot-button issues for China's authoritarian regime, such as female infanticide, forced abortions and sterilizations, restrictions on family size, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly.

Nicholas Lardy, a China expert at the Brookings Institution said Mrs. Clinton's remarks probably would "contribute to an already bad atmosphere, but I don't see it as a fundamental setback. It certainly can't be a surprise [to Beijing] that U.S. officials are critical of China's human-rights practices." The Chinese, he predicted, would issue "a blustery counter-statement" and then get back to the to "coldhearted and cold-headed" bargaining over whether there will be a Sino-U.S. summit this fall.

Republican Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana called Mrs. Clinton's speech "a strong and powerful statement" on human rights, but ill-timed and ill-sited and certain to further strain the U.S.-China relationship.

"We have so many issues we have to settle with the Chinese . . . nuclear issues, missile sales, Taiwan's security . . . this is still another in a [series] of mixed signals" that will make progress on these issues difficult, he said.

Administration officials insisted there had been no disagreement over whether

Mrs. Clinton should speak out. They suggested the first lady had a moral imperative to do so. "To me it was important to express how I felt," Mrs. Clinton said. "I felt good about what I said."

In Washington, a senior administration official said Mrs. Clinton's tough words were "part of the script, part of the package when it was decided that she'd attend. . . . It would be weird for her to go to a conference like this and not speak

—Carla Anne Robbins in Washington contributed to this article.



U.N. WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

# First lady's speech sends blunt message

From wire reports

**BEIJING** — First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton got a standing ovation Tuesday for remarks at the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women, when she pointedly criticized human rights and family planning policies of the host country, China.

With U.S.-China relations at low ebb over the detention of American citizen Harry Wu, over China's missile-testing and over a U.S. visit by Taiwan's president, Clinton's appearance was in question until a few days before the conference opened last week.

Officials then debated whether she should speak out on China's coercive population-control policies and detention of political activists.

Clinton cleared the air with a straight-shooting speech that made clear her views.

Beginning seven successive sentences with the words, "It is a violation of human rights," the first lady:

► Criticized sterilization and

forced abortion, practices allowed if not condoned in China and other East Asian countries.

► Denounced the crime, prevalent in India, of burning brides if they don't contribute enough wealth to the family.

► Attacked the practice of mutilating young girls' genitals, prevalent in some African and Islamic societies.

► Chided China for the "indefensible" act of preventing many women, including the delegation from Tibet, from attending the conference.

The loudest of several bursts of applause from the delegates came when she criticized China, again, without naming it, for the "indefensible" act of preventing many women from attending the conference.

Talking to reporters later, Clinton said she hoped China got her message.

"All governments which in any way infringe upon human rights know that this conference is taking a strong stand and that the entire world is trying to move toward realization of human rights," she said.



By Doug Mills, AP

**IN BEIJING:** In her women's conference speech, Hillary Rodham Clinton alluded to human rights violations in China and Bosnia.

Her speech will be taken as a vindication by those who said the first lady should attend the conference.

Others may see it as a sign she should have stayed away.

"We're very pleased she made a such a strong statement," said delegate Dorothy Thomas of New York-based Human Rights Watch.

Shahin Gobari of the National Council of Resistance of Iran, the main group fighting the Islamic regime, also welcomed it, saying, "The more emphasis is put on women's rights, the more it will encourage the women of Iran who are living under pressure."

But Thomas cautioned: "Words are not enough. There

## China's population policy in spotlight

By Marilyn Greene  
USA TODAY

What first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton sees as human rights abuses — and said so Tuesday in Beijing — China sees as a key to providing its people with adequate food, shelter, education and economic opportunity.

Maintaining a strict one-couple, one-child policy as part of its population control policies, China has been accused of forcing women to abort second pregnancies.

Yet in China, keeping those numbers under control is viewed as a matter of survival.

The country has 1.2 billion people, one-fifth of the world's population. That's more than Europe, North and South America combined.

Chinese officials insist their population-control policies are voluntary and accepted by a majority of citizens, once they understand the importance of limiting family size.

The numbers:

► Demographers say world population, now at 5.7 billion, will climb to more than 7 billion in the next 15 years and double in 45 years if the current rate of growth continues.

► China has 20% of world population, but only 7% of Earth's arable land to feed those numbers. With 94% of China's population living on 46% of its total territory, the eastern region, China is projected to have a shortfall

of 18 million cubic feet of water a day.

► About 70 million Chinese live below the poverty line. That may help explain China's policy that "food is the first necessity of the people."

A number of experts agree, while differing with China on how to address the issue.

"There is a very reasonable explanation of why China has pursued the population policies it has," says Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, China expert at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. "Its population is enormous, and growing rapidly."

Says Sharon Pickett, spokeswoman for the group Zero Population Growth: "We're adding another Mexico to the planet every year; another China every 10 years. All the problems we're trying to address in our society, the environment, crime, hunger, housing, all of them are related to population."

As with most central government decrees, enforcement depends on local authorities.

Despite stories of forced sterilization and abortion, Beijing insists it is "against promoting induced abortion as a means of family planning" and says the one-child policy is maintained by "voluntary participation."

Belief that men are more likely to support parents in old age means a preference for male babies, Tucker says. "It's not that the government tells people to kill baby girls."

are women suffering human rights abuses. They can't wait for there to be another conference."

Homeira Yeganeh, an Iranian covering the conference for the state-run news agency IRNA, said, "Mrs. Clinton was only talking, and talking is very nice ... but I can't understand what is meant by human

rights."

Human rights "must be according to the culture and customs" of each nation, said Yeganeh, dressed in a black chador from head to ankle.

She criticized the conference platform under debate for being based on "Western culture, not on Eastern or Islamic culture."

Her remark encapsulates the debate between the West, which argues that human rights are universal, and countries such as Iran, China and others in Asia, which say human rights vary according to each country's social and economic circumstances.



# MINA, DETAILS ABUSE OF WOMEN

## BLUNT SPEECH ON RIGHTS

### She Attacks Beijing for Trying to Limit the Free Flow of Ideas at U.N. Forum

By PATRICK E. TYLER **A1**

BEIJING, Sept. 5 — Speaking more forcefully on human rights than any American dignitary has on Chinese soil, Hillary Rodham Clinton catalogued a devastating litany of abuse that has afflicted women around the world today and criticized China for seeking to limit free and open discussion of women's issues here.

"It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights," Mrs. Clinton told the Fourth World Conference on Women assembled here.

"It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls," Mrs. Clinton said, or "when women and girls are sold into slavery or prostitution for human greed.

"It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small," she continued, or "when thousands of women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war."

While her comments concerned abuses that have taken place around the world — the burning of brides occurs in India for example, and rape has most recently been a tactic of war in Bosnia — her words took on a special resonance here in China, where the Administration has muted its public criticism of human rights abuses and is struggling to patch up frayed political relations.

China has been widely criticized for forcing women to be sterilized or have abortions as part of its one-child family policy, and there are wide reports of female infanticide by

joining hundreds of delegates in a morning workshop on "women and health security."

Addressing the full conference in the afternoon, Mrs. Clinton expanded on a theme that Pakistan's Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, raised on Monday when she told the delegates that violence against women thrives when there is a "crisis of silence and acquiescence."

As Mrs. Clinton recited her litany from the podium, many delegates applauded, some cheered and others pounded the tables.

Continuing with references to domestic violence, genital mutilation, coercive abortions and sterilizations, Mrs. Clinton told the delegates from more than 180 countries, "If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, let it be that human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights, once and for all."

A senior Administration official traveling with Mrs. Clinton was at pains after the address to explain that it did not mark a return to a more vocal confrontation with China over its poor human rights record. In recent months, Washington has sought to tone down its public remarks on human rights abuses in favor of a more private dialogue that had few results.

"There is nothing in her speech that in any way deviates from our approach on China," the official said, "or on our desire to get the relationship stabilized and to get some momentum going. This is a United Nations conference and she was speaking out on a global problem."

One of the Democratic Congresswomen here, Carolyn B. Maloney of New York, said she believed Mrs. Clinton spoke from personal conviction after she became acquainted firsthand with some problems of women in the third world on a tour of Pakistan and India earlier this year.

"I don't think she cleared this speech with the State Department," Ms. Maloney said, "I think she spoke from the heart and she spoke with great power."

Representative Christopher H. Smith, Republican of New Jersey, who had called on Mrs. Clinton to speak out against "barbaric and egregious" human rights abuses in China during this trip, said he was satisfied to a great extent with her speech, but believed she could have been even more specific in criticizing China's abuses. He called her speech "eloquent" and praised her for "raising the issue" in China.

Still, the impact of the speech seemed to reverberate through the hall.

"She talked so eloquently about human rights, and I thought it was very effective, because all of the women here will know that the wife of the President of the United States also thinks about these things," said Maria Kamm, a delegate from Tanzania and member of Parliament there.

In the section of her speech aimed most directly at China, Mrs. Clinton seemed to betray frustration over

views. "It is indefensible," she said, "that many women" who had been promised visas to travel to China this week to take part in the conference "have not been able to attend" and others "have been prohibited from fully taking part."

A number of delegates, including exiles from Tibet and leaders from Taiwan, were denied visas to attend this meeting and a parallel gathering of private women's organizations.

"Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize, and debate openly," Mrs. Clinton admonished her Chinese hosts. "It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them, or denying them their freedom or dignity because of peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions."

Ordinary Chinese citizens did not see or hear Mrs. Clinton's speech, which was blacked out on official radio and television. There are 5,000 Chinese delegates, all selected by the Communist Party and all with strong ties to the party or the Government. Others were restricted from even coming near the conference site. Their news was limited to a carefully scripted menu, featuring a blizzard of enthusiastic propaganda on the enormous progress of Chinese women under the party's guidance.

The senior party official in attendance today, Chen Muhua, refused later to take any questions on the speech. "I'm sorry, I'm very busy," she said. The official Chinese press was under instructions to ignore Mrs. Clinton's remarks until an official reaction had been considered.

Afterward, Mrs. Clinton said she hoped the Chinese had gotten the message of her speech. "I think it is important that all governments which in any way infringe on human rights know that this conference takes a strong stand and that this conference is trying to move toward the realization of human rights," she told a news conference.

She said President Clinton's goal is to remain "engaged" with China in a broad and comprehensive relationship, but added, "we are trying to have an honest relationship."

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parents who want a son.

China's reaction was uncertain tonight. Beijing's relations with Washington have been strained by a summer of tumult over the visit to the United States in June by the president of Taiwan, Lee Teng-hui.

Mrs. Clinton's gravity and directness seemed to please both Democratic and Republican members of the United States delegation here, and thus the speech may trump the political disputes that have plagued both Mrs. Clinton's decision to travel here and the Administration's approach to China.





# First lady rips Chinese policies on rights

## But blunt speech fails to name target

By George Archibald  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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BEIJING — Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday scorched China — but not by name — and other nations for abusing women and children.

"Our goals ... cannot be fully achieved unless all governments — here and around the world — accept their responsibility to protect and promote internationally

recognized human rights," Mrs. Clinton said, in a clear but indirect reference to the country hosting the delegates at the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women.

With a pointed reference to China's one-child-per-family policy — enforced through forced abortions, sterilizations and the reported killing of female babies — Mrs. Clinton told the conference:

"It is a violation of human rights if babies are denied food or loved or suffocated or their lives broken simply because they are born girls."

"It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that

includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will.

"It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights."

In another remark directed at the Chinese, the first lady called "indefensible" the tight security

see CHINA, page A8

- The rape of women "as a tactic or prize of war," a reference to the fighting in the former Yugoslavia.

- The brutalization of young girls by genital mutilation, a practice that takes place in many parts of Asia and Africa.

Mrs. Clinton's blunt remarks both surprised and pleased conference delegates.

U.S. Rep. Constance A. Morella, Maryland Republican, called the speech "superlative."

"I think there was total agreement," Mrs. Morella said.

Although Mrs. Clinton didn't mention China by name, "it's pretty obvious," Mrs. Morella said.

Madeleine K. Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and U.S. delegation chairman, called the first lady's speech a "clarion call to the people of the world" and said she does not believe that Mrs. Clinton's strong remarks will worsen delicate Sino-American relations.

"The United States, as the beacon of freedom and democracy, has a policy of pursuing human rights," Mrs. Albright said. "Our policy is to engage with China across the board and have an open dialogue."

U.S. Rep. Christopher H. Smith of New Jersey, Republican chairman of the House International Relations subcommittee on human rights, brought a congressional delegation to Beijing Sunday and called on the first lady to denounce China's coercive family-planning policies and religious repression.

He said Mrs. Clinton did not go far enough yesterday.

"She raised some of the egregious abuses women suffer throughout the world, but she still left it to the ears and the mind of the hearer to decipher who she was talking about," he said.

"Hundreds of millions of Chinese women suffer brutality, forced abortion, incarceration for their religious beliefs, forced incarceration on a horrendous scale, and yet a human rights conference dedicated to candor has yet to mention them by name by anyone except men, and that's unfortunate

because it is a missed opportunity," Mr. Smith said.

Mrs. Clinton, in her 30-minute address, also spoke of women's needs for more affordable health care, better education for themselves and their children, more anti-poverty initiatives, and equality with men in obtaining economic advancement and decision-making roles in business and government.

Those messages were also well received by many delegates.

"I thought it was objective, elegant and well-crafted," said U.S. Rep. Jane Harman, California Democrat. "It delivered the right message, and the audience appreciated it."

"Many of the other problems are taken care of when women are empowered through education and the ability to earn a living," said U.S. Rep. Carolyn B. Maloney, New York Democrat. "It was a very strong, focused speech."

## Conference honors Abzug as global feminism leader

By George Archibald  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BEIJING — Feminist leader Bella Abzug basked in the limelight yesterday as she was honored for her role in leading the global women's movement in its efforts to achieve full equality with men.

"Our goal is to ... make women be the future in their leadership," Mrs. Abzug said in a lecture at the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women, where she outlined her recipe for "power feminism."

Speaking immediately before first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Mrs. Abzug said the U.N. Development Program, which funds her Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO), "has helped liberate women from the tyranny and complete economic and political control over their lives."

"We will not have freedom, justice, liberty or equality unless we can eradicate sexism, racism, homophobia, poverty and institutional violence worldwide," she said.

"Our unfinished agenda has been for so long denied because

**Mrs. Abzug said 388 of the world's richest men own more wealth than 2.5 million people.**

those who control the economics and politics of the sex roles traditionally have resisted social change because it would weaken their power."

Mrs. Abzug said 388 of the world's richest men — "I couldn't find any women among them" — own more wealth than 2.5 million people. "They, their corporations, their governments, continue to plunder the economy for the benefit of the few," she said.

"Power feminists" are not seeking "power for power's sake," she said.

"It's not that at all. It's not about simply mainstreaming women [into all occupations, professions, and government positions]."

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that has prevented nongovernmental representatives and organizations at a conference in nearby Huairou from meeting freely and holding political demonstrations and religious activities.

"Let me be clear: Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize and debate openly," she told the delegates. "It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, or denying them their freedom and dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions."

The Chinese government issued no response to Mrs. Clinton's address. Her visit has received little mention in the government-controlled media, even though Chinese officials had lobbied hard for her to come here.

Mrs. Clinton lashed out at a number of other human rights abuses involving women. They include:

- The sale of women and girls into the slavery of prostitution in many countries



committed to the notion that government could do enormous good. Perhaps his greatest legacy is the Pell grants, government aid given annually to college students.

"It's fashionable today to malign Congress, the federal government and those who serve the public in elective office," Pell said. "When you believe as strongly as I do in the value of good government and see so many of its virtues under attack, there is a great temptation to continue to serve and to fight for the values and programs I consider vital."

Sen. Bob Kerrey, D-Neb., who has the daunting job of chairing the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, said, "The State of Rhode Island should have no trouble finding a worthy Democrat to counter the effects of the ideologically extreme conservatives the Republicans are so quick to recruit."

Democrats are likely to find credible candidates for several of the races to replace incumbents in their parties, but victory for those candidates is far from guaranteed.

In addition to Rhode Island and Illinois, where Sen. Paul Simon is retiring, the Democrats will seek to replace these other retiring incumbents: James Exon of Nebraska, Howell Heflin of Alabama, David Pryor of Arkansas, Bennett Johnston of Louisiana and Bill Bradley of New Jersey.

Among Republicans, only Sen. Hank Brown of Colorado has announced he will not seek reelection.

In the House, three former Democrats have switched to the Republican column: Greg Laughlin of Texas, Nathan Deal of Georgia and Billy Tauzin of Louisiana.

Among the casualties have been especially harsh for Democrats in the South.

At a recent Democratic National Committee meeting in New Orleans, Sen. John Breaux remarked he was the only remaining senator who could say "y'all."

Calling himself an "endangered species," Breaux vowed he would not leave his party. Of those who chose to leave, he said, "They've essentially said it's not fun anymore."

## **U.S. made sure NATO allies didn't cold feet about air strikes By Terry Atlas Chicago Tribune**

WASHINGTON Before the bombs, there were the telephone calls.

U.S. officials, working day and night through the long holiday weekend, made hundreds of phone calls to counterparts at NATO headquarters in Brussels, Belgium and at other European capitals to make sure no one got cold feet about resuming wide-ranging allied air strikes if the Bosnian Serbs failed to meet U.N. demands.

Well aware of the West's past failures to follow through on its threats, the Clinton administration wanted no sign of allied disunity to obstruct the message intended for the Bosnian Serbs: Your only alternative now is to back off militarily and seek a political resolution at peace talks beginning Friday.

U.S. officials acknowledge that the rebel Serbs, despite their clear military disadvantage, may still doubt whether the West will sustain its current military actions.

Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, acting on behalf of his vacationing boss, Warren Christopher, coordinated the diplomatic offensive to ensure that allies continued their public support for the U.S.-led raids.

Clinton administration officials were pressing the allies "to back up our words with action," one official said. "We are taking a very hard line."

The United Nations wants the Bosnian Serbs to withdraw heavy weapons from around Sarajevo, permit free movement by peacekeepers, and refrain from shelling the remaining U.N.-designated "safe areas."

"The intention is to continue until there is compliance," said Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon.

Other officials said the bombing could continue even as preliminary peace talks get under way Friday in Geneva,

where the Bosnian Serbs will be represented by Serb brethren from neighboring Yugoslavia.

"It could very well be the case that we have peace talks going on in Geneva and we have a continuation of the military action on the ground," said State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns. "Anything that it takes to convince the Bosnian Serbs that it's in their interest to stop the fighting and to start talking about peace."

Administration officials concede that the West's previous failures to back up its threats makes it harder to persuade Bosnian Serb leaders, such as military commander Gen. Ratko Mladic, that the game has changed.

One U.S. diplomat said the Bosnian Serb military responded to the U.N. demands by playing some of its old, evasive games, such as trying to conceal heavy weapons in barns and in heavily wooded areas to avoid detection.

"Maybe Mladic is banking on the assumption we'll run out of steam," the diplomat said. "Maybe he's banking that the West has been spineless in the past."

Meanwhile, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke met late Tuesday in Belgrade, Yugoslavia with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Although Milosevic protested the renewed NATO bombing, administration officials attached more significance to the absence of any signs from Milosevic of pulling out of the Friday peace talks involving Croatian, Bosnian and Yugoslav foreign ministers.

The Geneva talks are expected to last just one day. Clinton administration officials hope they can produce a framework for detailed negotiations over the ethnic map of Bosnia and constitutional arrangements to enable the three predominant ethnic groups—Serbs, Croats and Muslims—to live in peace.

## **Hillary Clinton criticizes China for human rights violations By Uli Schmetzer Chicago Tribune**

HUAIROU, China In a blunt address aimed at her Chinese hosts and at critics at home, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton on Tuesday sharply criticized China for its violations of human rights and its heavy-handed tactics in hosting an international women's conference.

Mincing few words, Clinton lambasted China's government for refusing visas to thousands of women participants, for using its secret police to harass those delegates who did attend and for the nation's forced abortion programs.

"It is indefensible that many women in non-governmental organizations who wished to participate in this conference have not been able to attend, or have been prohibited from fully taking part," she said.

"Let me be clear, freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize and debate openly," she added in an obvious reference to China and other nations that tolerate neither freedom of expression nor dissent.

"No one should be forced to remain silent for fear of religious or political persecution, arrest, abuse or torture," Clinton said.

Her impassioned speech to the 4th U.N. Conference on Women appeared to give new impetus to the women gathered at the session as she assailed countries committing "intolerable" human rights violations against women.

"If there is any message that echoes forth from this conference, it is that human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights," she said.

Thousands of African, Asian, European and Latin American women wiped away tears and stood up to cheer in the corridors and meeting halls at Beijing's Congress Hall. Only 1,500 delegates were able to cram into the conference room; the rest watched Clinton on television monitors.

Afterward, one Western diplomat described her speech as "a



nightmare" for her Chinese hosts and "a cold shower" for Republican critics at home who argued her visit to Beijing would be turned into a Chinese propaganda coup.

In her address, Clinton made few diplomatic concessions to the Chinese government, other than not mentioning the host nation by name in her criticisms. Later she told reporters she hoped China "got the message." There was no immediate reaction from Chinese authorities.

Clinton traveled Wednesday morning to Huairou, 30 miles north of Beijing, to show her solidarity with the 23,000 delegates from NGOs, or non-governmental organizations, who are holding seminars and workshops under the rigid surveillance of a Chinese security force.

Madeline Albright, U.S. chief delegate to the United Nations and the head of the U.S. delegation to the conference, described Clinton's Beijing speech as a "home run."

"Mrs. Clinton is no Johnny-come-lately to these issues," Albright told a news conference. "She has been working on women's and children's rights all her life."

When asked if the United States feared negative Chinese reaction to the speech, the ambassador snapped: "When you tell the truth, that's the only way to go about this business. She has come here not to mince words but to get down to brass tacks."

Without mentioning specific countries, Clinton listed as human rights violations the practice of female infanticide, a scourge in China where parents kill infant girls because they prefer to have boys.

"It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls," she said.

She singled out the burning of brides in India by husbands or in-laws seeking new dowries and the rapes of women amid political conflict in Bosnia, Rwanda and Algeria. She said that 5,000 girls a day suffered genital mutilations.

She also spoke out forcefully for reproductive rights for women. "It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will."

(EDITORS: STORY CAN END HERE)

Hours later, Harvard professor Mary Ann Glendon, who heads the Vatican's delegation to the conference, served notice that she will try to dilute a proposed conference statement that demands women be given access to family-planning methods, including abortion.

Glendon said men must have a say in decisions about birth control and families. "Responsibility in sexual matters belongs to both men and women," she said.

Delegates saw this as an opening salvo in the battle over drafting of a 120-page action plan to culminate the U.N. conference. The Vatican is backing issues such as the protection of women from violence, more financial loans for enterprises headed by women and a more proportional representation in governments.

In her first speaking appearance, Glendon called for greater emphasis at the conference on traditional family values and motherhood. She called for measures to give mothers who dedicate their time to raising children official recognition as professionals and financial assistance, perhaps in the form of a government stipend.

Clinton's visit ran smoothly Tuesday but she will be greeted at the Huairou Women's Forum by noisy demonstrations as well as applause. Rallies in Huairou have been curtailed by Chinese police, but many activists see her visit as a golden opportunity to publicize their cause.

For days this small town has been blanketed by police and security agents, many of them posing as official Chinese delegates, interpreters and monitors. They have shouted down critics of China and Tibetan exiles and interrupted seminars by demanding access to microphones, only to spout official Chinese propaganda.

On Tuesday, plainclothes security agents, Chinese interpreters and members of China's "official" Tibet delegation mobbed and insulted two Tibetan exiles while the two women talked to Australian Health Minister Carmen Lawrence.

"Traitors. You are the enemies of China," the mob chanted, pushing the women against a wall until Australian Ambassador Michael Lightowler elbowed his way through to them.

Above the din Lightowler yelled: "I am the ambassador of Australia and these two people are Australian citizens. It is my consular duty to protect them."

He then escorted the two exiles, who fled Tibet with the Dalai Lama in 1959, to his official limousine and sped away, followed by the boos of the Chinese mob.

"Mrs. Clinton's powerful defense of women's human rights will be undercut if the U.S. government and governments around the world fail to take this opportunity to forcefully condemn blatant human rights violations occurring on the very doorsteps of this conference," said Human Rights Watch director Dorothy Thomas.

## STUMBLING ON THE ROAD TO DIVERSITY By Clarence Page

WASHINGTON — Allow me to note at the outset that I support affirmative action. I think diversity is enriching. But please don't judge me by the company I keep.

Some advocates of "diversity" seem determined to give diversity a bad name. Take my school district. Please.

As my son was starting first grade this week, accompanied by his teary-eyed parents, two little first-grade girls who used to go to preschool with him also arrived, although this school was not their parents' first choice.

The parents had applied last spring for their daughters to attend a unique county school program in which only French is spoken.

Enriched programs like this in "magnet schools" have emerged in racially mixed districts across the country in recent decades to entice a diverse array of middle-class families to stay in public schools.

Nevertheless, both girls were rejected because they happen to be of Asian heritage. One girl has a white father and a mother of Chinese descent. The other has a white mother and a father of Japanese descent.

The county school system does not allow students of Asian heritage to transfer out of our neighborhood grade school because its Asian head count is so small.

Last year only 11 out of the school's 519 students were classified as Asian. If any more leave, the remaining Asian students may feel too "racially isolated," school officials have said.

Pleas to help increase the tiny Asian population at the French-immersion school, where Asian enrollment is only 4 percent, fell on deaf ears.

Driven to desperation, the Chinese-American mom asked school officials to change her daughter's classification to "white," since that is her father's race.

They did, but that didn't solve the problem. As a white, it turned out, she was blocked by another policy that discourages transfers from schools that are undergoing significant enrollment changes, which ours is, because of boundary moves.

We happen to live in Montgomery County, Md., just outside the nation's capital, but similar stories are happening across the nation as America tries to wade slowly out of the poisoned waters of its racial past. Sometimes we stumble.

After their story appeared in the Washington Post, a white parent from another part of the country who had adopted two sons from Korea wrote a poignant tale of trying in vain to transfer his elder son out of a "magnet school" that happens to offer a widely touted Spanish-immersion program.



was shrouded in bad weather, making U.N.-NATO verification of the weapons movement all but impossible.

The new air strikes were forestalled for several hours "to go the extra mile" in giving the Serbs all chances to follow through on the weapons withdrawal, said U.N. spokesman Philip Arnold in Zagreb, the Croatian capital.

In fact, said U.N. officials, the Serbs merely seemed to be shifting about a dozen vehicle-mounted guns back and forth in Serb-held positions outside Sarajevo.

"I can't even tell you if they (the weapons) were moving toward Sarajevo or away from Sarajevo," Arnold said.

By early Tuesday morning, as the weather around Sarajevo cleared, U.N. and NATO observers said they determined that no weapons had been withdrawn. A decision to start the new attack was made by midmorning, said NATO spokesman Mitchell, and an unspecified number of fighter jets, many of them American, took off from NATO bases and the U.S. aircraft carrier Theodore Roosevelt in the Adriatic Sea off Italy.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN END HERE)

The new air-strike operation carries considerable risks both for the Serbs and NATO.

During last week's operation, suspended Friday as the new peace meetings were announced, two French pilots were shot down and their fate remains unknown. NATO risks losing more planes as the operation continues. Military observers say NATO may also face a long operation if the Serbs stubbornly refuse to agree to the demands.

Many Serb targets are left. Last week's air strikes reportedly destroyed just 15 percent of the Serbs' anti-aircraft capability and 40 percent of their communications network. A coordinated attack by U.N. rapid-reaction forces on Mount Igman outside of Sarajevo took out just 10 percent of the 200-some heavy weapons the Serbs have trained on the Bosnian capital.

"The trouble is the NATO strikes could go on and on and on and become a part of the war," said a former British army intelligence officer of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. "NATO would be seen more and more by other people, not just the Serbs, as taking sides in the war."

And what if NATO "runs out of useful targets?" he said. "Then what will they bomb?"

(This article is from the Philadelphia Inquirer.)

## Wu lauds Clinton speech Knight-Ridder Newspapers

MILPITAS, Calif. Activist Harry Wu, who had questioned Hillary Rodham Clinton's decision to attend the international women's conference in China, praised her Tuesday for speaking out in Beijing about human rights.

Wu, who was convicted of spying in China last month and then expelled, warned after his release that China would use Clinton's presence at the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women for propaganda. He also doubted she would speak frankly about China's human rights record.

But Wu said Tuesday that in her speech to the conference, she "stood up and reaffirmed the ideals which all Americans, men and women, native born and immigrants alike, hold dear."

In a statement, Wu said: "Over the past two months I have had many reasons to be proud to be an American citizen. Today all Americans should be proud that their first lady spoke out directly and forcefully in Beijing about human rights."

"There was much in her speech which confronted the ugly reality of human rights abuses in China. But for the untold number of political prisoners in China, a few lines contained special meaning. When Mrs. Clinton said: 'Let me be clear. Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize and

debate openly,' the bars of prison cells all over China rattled.

"And when she said, 'It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them, or denying them their freedom or dignity because of peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions,' her Chinese communist hosts had to wonder if it was such a good idea to hold the conference in Beijing after all."

## In Hanoi, Bush says U.S. intervention was right By Kristin Huckshorn Knight-Ridder Newspapers

HANOI, Vietnam Former U.S. President George Bush startled a roomful of senior Vietnamese officials Tuesday, candidly insisting that he still believes American military intervention in their country 30 years ago was the right course.

"I am not a revisionist," Bush told about 125 government and business leaders many of them veterans of the war on the first stop of a private trip that includes visits to China and Japan. Asked to comment on former defense secretary Robert McNamara's confession earlier this year that the U.S. was "wrong, terribly wrong" to intervene in Vietnam, Bush said: "I disagree with McNamara."

But he added, "There is no point in me trying to convince people in this room about the rectitude of what we did. ... There is no point in dwelling on the past. We must look to the future."

Bush's response caught some of the audience by surprise.

"I admire his honesty," said one official who did not want his name used. "But perhaps he has not learned the lessons of history."

Bush criticized present-day U.S. foreign policy, however, castigating Democrats and Republicans who favor American withdrawal from international affairs.

Citing such threats abroad as growing instability, nationalism, terrorism and drug trafficking, Bush insisted that "we must stay involved, we must lead and we must not pull back into a selfish position of isolationism and protectionism."

Bush arrived here Monday, the first U.S. president to visit the Vietnamese capital; Lyndon B. Johnson, the only other president to visit Vietnam, traveled to the former Saigon in 1967. Tuesday, Bush met with President Le Duc Anh and Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet.

The former Republican president is being paid an undisclosed amount by Citibank to give two speeches. Perhaps the biggest surprise at the first event was that about 50 invited guests mostly Vietnamese did not show up. No explanation was given for the large number of no-shows.

The second speech is scheduled Thursday to an audience of expatriate business people in Ho Chi Minh City.

Bush's trip has elicited criticism from some veterans groups in the United States and Vietnamese-Americans who cite the country's human rights record and question its support in helping account for 1,615 U.S. servicemen still listed as missing from the war.

Acknowledging that issue at the outset, Bush said he had been assured by both governments that Vietnam is cooperating fully. But he said both sides should continue seeking to resolve MIA cases involving U.S. and Vietnamese soldiers.

Bush also gently raised the issue of human rights. While noting that he wanted "to see a more democratic Vietnam," Bush suggested that such reform could come partly through economic development and market economics, as in China.

"Sometimes, the best way to achieve (better human rights) is to lecture less, to confront less, and to engage more in the hard work of personal contacts and diplomacy," he said.

Citing his own diplomacy, Bush reminded his audience that he had developed the blueprint and taken the first steps toward restoring U.S. relations with Vietnam.

Afterward, during a pointed question-and-answer session, Bui Hung, a bank executive in Hanoi, asked Bush why



BC-HILLARY-EDITORIAL op-ed:OC

Mrs. Clinton delivers

Knight-Ridder/Tribune News Service

(c) 1995, Orange County Register

The following editorial appeared in the Orange County Register on Thursday, 9-7.

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Like most international conferences, especially those held under the aegis of the United Nations, the women's conference in Beijing this week will endorse a good deal of balderdash and ignore many of the real problems women around the world face. Moreover, it will pay scant attention to the constructive efforts of countless women to improve their lives and the lives of their families through individual effort unhelped (and unhampered) by government bureaus devoted to "gender sensitivity."

But the most enduring image likely to remain from this mixed bag of a conference will be that of Hillary Rodham Clinton delighting most observers with her indirect yet forceful criticism of mainland China, the conference's host country. In her 15-minute speech to the assembled delegates, Mrs. Clinton declined to thank the host country and chronicled some of the abuses against human rights especially the human rights of women that are part of the Chinese government's record. She didn't mention China by name, but everyone knew what she meant.

"It is indefensible that many women in non-governmental organizations who wished to participate in this conference have not been able to attend," said Mrs. Clinton. It is reasonably well-known that representatives of women's groups from Taiwan and Tibet were denied visas by the Chinese government and that many of those attending an auxiliary conference in a Beijing suburb have complained of heavy-handed government control. In some cases the interference came close to outright censorship.

Mrs. Clinton insisted that "freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize, and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments." And she touched on one of the most sensitive issues in mainland China when she asserted that "it is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will."

China's "one child per family" policy has led to many forced abortions and sterilizations and to the outright killing of female babies, through abortion or infanticide, a sadly predictable outcome of a one-child policy in a country whose culture lays such heavy stress on male children.

In truth, it didn't take a tremendous amount of courage for Mrs. Clinton to criticize mainland China's policies. But many people, believing that China had bought a de facto silence on its human-rights policies by releasing Chinese-American dissident Harry Wu, didn't expect her to say anything. It is to Mrs. Clinton's credit that she thought it important enough to raise human-rights issues.

The fact that it seemed necessary to address China's one-child policy to retain credibility on the subject of human rights is a tribute to thousands of activists and writers notably including Claremont Institute scholar Steven Mosher, who endured official scorn and is unlikely to be allowed back into China after exposing the dark side of family planning in several books who stayed at the often thankless task of documenting and exposing Chinese abuses year after year. Though their work often seemed fruitless, they persisted until the "international community" had to take notice.

The international community, such as it is, will doubtless endorse much foolishness at this conference and in the future. But for a few moments during Mrs. Clinton's speech, it basked in moral purpose and a measure of nobility.

\*\*\*\* filed by:KR-F(-- ) on 09/07/95 at 08:18EDT \*\*\*\*



**Hillary Clinton Returns Focus to True Issues** 9/7/95  
(c) 1995, Los Angeles Times— The following editorial  
appeared in Wednesday's Los Angeles Times:

"If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, let it be that human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights." With that, Hillary Rodham Clinton crystallized the issues that have brought tens of thousands of women to Beijing for the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women. Her speech Tuesday helped to refocus attention on conference matters: education, health care, reproductive rights, violence against women and girls and denial of human rights.

At the same time, the first lady put Beijing on notice that its human rights record and other repressive policies have not gone unnoticed during the U.N.-sponsored gathering. In doing so, she dispelled much of the controversy surrounding her decision to attend the conference at a time when Sino-U.S. relations are at a low.

A sign that her words hit a nerve among Chinese authorities was that more than 12 hours after Mrs. Clinton delivered her speech there was no report in China's official media of the address. Outside of China, the Vatican, which has been critical of some of the reproductive and family planning issues to be discussed at the conference, endorsed the address.

Mrs. Clinton was careful not to overtly criticize China, but she indirectly condemned its coercive one-child population control policy. In lashing out against harsh population policies in general, she said, "It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will."

The first lady also gave a voice to the frustration of delegates of Non-Governmental Organizations, whose meetings have been confined to an area 30 miles north of Beijing and stifled by heavy and intrusive Chinese security. Mrs. Clinton complained that it is indefensible that many NGO delegates who wished to participate in the U.N. conference have not been able to attend or have been prohibited from fully taking part. "Let me be clear," she told a plenary session. "Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments."

The U.N. conference provides a once-in-a-decade opportunity for women from around the world to gather and devise a plan to articulate and direct policies that address their needs. Until Mrs. Clinton's speech, the issues were obscured by Beijing's heavy-handed tactics, which included barring South African representative Winnie Mandela from opening ceremonies because she was late.

In highlighting abuse and violence against women, the first lady cited many instances, including the thousands of women who are subject to rape as a tactic of terror or prize of war, as in Bosnia. This is one of the many reasons why women's rights are human rights.

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**WASHINGTON INSIGHT: Speculation Rampant on Blinder's Fed Plans (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=**

WASHINGTON Speculation is rampant within the Federal Reserve these days about the future plans of Fed Vice Chairman Alan Blinder. Many Fed observers are convinced that Blinder is planning to leave the Fed when his term ends Jan. 31 and return to Princeton University, where he was an economics professor before joining the Clinton administration as a member of the Council of Economic Advisers in 1993. They believe that Blinder will leave the Fed because he is convinced that President Clinton will reappoint Alan Greenspan to a third term as Fed chairman next March, shutting Blinder out of the chance to take the helm of the nation's central bank. Some also note that Blinder may not feel that he fits in at the conservative Fed. Unlike other members of the Fed board of governors, he doesn't believe that Congress should change the law that now requires the Fed to pursue two basic objectives: price stability and full employment. Greenspan and others believe that the law should be changed to make price stability the Fed's only legal objective. Despite the gossip, Blinder issued a statement saying that he has not made a decision about his plans. But Clinton would probably reappoint him if he wants to stay.

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**LOSING STRIKE:** For the first time in the memory of veteran Supreme Court observers, the U.S. solicitor general, the administration's top courtroom lawyer, actually lost more cases than he won before the court in the last term. The government can choose which cases to appeal, so it usually wins at least three-fourths of them. But in the last year, the solicitor general's office took part in 25 cases and lost 13. One reason may be that Solicitor General Drew S. Days III, a Yale University law professor on leave, has the unenviable task of defending liberal causes before a conservative court. This term may prove better, or at least safer. Days elected to stay out of the highest profile case in the fall, the challenge to Colorado's anti-gay-rights initiative.

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**SEA STORY:** Top Navy admirals are busting their buttons over the fact that the aircraft carrier Theodore Roosevelt is playing a key role in the latest series of NATO air strikes in Bosnia. Navy officials were demoralized when carrier pilots took a back seat to the Air Force during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Not only did the sea service get cut out of much of the action, but its bombing raids often missed their targets because Navy attack planes did not have the precision-guided munitions (PGM) that enabled the Air Force to shoot missiles down chimneys. Since then, however, the Navy has upgraded its PGM capability, and the admirals are quick to point out that the deployment of the carrier showed the value of maintaining "a naval presence" in key hot spots around the globe.

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**COURT LOBBYING:** State court officials nationwide, including California Chief Justice Malcolm Lucas, are engaged in a heavy lobbying campaign to persuade the Senate to kill a House measure that would eliminate funding for the State Justice Institute. Lucas, a Republican and former chairman of the institute's board of directors, declared it was "inconceivable" that the GOP-dominated Congress would dismantle the "only item in the federal budget designed to help state courts manage an overwhelming number of criminal cases with greater speed, efficiency and justice." Sen. Phil

Gramm, R-Texas, chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee that will decide the fate of the \$13.5 million measure, heard about it last weekend when he campaigned for the GOP presidential nomination in New Hampshire. That state's chief justice, David A. Brock, vice chairman of the institute's board, spent about 45 minutes with Gramm. Later, an institute source said Gramm told Brock that he had made some important points in arguing for salvaging the institute.

**America's Religious Right Takes Fight to Women's Conference By Larry B. Stammer= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=**

Marking a major turning point in its political activism around the issues of abortion, homosexuality and family values, America's religious right is striding onto the international stage by taking its fight to the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.

Major radio ministries such as James Dobson's Focus on the Family and Beverly LaHaye's Concerned Women for America have dispatched delegations to China to challenge what they charge is the conference's "anti-family" agenda.

The largest gathering ever of women in the world, the conference opened Monday with 4,750 official delegates from 181 countries. An unofficial but affiliated conference opened a week ago in a nearby Beijing suburb, drawing 23,000 representatives of non-governmental organizations.

Until now, the Roman Catholic Church and some Muslim countries have provided the central opposition at these international conferences, questioning what they see as moral failings in the conferences' attempts to expand the availability of birth control and abortion.

Last year, for example, Vatican diplomats acting on orders from Pope John Paul II contested efforts at the U.N. Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, Egypt to make contraception and abortion more accessible to women.

But Protestants aligned with the religious right's anti-abortion agenda stayed away.

"I thank God that Pope John Paul really blocked some of those objectives in Cairo," said Dobson. "Evangelicals slept through the whole thing."

Not any more. Evangelical Protestants have joined the Vatican and such leading Islamic clerics as Saudi Arabia's Abdul-Aziz Bin Baz in sounding new alarms over the Beijing agenda.

Because the U.N. proposal touches so directly on religious issues, the Beijing conference has become the latest proving ground and bully pulpit for the religious right in its drive to establish a unifying moral hegemony in an increasingly diverse and pluralistic world.

It remains to be seen what impact religious conservatives will have in Beijing. They admit they will be in the minority.

Practically speaking, the religious right has two immediate aims. First, to keep up pressure on the Republican party to take a conservative line in next year's U.S. presidential campaign. Second, to oppose any effort to encourage other countries to adopt liberalized abortion policies similar to those in the West.

The proposed U.N. action plan, when adopted, would not be binding on any country. But it would represent an important international consensus on a wide range of women's issues from education to abortion and serve as a model for developing countries.

For weeks Dobson, LaHaye and others such as former Pennsylvania Gov. Robert P. Casey's Campaign for the American Family have carried out an intensive campaign on



Christian radio stations and in the press assailing the conference as anti-family.

Dobson has called the conference "the biggest threat to the family that's ever occurred in the history of the world" and characterized its proposed action plan as "Satan's trump card."

He has urged his listeners to register protests by calling radio talk shows, writing letters to the editor, brining up the issue in private conversations, and writing members of Congress. In China, his four-member delegation put on a workshop for delegates on the importance of a two-parent family.

Friday, Dobson plans to go on his nationwide radio show to assail first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's speech, which she delivered Tuesday in Beijing. Dobson office said while she talked about the importance of motherhood and the family, the Clinton administration continues to support a U.N. proposal that undermines the family.

"There is nothing in the conference document that reflects her rhetoric," Dobson associate Caia Mockaitis said Wednesday in Colorado Springs, Colo. "This document is really hostile to marriage, to motherhood and the family. We feel that the first lady is trying to put a pretty face on a radical agenda."

LaHaye told her listeners before the conference opened that the word "family" is mentioned nowhere in the document except to refer to abuse of women and children.

"Motherhood is belittled and the family is seen as the foundation of abuse," she said. "Why does the U.S. delegation support these ideas when, in reality, these concepts are extremely dangerous to the celebration of womanhood?"

LaHaye's delegation took anti-abortion and other conservative literature to Beijing in a move to influence the thinking of other delegates, particularly those from developing countries.

In appealing for donations from her 750,000 listeners to finance a five-member delegation's trip to China, LaHaye warned of the conference's "radical feminist agenda."

One elderly couple was so moved by her alarm, she said that they attached a note to their check saying they were buying fewer groceries and watering their lawn less to scrape together a donation.

"That really touches my heart," LaHaye said.

It also touched a nerve in Washington.

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine K. Albright complained Monday, while en route to Beijing with Mrs. Clinton, that conservatives in the United States are distorting the conference's purposes.

A day earlier, Mrs. Clinton, honorary head of the U.S. delegation, wrote in a newspaper column that she was saddened that "a small but vocal band of critics (is) trying to spread the notion that the U.N. gathering is really the work of radicals and atheists bent on destroying our families."

And the United States' official government delegation to Beijing has mounted its own public relations campaign to discredit charges from the religious right that the U.N. action plan followed a radical feminist agenda and was anti-family.

"It drives me slightly crazy when I hear people going off on a rampage about the silliness that they think that is in this U.N. document," said Geraldine A. Ferraro, ambassador to the U.N. Human Rights Commission and vice chair of the U.S. delegation to Beijing.

Far from being anti-family, she and others said the action plan seeks to strengthen families by advocating equal education for women and girls, condemning violence against women and the "feminization of poverty," and to demanding adequate health care for all of women's needs, not just issues of birth control and abortion.

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One of the most prominent charges made by religious right leaders is the claim that the proposed U.N. action plan redefines the term gender to not only mean male and female, but "homosexual, lesbian and transgender."

But defenders of the action plan say those complaints are drawn not from the document itself, but from discussions that took place among conference delegates during preliminary discussions in New York.

Indeed, Dobson and others cite as their source not the U.N. draft itself, but a paper by conservative writer and lecturer Dale O'Leary entitled, "Gender: The Deconstruction of Women." In it, O'Leary reports on wide ranging discussions at so-called prep-com meetings, gatherings held in advance of the Beijing conference, in which participants offered input into what they hoped the final U.N. document would say.

O'Leary concluded that the "gender feminists" seek to blame religion as a major cause of the oppression of women, and the use of the term gender really denotes "a hidden/unacceptable agenda" that includes "tolerance of non-heterosexual identities and orientation."

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### **NATO Airstrikes Slow to Move Recalcitrant Serbs By Tracy Wilkinson and Dean E. Murphy= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=**

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina NATO bombers again soared into action Wednesday against Bosnian Serb targets, but it was becoming clear that forcing the rebel separatists to ease the siege of this battered capital is going to take a long time.

Soupy skies and low fog curtailed the NATO air campaign for a second day, giving the Serbs a reprieve they used to further dig in their heels.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said his forces cannot withdraw additional weapons from the Sarajevo area because Serb civilians would be left defenseless.

"We are under terrible attack by NATO," Karadzic said in an interview with CNN conducted in his headquarters in nearby Pale. "They are bombarding us so terribly that it hasn't been seen since second World War in Europe, and it can't be justified by any reasons."

Karadzic, an indicted war criminal because of his army's use of murder, rape and intimidation to build an ethnically "pure" state, has refused to comply with U.N. and NATO demands that the Serbs' big guns be removed 12 miles from Sarajevo.

In fact, U.N. monitors detected only one of the Serbs' estimated 300 heavy weapons being moved on Tuesday, and even then, not very far. Most of the guns, which have been used routinely to shell the capital, have been hidden in the forests surrounding Sarajevo, making them tough to locate.

In Washington, State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns labeled Karadzic's CNN interview "a cynical charade."

"They said they were complying, when in fact they weren't complying," he said. "It is cynicism and it is a charade, and we were certainly not fooled by it. ... They moved a few weapons around inside the 20-kilometer zone around Sarajevo. They didn't move any weapons outside of that zone. And the West in this case the U.N. and NATO had every right and indeed an obligation to resume the air campaign."

He said the Bosnian Serbs "ought to learn the lesson this is not temporary, this is not illusory, it's not something that can be waited out, because there's a collective expression of international will here that the time has come to move to the peace table."



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## Only Mrs. Clinton can give a good speech in China

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's speech this week at the United Nations Fourth World Congress on Women in Beijing didn't mince words. Though she did not mention the host country by name, she did speak out eloquently against the violent abuses of women that are commonplace in China.

"It is," said Mrs. Clinton, "a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls. . . . It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will."

There was no doubt in anyone's mind that the first lady was talking about China. Incidents of female infanticide take place elsewhere on the planet, but only in China is it so marked an official problem. It is this dictatorship's oppressive and aggressively enforced one-family/one-child population control plan that has created the problem. The sad truth is that faced with the prospect of having only one child, many Chinese are determined enough (not to mention ruthless and evil enough) to commit such despicable acts against their daughters as Mrs. Clinton describes. Though Mrs. Clinton did not mention it — perhaps wishing to avoid giving ammunition to pro-life activists at the conference — abortion is also used in many instances in China to eliminate unwanted baby girls before birth. And, of course, it was very clear indeed that the first lady had China on her mind when she talked about forced abortion and sterilization — both used widely by Beijing against women who dare to violate the one-child edict.

Nor did Mrs. Clinton limit herself to decrying abuses against women. "Let me be clear," she went on to say. "Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize and debate openly. . . . It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them or denying them their freedom and dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions."

Once again, this is China. Indeed, Mrs. Clinton almost lost her opportunity to participate in the conference because Beijing had jailed Harry Wu, an

American citizen arrested this summer on his latest return to his native country to document slave labor practices and other abuses in China's labor camps — where Mr. Wu had spent 19 years of his life for criticizing Mao. His release came in the nick of time for Mrs. Clinton's attendance to be politically possible.

Mr. Wu himself, who had publicly voiced his opposition to Mrs. Clinton's trip to Beijing, was clearly moved and heartened by her speech. "Over the past two months, I have had many reasons to be proud to be an American citizen. Today all Americans should be proud that their first lady spoke out directly and forcefully in Beijing about human rights." Her tough rhetoric caused Mr. Wu to muse, "her Chinese Communist hosts had to wonder if it was such a good idea to hold the conference in Beijing after all."

Indeed, the Chinese government imposed a total news blackout on Mrs. Clinton's speech — just as it had controlled the Chinese people's access to information about the meeting of Non-Governmental Organizations running in Huairou concurrently with the U.N. conference. Beijing also has employed some serious control over the delegates themselves, something about which they have been complaining vocally since they arrived. Even the U.S. assistant secretary of state for the Far East and the secretary of Health and Human Services were not immune. Winston Lord and Donna Shalala, trying to attend another speech Mrs. Clinton was giving in Huairou, encountered "grim-faced security forces, posted at entrances with their arms locked," the Associated Press reported. Mr. Lord and Miss Shalala finally made it in to hear the speech, after half an hour in the pouring rain. Mrs. Clinton's press secretary, Lisa Caputo, did not.

All of which serves as a very sharp reminder of just what kind of country China is — and of how inappropriate it is, in the end, for so many free and relatively affluent women to be carrying on ferocious debates about gender, sex and sexuality in a place where their sisters endure daily tortures. Clearly, China sought this conference as a boost to its international prestige. Mrs. Clinton's speech served as a spotlight on why China so little deserves such a boost. It would have been even more effective if she had given it here, since it so persuasively lays out why the United States shouldn't have gone.



## THE CLINTONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHINA By Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover

WASHINGTON — Just when first lady Hillary Clinton was making many Americans feel better about their country with her outspoken if unspecified blast in Beijing on human rights abuses against women in China, her husband felt it necessary to observe that she had not attempted "to single any country out" in her pointedly critical remarks.

"What she said," he remarked, raining on her parade, "is what we've both said many, many times on issues that affect China. Much of her speech pertained to conditions in other countries, not China, and some of it pertained to conditions in our country as well."

That may have been literally true, but the forcefulness and intensity with which Hillary Clinton delivered her observations, as reported by American correspondents present, were a notable contrast to the general pussyfooting of the Clinton administration toward the Chinese regime in recent weeks, in obvious fear of worsening U.S.-China relations.

In all the run-up to the first lady's trip to Beijing — would she and should she go — the central issue as far as the Clinton White House and State Department were concerned seemed to be the tender feelings of Chinese officialdom. If Hillary didn't go, would it be a snub? If she did go and spoke her mind, would she give offense?

Ever since the United States committed the unpardonable crime of granting a visa to President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan to attend his Cornell class reunion in June, the Beijing powers were in high dudgeon, leading them to cut off top diplomatic contacts with Washington. But the release and return to the United States of dissident Harry Wu two weeks ago led to the announcement that the first lady would go as honorary chair of the American delegation to the United Nations World Conference on Women.

Immediately another round of speculation arose. Now that she was going, would she be muzzled by the State Department out of deference to the supersensitive Chinese? And if so, would American and other women's groups be up in arms? Before her arrival, administration officials gave reporters assurances that she would not say anything that would upset the delicate efforts to improve U.S.-China relations. Some women's groups began to wonder why the first lady was bothering to go.

But when Mrs. Clinton finally took the platform, she swept such concerns away. While she did not, in fact, name China in her attacks on specific human rights abuses, it didn't take a genius to match the abuses with the offending countries, including China's notorious forced abortions and treatment of unwanted girl babies.

Also, the first lady was quite specific in criticizing the efforts of the Beijing regime to impede the ability of many women to attend the international conference, and to have free and unintimidated access to its sessions. "It is indefensible," she said at one point, that many women "have not been able to attend ... (and others) have been prohibited from fully taking part." Indeed, many conference attendees were shut out from her speech, which was also blacked out on official Chinese radio and television.

In Hillary Clinton's stormy tenure as first lady, what started out as a breakthrough performance as the new woman of the '90s soon disintegrated, casting her conduct in many minds as overreaching. She was not, after all, elected to anything, and her failed efforts to achieve President Clinton's health care reforms were widely regarded as her due comeuppance.

Since then, she has focused much more on issues of prime concern to women, including children's needs, and in so doing has been steadily rebuilding her stature in the country. The trip to China was a great opportunity to demonstrate her political and persuasive skills on another

front, and she made the most of it in Beijing.

It was too bad, considering all that, that her husband felt compelled to give assurances to her conspicuously rude and hostile hosts that she wasn't saying anything new or more critical after all. The chances are, however, that American women are going to think a lot more of their first lady as a result of what she said and how she said it — and possibly less of Bill Clinton for what he said about her performance afterward.





# No sex please, we're in Genderland

By April L. Lassiter

*"And the LORD God caused a deep sleep to fall on Adam and he slept; and He took five ribs, and closed up the flesh in its place. Then the five ribs which the LORD God had taken from man, He made into heterosexual, lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual and He brought them to the man."*

According to the Declaration on Women at the Beijing Conference, God got it wrong. Or at least, when he created Adam and Eve, he forgot other possibilities. Apparently, the notion of defining individuals by sex is passe. In fact, the document suggests that the story of Genesis is reductive and might have been intellectually on point had it explained that gender is the defining characteristic, not the antiquated understanding of "sex."

According to the declaration, "in many countries, the difference between women's and men's achievements and activities are still not recognized as the consequences of socially-constructed gender roles rather than immutable biological differences."

This liberal coup is one more step towards

April L. Lassiter works on Capitol Hill.

an already besieged concept in our society — sexual identity. A whole cadre of women have noted, and rightly so, that the feminist movement has outlived its usefulness in promoting the health and well-being of women. Camille Paglia says of feminism in "Sexual Personae," "Feminism has exceeded its proper mission of seeking political equality for women and has ended by rejecting contingency, that is, human limitation by nature or fate."

This rejection of difference in male and female terms is further reflected in the fact that the traditional term "sex" is forfeited for the more ambitious term "gender." A word count shows that "Gender" is used over 200 times in the document. It is as though using "gender" to replace the traditional understanding of "sex" as male and female somehow liberates the individual from the reality of inherent biological determination. Ironically, if linguistics are instructive, at least three of the foreign nations represented in the conference have only one term to describe occurrences in mother nature, and that is "sex." Funny how that is.

The reality is that biology plays a large role in constructing both ability and limitations for men and women. The reason women bear children is because they can — not because they choose a particular sexual lifestyle. The reason men are employed by

the military to throw hand grenades out of harm's way is because they can. Differences aren't evil — and they don't have to be eradicated from our vocabulary or defied to provide equity.

This is not to mention the anti-male sentiment that infiltrates the conference. For instance, the women's conference opened with women martial arts experts fighting off other women dressed up in costumes as men. Another of my favorite efforts to widen — er, I mean, eliminate — the chasm between men and women is the language on health and education. Apparently, science curricula are gender-biased, because they do not relate to the daily experience of women and girls.

Personally, I never found that as a female, my soft drinks got fizzier instead of flat, or that my school books dropped up instead of down. And to push to "equalize" the disproportionate health of men and women would make you think they were on a mission to abolish menstrual cramps by the year 2000. Is it impossible to separate the empowerment of women from isolation and antagonism towards men?

The stated goals of the conference — development, empowerment and sustainability — are noble and should be pursued by men and women. But the idea that they

will come from breaking down and deconstructing roles for men and women is, at best, a faulty conclusion, and at worst, destructive.

As long as we continue to subjugate "human rights" to "women's rights," both men and women will be the losers. Instead of addressing the most glaring injustices within the conference and the declaration, liberals have seized the opportunity to mollify traditional family structure and forced an unfortunate debate over how one defines sexual behavior that has dominated the conversation. Once again, the facile equation of the feminist movement is uncovered: Human rights plus feminism does not equal advancement for woman.

The ideals promulgated at the Beijing conference will be influential in shaping future generations of men and women. We cannot simply look the other way and hope that these ideas will be rejected. We must reject the efforts of a few women who claim to speak for the majority of women as they sacrifice lives on the altar of legislative linguistics.

If one thing is clearly exposed by the Women's conference in Beijing, it's that the feminist movement not only fails to be pro-woman but is on a destructive mission to eliminate normalcy between the sexes. If this is what it means to be a feminist, then I am a self-hater. I concur with the Independent Women's Forum, which has been circulating a button around town that states, correctly, "Sex is better than gender."



R. EMMETT TYRRELL JR.

The other day I was having an out-of-body experience with Hillary Rodham Clinton just as Sen. Bob Dole was disparaging her husband's economic achievements.

We were en route to China for the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women. She was preparing her speech on the infamies committed against women. As her list made clear, they were basically committed in the Third World, and I thought the list skimpy. Surely life in some African hell-holes and Asian boondocks is even more ghastly than she claims.

So I asked the first lady what she would have us do about these enormities. The United States has no jurisdiction over Phnom Penh. She mentioned the power of the United Nations and "world opinion." Frankly, a more effective way to improve the condition of women in

places where slavery, forced prostitution, mutilation and infanticide are practiced would be to reconvene the European Empires. How about giving the French and the British back their old colonies? Mrs. Clinton became impatient. She favored more conferences and speeches.

Nor did she like Mr. Dole's outburst against her husband. I got the impression it was disloyal for Mr.

Dole to be so critical when she was out of the country. Mr. Dole was so rude as to mention that the present economic recovery is "one of the weakest" since World War II. He also observed that the economy's second quarter was slowing to an annual growth rate of 1 percent. That made Mrs. Clinton very angry.

I tried to be helpful. "Remind the cad Dole about your husband's fast train," said I, "and the bridges. Remind him of your husband's promise to get the tired Bush economy going by building roads, bridges, infrastructure." I fear Mrs. Clinton thought I was mocking her. Those eyes of hers narrowed. Her

# Political rebuilding props that don't wash

right hand moved toward a vase nearby, and whamo: My out-of-body experience ended. I hope that was not an expensive vase.

Infrastructure — that was the key to our salvation from the Bush Recession. Do you remember candidate Clinton singing dithyrambs

need a drastic rebuilding. Mr. Clinton claimed the Infrastructure had been in decline for two decades. Actually, from the early 1980s on the problem was disappearing. "I think the proposal is a little out of date," said Barry Bosworth, an economist at the Brookings Institution. "The federal data showed substantial deterioration of the highways in the early 1980s. ... Now deterioration is strictly a local phenomenon." Mr. Bosworth thought that the project Mr. Clinton envisaged would only "overload the system." And Mr. Bosworth was a Clinton supporter.

Infrastructure is one of the trendy words from the 1960s, the decade during which the Clintons' intellectual development began and ended. Their idea for getting the economy to grow faster than the rate in 1992 was to take money from private investment and to put it into government construction — the least economically sound construction known to man. It was the old Liberal idea that we take money from the taxpayer's left pocket and put it into his right pocket after government services get a cut of it. The Clinton economy has never matched his promises in 1992 and will not while he is president. In fact, his economic slowdown looks more dismal than George Bush's.

Another idea that the Clintons have preserved from 30 years ago is that social problems can be solved by waving placards, holding conferences, and issuing demands to those who are impervious to demands. The first thing Mr. Clinton did upon election was hold his "Economic Summit." There passed figures who believed as he did prescribed the obsolete economic solutions the Clintons still have faith in. Unnoticed by the press during that Little Rock summit was that across town Arkansas' new governor had to convene a special session of the legislature to bail out a Medicaid program bankrupted by Mr. Clinton. Now Mrs. Clinton is off at her own feminist conference producing hot air and the preposterous hope that tribal peoples in Central Africa, and herders in Kyrgyzstan, will live like graduates of Wellesley. Well, Mrs. Clinton, the world is not in need of more neurotics.

R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr. is editor-in-chief of the American Spectator.

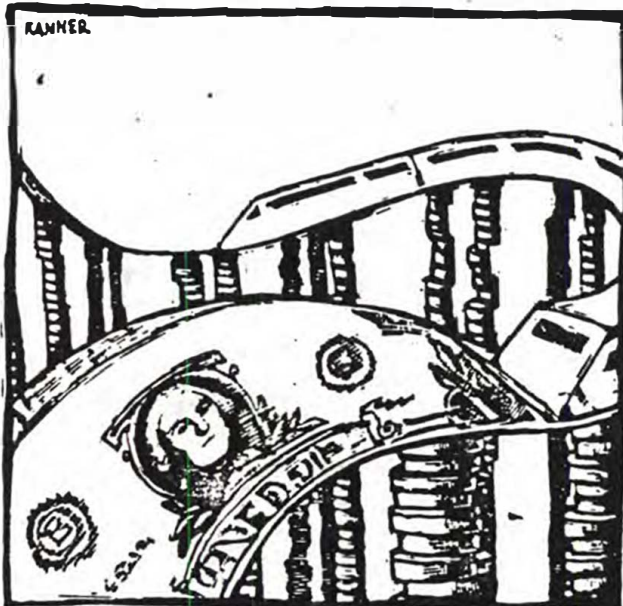


Illustration by Catherine Kanner/Los Angeles Times

to Infrastructure the length and breadth of America in the summer of 1992? He was alarmed by the Republicans' shocking deficit, but he would solve the economic problem by heaving up \$20 billion to rebuild the nation. "To create millions of high-wage jobs and smooth our transition from a defense- to a commercial-based economy, we will rebuild America and develop the world's best communication, transportation and environmental systems," is how Mr. Clinton put it in his June 1992 economic proposal "Putting People First." It was as simple as that.

Of course, the country did not



CONNIE MORELLA

# Cultivating common ground

**W**hat happens when 50,000 women get together to talk about their children, their health, and their jobs? Lively discussion, heated debate, and new ideas. And that is what those of us attending the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women this week are counting on.

Conference Secretary Gertrude Mongello of Tanzania has said, "The problems [of women] are not different from country to country. They only differ in intensity." And she is exactly right. Women the world over are concerned about the prevalence of violence in their lives, the quality of their children's schooling, the challenges of pregnancy and childbirth, and economic security for themselves and their families.

This conference presents an important opportunity to strengthen the world's families, to increase the numbers of women in decision-making positions in government and business, and to ensure access for girls and women to education and health care.

This conference is not about adding genders, redefining families, denigrating motherhood, or tearing down capitalism. And it is certainly not about ignoring China's dismal record on human rights — if anything, the conference has focused the world's attention on the terror the Chinese people, particularly women, suffer day in and day out.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Burma's Nobel laureate, said it well in a videotaped message to the conference: "For millennia, women have dedicated themselves almost exclusively to the task of nurturing, protecting, and caring for the young and the old, striving for conditions of peace that favor life as a whole. It is time to apply in the arena of the world [this] wisdom and experience."

Before that can happen effectively, however, there are many challenges to overcome. Take, for example, crimes of violence against women. Domestic violence is the leading cause of death worldwide for women between the ages of 14 and 44. But, according to a report just issued by Human Rights Watch, "it is typically ignored by the state or only erratically punished."

The study, *The Human Rights Watch Global Report on Women's Human Rights*, states that the types of violence women face — murder, rape, assault and battery — are "condemned by the criminal laws of virtually all countries." Yet, these laws are not always enforced and in too

many instances the perpetrators — when they are husbands or boyfriends — are rarely punished. Human Rights Watch offers up a disturbing and long list of examples.

For example, in Brazil, where 70 percent of the violence against women is domestic violence, courts routinely refuse to convict men who kill their unfaithful wives or lovers. The men are exonerated because they acted to protect their "honor" and did so in the heat of passion.

In the United States, where every eight seconds a woman is physically abused, we have evidence that the "heat of passion/honor" defense is alive and well right here. Sentencing a man who killed his wife after he found her in bed with her lover, a Maryland judge said last year. "I seriously wonder how many married men... would have the strength to walk away without inflicting some corporal punishment."

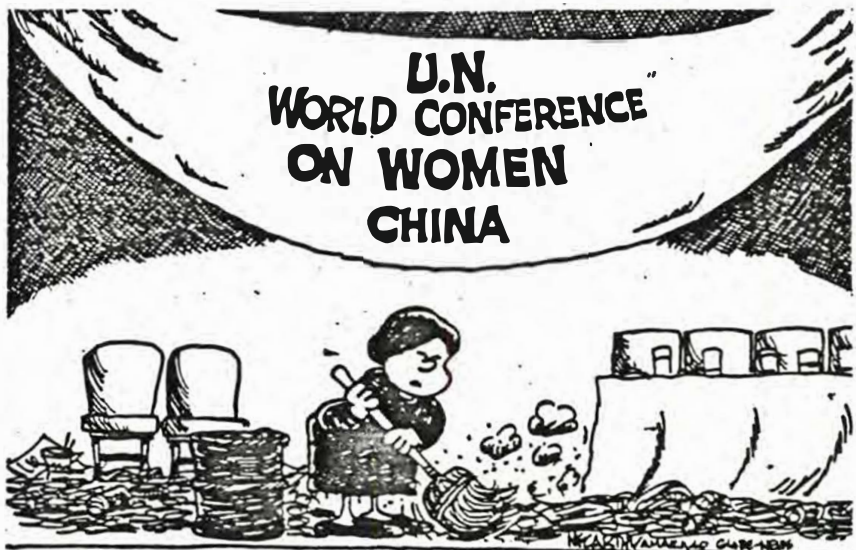
In Russia, where one in five mur-

nations including Haiti, Pakistan, and even in the United States.

Other issues also will be high on the conference's agenda. The education of girls and the advancement of health care for women will be discussed and debated this week. Two-thirds of the world's illiterate adults are women and two-thirds of the 130 million children who go without primary school education are girls.

Women's health worldwide is often precarious, especially in developing countries. Of particular concern is the HIV-AIDS epidemic among women. Today, women represent 40 percent of HIV-infected adults; by 2000, it is predicted that 15 million women will become infected. During the 1990s, 2.9 million women around the globe will die from AIDS.

All of us in the U.S. delegation — from the first lady to members of Congress to Sister Ann Kelly, presi-



der victims is killed by a spouse and most of those killed are women, battered women who call the police for help are ignored because domestic violence is a private matter.

Rape is prohibited under every national law and under all international laws regarding international and internal conflicts. Yet, the rape of women and girls as a consequence of warfare and as a tool of political repression is an accepted fact of life in many parts of the world. Combatants in such places as the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Peru, and Kashmir have routinely used rape to terrorize civilian populations, to expedite "ethnic cleansing," or to reward mercenary soldiers.

Human Rights Watch has documented rape by security forces and prison guards to get information or confessions or simply to abuse incarcerated women in many

dent of the College of New Rochelle — are here in Beijing because we want a world for our children that is free of hate and terror, poverty and disease, a world where they will be free to develop their gifts and talents unhindered by bias and discrimination. Some may deride these goals as unattainable and perhaps naive, but engage the effort we must.

Whether the issue is advancing human rights, promoting sustainable development, or mediating issues of war and peace, women will take an active role in their countries and around the world. The U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women is charting their course.

Connie Morella is a Republican member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Maryland.



1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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THE KANSAS CITY STAR

September 11, 1995 Monday METROPOLITAN EDITION

SECTION: OPINION; Pg. B5; PAUL GREENBERG

LENGTH: 908 words

HEADLINE: Three cheers for Hillary Rodham Clinton

BYLINE: PAUL GREENBERG

SOURCE: 1995, Los Angeles Times Syndicate

BODY:

I was wrong.

I had anticipated that Hillary Clinton's appearance at the Women's Conference in Beijing would be just another shadow play in which she would make the usual, oh-so-diplomatic references to the Butchers of Tiananmen Square. Instead, the first lady recognized that this was no time to be a lady, and she went down the line of forbidden topics, speaking out on one after the other.

For example, the pretense that women's rights have nothing to do with human rights, and that one set of rights can be defended without speaking out for the other. She attacked that dubious premise without hesitation: "It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights."

Nor did Hillary Clinton fall for the usual divide between social and political rights. This kind of doublethink lets some of the delegates raise Cain about discrimination against women without noting the completely equal political repression of both men and women in tyrannies like Communist China. Instead, Hillary Clinton spoke out:

"Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them or denying them their freedom or dignity because of peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions."

Hillary Clinton's plea doesn't sound much different from that of the Chinese students whose government mowed them down six years ago in Tiananmen Square - not far from where she was speaking last week.

One wishes she had mentioned those martyrs specifically, for they had expressed their faith in America, or at least in what America stands for, by proudly erecting their own Statue of Liberty in the square.



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It would also have been a welcome gesture if Hillary Clinton could have brought herself actually to speak the words Taiwan and Tibet in this setting. But considering how far Hillary Clinton has come, and not just in miles, let us cheer what she did have the courage and candor to say at Beijing.

Not that the Chinese people will hear Hillary Clinton's words if their government has its way. Her address wasn't carried on official radio and television. The Chinese delegates in the great hall might have heard her, but all 5,000 of them have been carefully screened by party and government for ideological reliability. Still, some of them will not remain deaf to Ms. Clinton's appeal. Even the best trained human beings may prove susceptible to the attractions of liberty.

A senior Chinese official in attendance had no comment on the first lady's speech, which was prudent. No sense thinking out loud before the government tells one what to think. The silence from Red China's leaders on Hillary Clinton's speech was eloquent; it shouted guilt, shame and fear. Instead of commenting on this highlight of the conference, official propaganda featured an "anti-imperialist" rally against, yes, Uncle Sam.

Spies were everywhere at this conference, and the representatives from various organizations dedicated to human rights remained under close surveillance, both at Beijing and at Huairou some 30 miles away, where delegates from non-governmental organizations were sequestered.

"It is indefensible," as Hillary Clinton noted, that many women who were promised visas to the conference "have not been able to attend" while others have been "prohibited from fully taking part" in the proceedings. It's as if their ideas about the freedom and dignity of all human beings might prove infectious. And they will.

The demonstrators at Huairou were supposed to stay within the conference site, but soon they were moving out into the city. And the familiar strains of "We Shall Overcome" could be heard in the streets.

The crumbling regime on the Chinese mainland seems every bit as afraid of ideas as the already crumbled Soviet Union. Ideas have a tendency to spread. Like life itself. Long before the dawning of freedom in the Soviet empire, Ilya Ehrenburg could see it coming, and why. "If the whole world were to be covered with asphalt," he wrote, "one day a crack would appear in the asphalt, and in that crack grass would grow."

The cracks are already appearing, and widening, in communism's last great redoubt. The world's most populous nation reaches out again for freedom, and one notes with pride that Hillary Clinton of Little Rock, Ark., has done her part to speed the process.

If the administration would adopt Hillary Clinton's tone toward Beijing, rather than truckling to this paper tiger, freedom might come to China all the sooner. Instead, the usual State Department



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types were on hand in Beijing to minimize the impact of her unflinching words. "There is nothing in her speech," the press was assured, that in any way deviates from our approach on China " Uh huh. Try telling that to anyone who heard her. There is still a freedom tide in the world, and last week Hillary Clinton was riding it. Hooray for her.

LOAD-DATE: September 11, 1995



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THE KANSAS CITY STAR

September 10, 1995 Sunday METROPOLITAN EDITION

SECTION: OPINION; Pg. J1

LENGTH: 911 words

HEADLINE: First lady told the truth about human rights abuses

BYLINE: RICH HOOD, Editorial Page Editor

BODY:

Hillary Rodham Clinton made Americans proud last week. America's first lady marched into the heart of brutality-besieged China and denounced that country's grossest human rights abuses.

Clinton made two strong speeches that lacerated a wide range of human rights abuses by China and other countries around the world. In so doing, she won the grudging admiration of some American conservatives who had denounced her attendance there as honorary chairwoman of the American delegation to the international women's conference. She also won praise from liberals delighted to see a strong, proud American woman at the forefront of the battle to improve conditions for women and families all around the globe.

It must have been a bittersweet experience for the constant critics of this highly intelligent, strongly motivated and strong-willed woman.

Some people have never been comfortable with someone as bright, talented and focused as Hillary Clinton at the right hand of the president.

In fact, one conservative activist in Kansas City assessed his fears of the lady from Little Rock before her husband won the White House. "I don't care how many women Bill Clinton has slept with before or after marriage," the conservative said in an interview.

"I care about the woman who will be sleeping beside him in the White House. Hillary is a far bigger problem than Bill ever could be."

Hillary Clinton has been an articulate and compelling advocate for women's causes as she sees them for more than 25 years. She has demonstrated her ability to excel in the male-dominated field of law.

Repeatedly, she has displayed a canny grasp of political strategy.

Time and again - in spite of her most spirited denials - she has evoked rage from conservatives convinced that she supports the rights of children above those of their parents.

She has stumbled, of course, as when she created lame and ever-more-creative stories of how she managed to make a killing from



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the cattle futures market while serving as first lady of Arkansas.

Her denials in the Whitewater scandal are also increasingly harder to believe.

But her most visible and embarrassing pratfall came after she and the president made her czar of an ill-advised and short-sighted overhaul of the nation's health care system. That massive effort was killed by bad timing and too much secrecy and arrogance on the part of Hillary Rodham Clinton and other administration officials.

But that was then, and this is now. Now this country and women the world over owe a serious debt of gratitude to Mrs. Clinton for calmly, courageously and concisely declaring the truth about human rights abuses.

She was absolutely correct to declare: "It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights.

"It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls," she said, "or when women and girls are sold into slavery or prostitution for human greed.

"It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small . . . " or "when thousands of women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war."

In a belated recognition of an abhorrent truth that too many feminists had denied for too long, Mrs. Clinton also chastised China for its policies of female infanticide and forcing women to be sterilized or to submit to abortions, all in the name of limiting its population.

She also criticized China and other totalitarian regimes for repressing free expression by their citizens. "Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them, or denying them their freedom or dignity because of peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions."

Fully in character with their secretive and oppressive regime, Chinese leaders attempted to ignore the first lady's stinging speeches. The first lady's words were blacked out on official Chinese radio and television and not reported in other parts of the Chinese media, pending analysis and official reaction by the Chinese government.

In the early hours after the speeches it was difficult to predict with certainty how the Chinese government would react to being



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criticized so strongly in front of the world. What is known is that China has demonstrated it has a massive talent for misjudging how the world will react to its various atrocities.

Regardless of how Chinese officials react, however, this country has the right to be proud of its first lady for her forthright denunciation of the Chinese and others who systematically abuse women. Stripping aside all the ideological labels, no one can in good conscience defend the types of abuses Hillary Rodham Clinton assailed last week in China.

LOAD-DATE: September 10, 1995



# Suffering Suffragettes! The Equal Rites Awards

BOSTON—We were going to pass up The Equal Rites Award ceremony this year. Normally we pay homage to our foremothers on Aug. 26 by dispensing prizes to those who have done their best in the past year to set back the progress of women.

But this year we were far too busy celebrating the 75th anniversary of suffrage with balloons, speeches, hats and horns and history. We forgot about the present.

When the news spread that we would not hold the annual event, however, our one-woman awards committee was besieged with demands that we reconsider. After all, we were told, we couldn't let the villains of 1995 go, um, unrewarded. The ghost of Susan B. Anthony was appalled at our neglect.

So our committee called an emergency all-night session, poring over the worthy contestants. Now we once again offer up our somewhat belated but heartfelt awards. The envelopes, please.

This year The Battle of the Sexes Blue Ribbon goes to a man who has literally promoted this struggle. It is Don King, who orchestrated Mike Tyson's "Day of Redemption" in Harlem, thereby enshrining the rapist as role model. To Don we award a good haircut and our hopes for a sore loser.

Speaking of losers, The Deadbeat Dad Award will not go to Jeffrey Nichols, the so-called king of deadbeats who owes \$500,000 in child support. His dishonorable mention pales next to David Doucette, who denied paternity of daughter Audrey when her mother sought child support. After the little girl's death, however, he tried to get the father's share of a \$900,000 wrongful death settlement. Is there a DNA code for scum?

The Gender Gap Gavel, designed for the political candidate who's lost his way in the great divide, goes to Phil Gramm. When Sen. Gramm was asked if he'd consider a woman as running

mate, he answered, "Sophia Loren is not a citizen." We will let New Jersey Gov. Christie Whitman deliver this award, upside the head.

## Susan B. Anthony would be appalled.

And while we are in the trenches, we must offer The Double Standard-Bearer prize to Newt Gingrich, whose college history course offers up the news that women are no good at war because they "have biological problems staying in a ditch for 30 days because they get infections . . . while men are basically little piglets." We send Newt several male chauvinist piglets to keep him company.

More biologically and politically incorrect news. This time The Ms-Information Award goes to North Carolina state Rep. Henry Aldridge, who opposed funding for abortions in cases of rape, saying that when women are "truly raped, the juices don't flow; the body functions don't work and they don't get pregnant." We suggest that Aldridge, a 71-year-old periodontist, stick to his gums.

Now to The Domestic Backlash Award. For reasons too painful to describe, we give the prize to the folks who have brought back the girdle. The artifacts of the late, unlamented '50s have been renamed Bodyshapers, Tummy Terminators and Waist Eliminators, but they are designed to keep women in their place. The prize is three days of girdle confinement.

As for The International Backlash Award that has gone in previous years to assorted ayatollahs? This year the winner is Russian ultranationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who propositioned a Canadian reporter and translator. When rejected he said that women who say no

are the "source of war on the planet." To Mr. Z. we send a copy of "Lysistrata."

Back home, we offer our perennial favorite, The Blind Justice Award, to Maryland Judge Robert E. Cahill, who sentenced wife-murderer Kenneth Peacock to a mere 18 months in jail. Peacock killed his wife after finding her in bed with another man. "I shudder to think what I would do," said the sympathetic judge. We shudder to think what he did and send him an eye-opener.

What shall we do for the winners of The Raging Hormonal Imbalance Prize? At a baseball game dedicated to "Strike Out Domestic Violence" in Durham, N.C., 10 ball players—four Warthogs and six Bulls—broke into a free-for-all slugfest. To such role models of male restraint, may we suggest a sample of estrogen.

We nearly retired The Unequal Pay For Equal Work T-shirt. But this year the Democratic National Committee brochure offered high rollers dinner with President Bill for \$100,000 and a meeting with Lady Hillary for \$1,000. We're used to earning 73 cents for every male dollar, but a penny?

Let us not forget those chivalrous, young "knobs" at the Citadel who reacted to Shannon Faulkner's departure with grunts of joy. What shall we give them? A Superstars of Sexism button? No, I have it: 100 women in next year's freshman class.

Ah, but boys will be boys. Or boys will be Martians or whatever. For Gender Spaciousness—it's going around—we pin the ribbon on Sen. Trent Lott. The Republican majority whip, talking about right brain/left brain, male/female politics, said, "I think that we're the party of Mars, but we would like to have the Venus side of American society in our party too." We award him the prize for gender-babble. We deeply hope that by next year, we'll all use both sides of the brain.

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George T. Crane

# Wrong Choice for an Honorary Degree

On Sept. 16, Williams College will dishonor itself by awarding an honorary degree to Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong of Singapore, head of a government that severely represses freedom of expression, a fundamental principle of any American institution of higher education.

Supporters of the award argue that Singapore's economic development of the past three decades has been extraordinary by world standards and that its social development has improved the lives of many residents. Goh, a Williams alumnus, has been a key player in engineering economic policy and is, they contend, worthy of our most prestigious prize. A closer look at the limitations on political and intellectual life imposed upon Singapore by the Ruling People's Action Party (PAP), of which Goh is the head, suggests that prosperity has come at the cost of basic freedoms, a situation that continues in spite of liberalization in other "miracle" economies in East Asia, most notably Taiwan and South Korea. Singaporeans are among the most well educated and cosmopolitan in the region, but the PAP government chooses to repress political dissidents, journalists and academics as a means of retaining power.

Tiananmen-style massacres or middle-of-the-night disappearances are not the style of PAP strong arms. Rather, the Chinese saying "kill a chicken to scare the monkey," is their watchword and the bankrupting libel suit their preferred tool. Prominent leaders of legal opposition parties engaging in constitutionally guaranteed political processes are regularly sued for comments that supposedly defame government officials. The PAP has never lost this sort of court battle, perhaps, as a recent U.S. State Department report stated, because "judicial officials, especially the Supreme Court, have close ties to the ruling party and its leaders." And in case this is not enough to discourage political dissent, the state has in its arsenal the Internal Security Act, which allows for indefinite detention without trial, liberating jailers from any judicial constraints on how they treat those in their clutches. It was used against Francis Seow, former solicitor general of Singapore, in a bizarre 1988 case that alleged his involvement in a plot on the part of Reagan administration diplomats to bring down the authoritarian PAP government.

The Singaporean press is effectively controlled by the state, and foreign publications have been targets of libel suits. This summer a case was settled against the International Herald Tribune,



REUTERS

which had been sued by Prime Minister Goh and former prime minister Lee Kuan Yew for publishing an article asserting that a form of "dynastic politics" was emerging in Singapore. No names were mentioned in the article in question, and it is common knowledge that Lee has long been grooming his son, currently a deputy prime minister, for the highest political office. The Tribune was ordered by a Singaporean court to pay \$680,000 for the supposed defamation. Short of full-blown libel suits, limitations on circulation have been imposed at various times on a variety of foreign publications, including the Economist and the Asian Wall Street Journal. Such actions have a chilling effect on all sorts of speech.

Perhaps most troublesome in regard to whether a liberal arts college should honor Prime Minister Goh is the situation faced by Singaporean intellectuals, whose freedom of expression is severely compromised by the PAP government. Without the protection of academic tenure, some faculty members have lost their jobs because of their criticisms of government policies.

One of the most egregious cases is that of Chee Soon Juan, who was a lecturer in neuropsychology at the National University of Singapore. He was so dismayed at the increased political repression in the late 1980s that he decided to seek public office. In December 1992, he ran as an opposition Social Democratic Party candidate in a by-election against Prime Minister Goh. Although he lost at

the polls, he continued his activism until the university took action against him, auditing his research grant of \$27,000 in Singapore dollars and finding that he had supposedly mispent \$226 (\$137 in U.S. dollars). When he attempted to defend himself, he was sued by the head of his department, a member of Parliament for the ruling party, for defamation. He chose not to contest the case and was forced to sell his house to pay the subsequent fines. Chee was ultimately fired from the university over the matter, punishment for his political activity.

Most academics are not nearly as politically engaged as Chee Soon Juan, but his travails have driven home the message that crossing the government brings devastating consequences. Last year when Biveer Singh, a political scientist at the National University of Singapore, wrote an opinion piece in the Jakarta Post that suggested that economic inequality is now growing in Singapore, he prudently retracted his comments after a government official demanded that he provide more data or "withdraw these allegations." To continue to debate the issues in the face of PAP displeasure would have put his livelihood at risk. Open debate of topics potentially embarrassing to the government is simply not possible in Singapore.

Goh has suggested that he would like to gradually liberalize Singaporean society; he promised a "kinder and gentler" government in his inauguration address in 1990. Whatever his good intentions, however, he has not acted decisively to reduce restrictions on expression. Last year, in response to a measured and mild critique of the PAP, he threatened to hit political dissidents in the "solar plexus." Other leaders in the region have placed their careers, indeed their lives, in jeopardy to open their societies. Goh has not demonstrated this kind of political commitment or courage.

Singapore is not the harshest authoritarian government in the world; indeed, it is far from the worst. One would hope, however, that an honorary degree from an American college would be reserved for those who struggle, at great personal cost, to expand the most humane and enlightening facets of our existence. Goh, sitting atop a political system that seeks to stifle even the mildest critical commentary, is not such a person.

The writer is an associate professor of political science at Williams College.



Amy E. Schwartz

## The Ultimate Teenage Play

If Shakespeare were alive today, would he be writing "Friday the 13th" movies? It's the kind of irreverent question that comes to mind as you watch the teenagers of a troupe called Theater Quest perform "Romeo and Juliet" on the Kennedy Center's vast Opera House stage: In three hours and 10 minutes, a cast of 100 can get in a lot of swordplay, gory death scenes and general running and shrieking. "Romeo and Juliet," you're reminded—in case you've let too long a time lapse between viewings of "West Side Story"—is not just the ultimate teenage angst play but a fabulous smorgasbord of sex and violence.

Nor are such reflections that far off from the more serious message the much-publicized Theater Quest visit was designed to convey. Created in Pasadena in the wake of the 1992 Los Angeles riots, the troupe gives young people of many races a chance to work on the classics with adult coaches and mentors, who give them a "safe place" both to hide from the violent world around them and to think about it and process it intellectually.

The visit to Washington—which the Kennedy Center, Actors Equity and a number of other arts organizations massively subsidized because of their sympathy for the concept—extended the California recipe to collaborate with local youngsters. Interracial casting made explicit the intended link between the 400-year-old perennial favorite and familiar worries about contemporary kids' anomie and loneliness, their vulnerability to the effects of adult hatreds.

But while organizers and advance publicity made much of the updating and the interracial angle, what emerged strikingly from the performance itself was a very different lesson: a reminder of the immediacy not of riot-torn 1990's Los Angeles but of velvet-clad 16th-century Verona. A straight, mostly unembellished reading of a major Shakespeare play, with actual balconies for the balcony scene and actual swords for the sword fights, is no longer something embraced by most stages. As for the Kennedy Center's luxurious big spaces, it's hard to recall a Shakespeare play done there in the last decade at all.

The biggest surprise in the experience is how little the contemporary angle seems to matter—and how little it's needed. Sure, the Capulet family is cast African American and the Montague family mainly Hispanic, but this doesn't amount to much, conceptually, when the whole crowd is dressed in Italian Renaissance robes. Interesting updates and fancy interpretations can be exhilarating, but seeing teenagers do a plain "Romeo and Juliet" in a period setting is something even better: It's reassuring.

Watching a youthful Romeo, suddenly preoccupied, draw off from his horseplaying friends and stand in silent alienation, or a diminutive Juliet cower as her father bullies and hits her, the audience with its crowd of family and friends get to see something rarer than just a play. They see that first clean *smack* of connection with an old work from another time that picks the young actors up, takes them over and carries them bodily into the long ago and far away.

The solid simplicity of it reminded me of something that happened last fall to another young theater troupe I know, the similarly L.A.-based Cornerstone Theater, which works with communities to put on updated versions of the classics. (The troupe played here in December 1993 with a slyly rewritten, Anacostia-set version of "A Christmas Carol.")

Unlike Theater Quest, Cornerstone tends to rework its scripts quite heavily, taking up residence in new towns and getting local people deeply involved in finding equivalent stories for classic works by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Shakespeare and Brecht. Last fall, though—according to my college classmate Bill Rauch, who founded and co-directs the troupe—Cornerstone encountered something truly unexpected. The troupe, like Theater Quest, wanted to work with a community that had suffered interracial strife and violence. Consulting with the residents of a rough L.A. neighborhood who wanted to do the project, Cornerstone came up with the idea of performing a dramatic version of the little-performed Greek story of Philomela, a tale that includes rape, child murder and assorted horrific mutilations.

Then, Rauch says, came the surprise. The community actors who had chosen "Philomena" as relevant refused to change a single word of the original text. Not only did they not want it made more "up to date" in Cornerstone's customary way, they refused even to play the play in contemporary costumes. "They wanted togas," Rauch said, "so that's how we did it. I thought at first maybe they had experienced so much violence in their own lives, they needed to maintain the distance. But who knows?"

Who indeed? Immediacy is a funny thing, and for kids or others on a first encounter, it's oddest of all. We're pretty much past the time by now when educational fashion insisted on making every last lesson "relevant" and setting every play in the present. But we may still be short of facing up to the possibilities of the opposite lesson—that long ago and far away may be nothing of the sort.

*The writer is a member of the editorial page staff.*



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SUNDAY

# San Francisco Chronicle

THE VOICE OF THE WEST

## EDITORIALS

August 27, 1995

# Women's Rights And China's Wrongs

**U**P TO 50,000 women from all over the world, the vast majority of whom are articulate, well-informed, passionately inspired human rights activists, will begin descending on Beijing this week, accompanied by an international army of reporters. Given the conflicting politics of the site and the participants, this could prove the most dramatic — and substantive — conference of the entire two decades of

U.N. world meetings on human development.

*The Women's Conference challenge is to rise above narrow and transitory political obstacles*

Contrary to those who fret that the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women will confer some undeserved respect on the corrupt and repressive all-male Chinese government hosting the meeting, this event is perfectly matched to the venue: a forthright analysis and denunciation of the persistence of the most prevalent form of gross human rights violation — discrimination on the basis of gender — articulated and broadcast to the world from the very capital of one of the world's prime violators of human rights.

Maybe China's gerontocracy, never having attended a rally of women's activists, thought they were hosting a global tea party where polite ladies would discuss home decorating while the media focused on Western business opportunities in Beijing.

Maybe they thought that by denying or

ers, as they have done up to the very last minute, they could control the agenda.

Maybe they thought that by publicly executing a bunch of criminals, as they did recently, they could intimidate any delegates bold enough to ignore their prohibition of unauthorized demonstrations.

And maybe they believed that by removing the 30,000 or so participants in the unofficial forum for nongovernmental organizations — the most likely firebrands — to a site 35 miles from the official forum in Beijing they could keep any unseemly behavior out of media range.

Maybe they were very badly mistaken.

Perhaps they have never met Madeleine K. Albright, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and chairwoman of the U.S. delegation. "I'm not a diplomat. I'm someone who speaks her mind, and I'm not going to mince words in China," she declared last week, promising to speak out against the Chinese birth control policies of sex selection favoring males and forced sterilization.

**W**e trust she will, but we also hope the U.N. Women's Conference does not become a showdown between repressive Chinese bureaucrats and liberated, assertive women. The substantive agenda of the conference — the global pursuit of women's equality in health, education and political and economic opportunity — is more important than the oppressive character of any one government. The challenge at the conference is to rise above narrow and transitory political obstacles, whether they are thrown up by Beijing or the Vatican, and forge an overwhelming consensus on women's rights as human rights the world over.

By sticking to the global agenda, this tea party could prove as revolutionary as the

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JUDY MANN

## A Voice That Won't Be Heard in Beijing

**A**ïcha Lemsine is one of the most famous female writers in the French- and Arab-speaking worlds, having written four books that have been censored, acclaimed and translated into five languages, as well as a newspaper column for *Le Soir d'Algerie* that has been banned by the Algerian government since 1989.

Her husband had been a prominent Algerian diplomat until his career was marginalized because she continued to write about various forms of oppression in Algeria for international publications. In 1984, she was elected Arab Woman of the Year by the Association for Franco-Arab Friendship, based in Paris. That year, the Association of Mediterranean-African Literature gave her the Prize of Mediterranean-African Literature for her book *"Ordalie Des Voix."* Lemsine was the fourth woman to receive the prize since it was created in 1901.

This year, Lemsine was one of 48 writers from 23 countries who received the grants from the estates of Lillian Hellman and Dashiell Hammett that are given each year to writers who have been targets of political persecution. Now living with her daughter in Washington—a temporary haven from the complicated and brutal world of Algerian politics—she is at work on her fifth book. Lemsine is a Muslim, but a feminist one who has always refused to wear a veil. In citing her for the award, Human Rights Watch said she has been "branded a fundamentalist sympathizer by the military dictatorship because she stood up for civil liberties and advocated dialogue with Islamists. . . . Meanwhile, as a result of her advocacy of women's rights, the Islamists have called her 'the most dangerous woman in Algeria.' "

Talk about a no-win position.

Lemsine has been working with a small nongovernmental organization for the last year in an effort to draw the world's attention to the killings of Algerian women—among them writers and journalists—during the last three years. She was supposed to be on a panel on censorship at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, but funding for the trip ran out at the last minute. Here is part of what she wants the world to start paying attention to:

Algeria, she says, "is the only country in the

Middle East and North Africa where women are killed (more than 200 since 1993) because they work, and because they are writers, journalists and resolutely and unabashedly modern."

Women have been killed when they wear a veil and when they don't, she says. Female students have been shot down in the streets, had their throats slit, been kidnapped, raped and murdered. Women have been killed for wearing jeans or skirts. More than 30,000 men also have been cut down by terrorists, she says.

Because they are standard-bearers, she says, female writers are taken as particularly serious threats to fundamentalist, totalitarian regimes that run both political and religious sectors of oppressed Muslim nations. A sample of her description of what is going on in Algeria shows the power of her words: "Algeria today is not Egypt, Palestine or Afghanistan, where the conflicts and stakes are played out in the open, one might say, where Islamists and their adversaries face off in a straightforward war, where loathsome barbarity against women and children is more or less avoided. Algeria is simultaneously Bosnia and Rwanda, with the same ingredients of civil war."

For 19 years, Lemsine worked in an atmosphere of state censorship and physical threats from Muslim extremists, which she would have described in Beijing as "the living hell of Algerian women writers in Algeria. We write under the twin threats of religious fundamentalism and quasi-fascist military regimes. For us, women's issues are issues of survival, our financial resources are nil, and our psychological balance is weakened by fear and anxiety. The alternative is death or exile."

She would urge the Beijing conference to put the plight of persecuted female writers on the agenda of the U.N. Human Rights Commission and to call on governmental organizations to eliminate all forms of censorship, to abolish blasphemy laws and to condemn terrorist acts against women, girls and female intellectuals.

As the world moves in fits and starts toward more democratic forms of government—and toward making women full partners in societies—Aïcha Lemsine is a courageous voice reminding us that there can be no freedom without freedom of the press. It's a message that should be heard loudly and clearly in Beijing.



Ellen Goodman

## China's Unruly Guests

**BOSTON**—For weeks, you might have assumed the entire conference hinged on one woman's travel plans. The itinerary of Hillary Clinton—would she or wouldn't she go to Beijing?—dominated the early news about the U.N.'s Fourth World Conference on Women.

You might have thought the only real issue was the relationship between China and United States. The China question—should we or shouldn't we "reward" them with our presence?—dominated the Sunday talk shows.

For that matter you might have believed that the gathering of 30,000 women from some 180 countries was of importance only for its effect on American presidential politics. Journeying ever-rightward, Bob Dole said the whole event was about inflicting a "left-wing ideological agenda" on the world.

It wasn't until the activist women finally arrived into the chaos of China, until the opening of the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) Forum, that the relationship between the world and its women became more than a political footnote.

The People's Republic of China is as awkward a backdrop for a women's conference as the exploding city of Cairo was for last year's population conference. Geraldine Ferraro, vice-chair of the American delegation, says that when China volunteered to host the meeting, "they thought it would be like the Olympic Games. We'd go in, run our races, and leave."

Instead, for all their ham-handed acts to stifle activists, the Chinese have learned how hard it is to control the message when you have democratic "guests." While the government released 1,000 doves in welcome, 1,000 stories soared across the world about female infanticide, forced abortions and work inequality in a country that holds one-fifth of the world's women.

Nevertheless, the dirty little secret is that China ranks smack in the middle of the United Nation's index of gender equality, just between Guyana and Syria, well below Sweden and well above Afghanistan. On this list are countries where women can't vote, where wife-murder is barely a misdemeanor, where rape is a booty of war and girls are ritually mutilated.

Across the globe, women make up 70 percent of the poor and two-thirds of the illiterate. There are few enough nations where women are equally educated, none where the political structure is made up of equal numbers of men and women. In the United Nations itself, Madeleine Albright is one of only five women ambassadors.

So the "left-wing, ideological agenda" of this two-part conference of grassroots activists and governments is to try and push this man's world another revolution or two on its axis, making it a fairer, safer, place for women.

Officially, the U.N. goal will be to produce a document signed by government delegates that affirms universal rights and goals for all women—no small thing for nations where gender equality is still a dangerous, modern notion. This process of change through consensus can seem agonizingly slow and cumbersome. Yet over time the interaction between activists and governments can make a difference.

Ten years ago, when the last woman's conference met in Nairobi, the issues of domestic abuse and female genital mutilation were barely on the world's agenda. Two years ago in Vienna, the United Nations recognized women's rights as human rights for the first time, and violence against women was defined as a violation of human rights. Just last year, the world agreed that a plan to control population depended on educating women.

Now in Beijing, amid the wrestling over diplomatic words, the subjects range across women's lives. The talk is about violence, about human rights abuses, about access to education and credit and medical care, about legally recognizing women as equals to men before the law, even in divorce and child custody.

No document can overhaul a culture where the right of inheritance is regarded as an assault on religious teaching or where genital mutilation is defended as a tradition. But it becomes a lever for change, a signed flag to wave before a recalcitrant government. The activists return to their grass roots carrying proof of the world's support in their suitcases like a combustible souvenir. So do the 7,000 Chinese "observers."

"This conference," says Albright, head of the American delegation, "deals with a woman as an actor in her own life. . . . It's about having the education she wants and marrying whom she wants and planning her family and her work. . . . It's about the whole picture of women and what we can do in the world when our talents are freed up."

Today in China, a baby girl may still be a cause for disappointment or infanticide. Meanwhile, even in America, the most high-profile woman in political life is still the wife of a president. Everywhere you look, the "whole picture" of women is due for enlargement.

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*Sabrina Corlette*

THE BOSTON GLOBE • WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 30, 1995

# For Mrs. Clinton, new dilemma

By Charles A. Radin  
GLOBE STAFF

**News Analysis** **BEIJING** — Now that China's release of the Chinese-American activist Harry Wu has cleared the way for Hillary Rodham Clinton to represent the United States at next week's Fourth World Conference on Women, American policy makers face an even thornier issue.

What should she say?

If Mrs. Clinton does not mention such hot human-rights issues as prison labor, forced abortions and abuses of Tibetans, the administration will leave itself open to attack from critics both at home and within the strong alliance of international human rights groups gathering here for the conference.

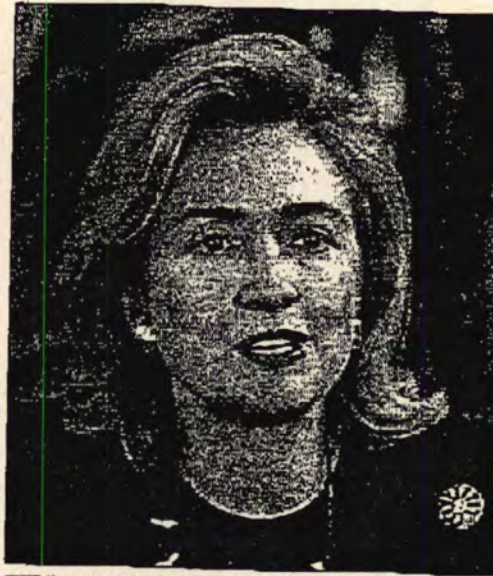
If she does take on those subjects, observers here say, her speech may be seen by the Chinese government as a deliberate irritation of an already troubled relationship.

US-China relations have been chilly since China crushed its domestic prodemocracy movement in 1989, and have nosedived as a result of a spate of nasty disputes over Taiwan, trade, human rights and arms sales.

But in recent days, according to diplomats and other observers, things are looking up.

Wu, whom the Chinese arrested and convicted on spying charges, is back home. China's ambassador, recalled at the height of Chinese fury over Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui's visit to the United States, is expected back in Washington soon.

For the moment, no missiles are flying over the Taiwan Strait, and the Clinton administra-



HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
Thoughts for China on rights?

tion has chosen not to make a major issue of reports that China has been selling missiles to Pakistan. There is no pending economic crisis.

Washington, moreover, is holding out the possibility of President Clinton's inviting Chinese President Jiang Zemin to a summit conference — a diplomatic card that may be worth something to China, since the United States is the only nation where a ban on receiving Chinese leaders due to the 1989 repression remains in force.

Nevertheless, the US-China relationship is a long way from good health.

Resentment smolders here over the US

Senate's opposition to the Olympics being held in China and over American objections to Chinese entry into the World Trade Organization.

There is an abiding feeling, in the media and the general public as well as in elite circles, that the US is moving toward a policy of "containing" China — which to the Chinese means preventing their country from attaining its natural and deserved place in the world. And the Chinese got nowhere with their demand that the US promise not to allow the Taiwan's Lee to visit again.

To the distress of the Chinese, Clinton has indicated his desire to nominate former Tennessee Sen. James Sasser, a sharp critic of China when he was in the Senate, as the next US ambassador to Beijing. To the distress of the Americans, China has not agreed to accept him, meaning the US mission here could continue without a formal leader for the indefinite future.

There is, however, some optimism among observers here who believe the Chinese are moving away from their extreme anger over the Lee visit and toward a more pragmatic approach to the United States.

"How long can you stay mad at the US? For decades," says a veteran observer here. "But there are big costs, and the Chinese have a lot of business to do with the Americans."

It is in this delicate and subtly shifting situation that Mrs. Clinton's speech must be delivered. What she will say — and how the Chinese will react to it — have emerged as the first unexpected political issue of the women's conference.

LE COAT SALE



# Forums' value: Waste of money or time to bond?

By Marilyn Greene  
USA TODAY

As 50,000 delegates arrive in China for a pair of conferences to study issues of relevance to women, the very purpose of such international gatherings is in question.

Conservatives like Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., and Rep. Christopher Smith, R-N.J., see U.S. participation as a waste of taxpayer money at best, a sign of political weakness at worst.

Actress Sally Field, a delegate to a non-governmental forum meeting today, says she's sometimes challenged by people who ask if conferences achieve any results.

"Well, we have to start with a step," she says she tells them. "One step at a time."

Says U.S. Ambassador Madeleine Albright, head of the 47-member U.S. delegation: "There is a bonding aspect that's part of what is important."

International Women's Health Coalition president Joan Dunlop calls it a "commonality of feeling."

Women with experience at the past three conferences in Mexico City, Copenhagen and Nairobi say the real work is done person-to-person, not in documents like the 121-page Platform for Action. That's a non-binding package of goals delegates will argue over for days, then try to get their governments to adopt.

Fuzzy buzzwords like "bonding," "networking" and "support" crop up around the edges of debate on the usefulness of such gatherings.

"The real work goes on in the hallways, not in the forum. That's why they're worth every dime," says Susan Tol-

chin, a George Washington University public administration professor. "The personal relationships they develop that grow into professional and political relationships are critical," she says.

But Tolchin says tangible results are hard to quantify. "The conferences are valuable in many senses, but I don't think a cost-benefit analysis lends itself to them."

Still others cite the conference goal as setting an international agenda for action.

Tom Morgan, president of the United Nations Association of the United States, says international conferences like the one in Beijing are "almost completely positive in their effect. The question is, how long the effect lasts."

People are still talking about the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, for example, he says, while last year's Copenhagen conference on social development "made some news, but didn't have much carryover."

Social scientists would find it difficult to trace government policy back to U.N. recommendations, which are purely advisory.

And since U.N. documents are designed to be inoffensive to their signatories, they contain language that offers an escape hatch for countries where notions of equality are tempered by cultural or religious traditions.

The conference will be good for women, "on paper," says James Lilley, former U.S. ambassador to China.

"It will produce a great outpouring of words, and there'll be lots of talk. Whether any country will change its policies on women remains to be seen."

USA TODAY • WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 30, 1995

## Forum and conference to overlap

These conferences on women convene in China:

► The Non-Governmental Organization Forum, a conference of advocacy groups with concerns about women. It meets today through Sept. 8 in Huairou, 38 miles northeast of Beijing. Critics say China wants to prevent Beijing residents from seeing possible demonstrations staged by delegates.

► The U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women is held Sept. 4-15 in Beijing. First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, honorary head of the U.S. delegation, is there Sept. 5-6.

Issues include poverty, education, violence against women, economic opportunities, human rights and discrimination.

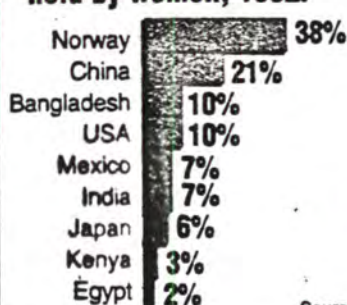
## The status of the world's women

Women still lag behind men in wages, literacy and in politics, even in developed nations. Some indicators of how women are faring:

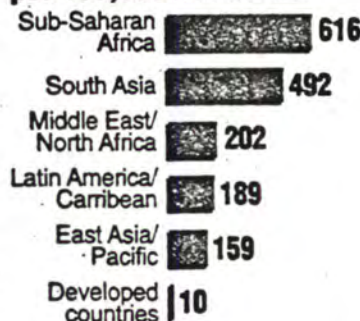
### Amount women earn for every dollar men earn



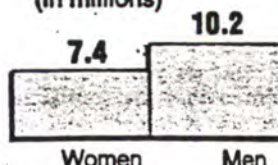
### National legislature seats held by women, 1992:



### Maternal deaths per 100,000 live births:



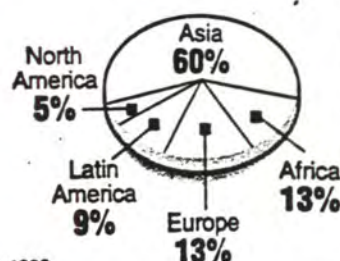
### Adults living with HIV or AIDS, 1995:



### Illiteracy in developing countries, people 15 and older:



### Where 2.8 billion women live, 1995



Source: PRB Media Guide to Women's Issues 1995

By Marcia Staimer, USA TODAY



# Hillary trip validates China rights abuses

BETHESDA, Md. — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is heading for Beijing to attend the U.N.'s Fourth World Conference on Women, apparently with a clear conscience now that human-rights activist Harry Wu is safely back in the United States after being held more than two months in a Chinese jail.

But the criticisms of Mrs. Clinton's participation in the Beijing conference are likely to intensify. Is this just more Hillary-bashing with a partisan edge? Or is there a legitimate reason to protest the participation of the president's wife at a conference on this subject — women's rights — in this particular place — the People's Republic of China?

From the beginning, the White House has been tone-deaf on

the issue, failing to understand what all the fuss was about. But imagine what the public reaction would have been had Nancy Reagan or Barbara Bush agreed to go to South Africa for a conference on racism during the 1980s. Make no mistake, the Chinese government's abuse of women's fundamental human rights is as pernicious as South Africa's apartheid racial policies.

Two reports issued this month by the New York-based Human Rights in China, an international rights group founded in 1989 by Chinese scientists and scholars, document appalling violations.

The worst case is China's missing females — the 5% of female

babies, about one-half million each year, who are either aborted, abandoned or killed at or shortly after birth. The HRIC report blames China's infamous "one-child" population-control policy as the underlying cause of this demographic nightmare.

Beijing has never been able to convince rural Chinese voluntarily to limit their family size to one or two children. Instead, the government relies on a system of forced cooperation.

In rural villages, population-control officials publicly post the menstrual cycles of every female of childbearing age to monitor enforcement. Sterilization and the use of unsafe steel intrauterine devices are the most common methods of birth control.

If a woman becomes pregnant after she has already given birth to a child, she must have an abortion. Many women try to hide their unsanctioned pregnancies. But they are often caught anyway, leading to shocking consequences.

One woman described to HRIC what happened to her when she was over eight months pregnant:

"I was held down on the operation table. One doctor injected through my belly into my uterus formaldehyde liquid. ... Forty-eight hours later ... I gave birth to a live boy. He had heart beats, there was some noise in his throat. He had a big head and lovely legs and arms ... but the doctors immediately killed him while I watched helplessly. They then took him out to be thrown away."

HRIC isn't alone in documenting such horror stories.

In the September issue of *Reader's Digest*, a Chinese gynecologist who escaped from China tells of one hospital in which she worked where survivors of late-term abortions were often buried alive.

It's impossible to take seriously any women's rights conference held in a country where mothers' and their babies' rights are so grotesquely violated. Or to justify the participation in that conference of America's first lady.

COUNTERPOINTS' four columnists provide views from diverse perspectives on today's issues. Thursday: Susan Estrich on the Menendez retrial. Mondays: Tony Snow. Tuesdays: Michael Gartner. Wednesdays: Linda Chavez.



## COUNTERPOINTS

By Linda Chavez



# A Forum on Women Is Vexed By Chinese Security Officials

By PATRICK E. TYLER **A1**

HUAIROU, China, Aug. 29 — Just after dawn today, a senior staff member of an international women's forum assembling here left her hotel room for stroll around Huairou reservoir, where the mist-shrouded Fragrant Hills loomed to the west and the morning light caught delicate pagodas in silhouette.

A Chinese policeman stepped into her path and ordered her back to her room.

Later in the day, another senior official of the forum, a gathering parallel to the Fourth World Conference on Women, found men with walkie-talkies going through her belongings. When she challenged them, they said they were in her room to pick up the laundry.

In the final day of preparation for the opening of the forum of nongovernmental organizations, known as the N.G.O. forum, Beijing was awash in recriminations over China's management of this mammoth meeting.

"It has been a very long day," said Colleen McCabe, a spokeswoman for the forum, which has attracted nearly 30,000 women to this distant suburb of Beijing.

After a long struggle to get here, most of the women in the forum have hotel rooms, but many are running short of patience.

"A lot of people have been searched," Ms. McCabe said, "and I've had at least a thousand questions from journalists about where and where the demonstrations are going to begin," she said.

The reason for the questions is that many of the women arriving here are angry. The Chinese Govern-

*Continued on Page A10, Column 1*

*Continued From Page A1*

ment held up some visas; denied visas to hundreds, perhaps thousands, of others; separated the nongovernmental forum from the main United Nations conference, which is an hour away in Beijing, and generally treated this convocation of women's advocacy groups as a hostile force invading China.

Perhaps because of the mood, the Government tried to impose some last-minute limitations on public expression.

At a morning press conference, Tian Qiyu, China's Vice Minister for Public Security, acknowledged the longstanding agreement that women could demonstrate on the land that had been made available to the United Nations.

But, he added, referring to the forum site here: "Within the designated area, relevant organizations can have processions and demonstrations, but these activities should not infringe upon the sovereignty of the host country and should not attack or slander the state leaders of the host country, nor shall such activities be allowed in which violence is taking place against other persons."

Mr. Tian's statement, made in Beijing, reverberated through Huairou within hours, further agitating many of the women preparing their agen-

## *Miles from the World Conference in Beijing, a parallel session is harried.*

da for the United Nations conference, which runs from Sept. 4 to 15 in Beijing.

After all, they say, China actively pursued the opportunity to play host to the conference to begin with.

But in recent months China has arrested dissidents, pushed migrant workers out of Beijing, rounded up prostitutes and the homeless and executed dozens of people around the country in what was described as a law and order crackdown. The action was an echo of the kind of rough justice that marked the period when the International Olympic Committee was considering Beijing as a site for the 2000 games.

Amnesty International, which was allowed into China for the first time in the history of the human rights group, denounced the campaign of arrests and repression that preceded the conference, including the execution of 16 people.

Pierre Sane, the secretary general of the organization, said, "We have heard virtually every excuse from Governments to justify human rights violations, but this is simply unbelievable; to welcome the world to Beijing, people must die?"

A Chinese Government spokesman, Chen Jian, retorted later, "Amnesty International is an organization that has always harbored deep prejudices against China, and its allegations are groundless."

"We didn't do those things they claimed," Mr. Chen said. The executions were reported earlier in a Beijing newspaper controlled by the Communist Party.

In the afternoon, Mr. Chen amended the statement of the Public Security official, saying, "These two conferences are U.N. conferences, and the place where these conferences are held are U.N.-designated premises."

But he added, "Any organization or individuals attending the World Conference on Women should not use it as an opportunity to interfere in China's internal affairs. All activities outside these areas must abide by Chinese laws and regulations."

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 30, 1995



1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1995 The Times Mirror Company  
Los Angeles Times

August 26, 1995, Saturday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 712 words

HEADLINE: FIRST LADY GOING TO CHINA DESPITE GOP OBJECTIONS

BYLINE: By JIM MANN, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will travel to China to attend the World Conference on Women early next month despite calls from Republican leaders for the United States to boycott the event, the White House said Friday.

The announcement came the day after China's decision to release American human rights activist Harry Wu and to expel him from the country, where he had been imprisoned since June. Mrs. Clinton had delayed a decision on whether to go to the Beijing conference while Wu was jailed.

The First Lady will serve as honorary chair of the American delegation, and Administration officials said she plans to address the conference during her two-day stay in Beijing. Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, heads the U.S. delegation.

White House officials said Mrs. Clinton will participate only in the women's conference and will have no official contact with the Chinese government while in Beijing.

"She does not plan any bilateral meetings (with Chinese officials), although she may perhaps meet with members of the Chinese delegation to the conference," said White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry.

From the beginning, the question of whether the First Lady would attend the conference has been primarily one of political symbolism. And the decision to go to Beijing represents a gamble that the risks of appearing to be too conciliatory to China will be outweighed by the gains of underscoring the Administration's differences with conservative groups in America on women's and family issues.

Republican leaders, including Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas and Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas, have opposed any official U.S. participation at the Beijing women's conference, not only by Mrs. Clinton but by any other American representatives.

"I would hope and urge that, in the wake of Harry Wu's unjust conviction and subsequent release, President Clinton declines to send a delegation," Dole said in a statement issued Thursday. "This misguided conference and its left-wing ideological agenda remains a genuine waste of the taxpayer's money."



Los Angeles Times, August 26, 1995

Gramm said Friday: "The only proper American response to the release of Harry Wu is to say, 'It's about time,' not, 'Take my wife, please.' "

\*

On the political right in America, activists and commentators have denounced the Beijing conference because they believe it will push a feminist agenda. James Dobson of Focus on the Family has attacked the session as "the most radical, atheistic and anti-family crusade in the history of the world."

By contrast, in a statement released by the White House while President Clinton was vacationing in Yellowstone National Park, the Administration said that the Beijing meeting "presents a significant opportunity to chart further gains in the status of women."

Citing the importance of protecting the rights of women, strengthening families and improving health care, the statement said, "The First Lady's attendance reflects the profound commitment of the United States to ensure that the conference endorses all of these goals."

Originally, Administration officials had sketched out an Asia trip for Mrs. Clinton that included stops in Mongolia, Thailand and Cambodia, as well as China.

But White House officials said Friday that she will travel only to Beijing, attending the women's conference on Sept. 5 and 6.

Mrs. Clinton has made it clear for months that she would like to attend the conference. The diplomacy with China leading up to Friday's announcement dates back to early August, when Secretary of State Warren Christopher met with Chinese Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in Brunei. At that time, Administration officials said they hoped that Wu might be set free before the women's conference.

After Christopher returned from Asia, he and Deputy National Security Adviser Samuel Berger met with Mrs. Clinton at the White House. What they said is unknown, but within a day, White House officials sent out word that Mrs. Clinton might not go to China after all. By the end of the week, Chinese authorities had scheduled Wu's trial, opening the way for him to be convicted and then expelled from the country.

\* WHAT PRICE WU'S FREEDOM?: China likely to seek U.S. concessions on Taiwan.  
A6

GRAPHIC: Photo, A Chinese worker spruces up a stand in Beijing promoting the World Conference on Women. Associated Press

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: August 27, 1995



1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company  
The New York Times

August 22, 1995, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 15; Column 1; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 640 words

HEADLINE: Women's Rights, Human Rights

BYLINE: By Geraldine A. Ferraro; Geraldine A. Ferraro, a lawyer, is a member of the delegation to the United Nations Conference on Women.

BODY:

Voices are growing louder in Washington against American participation in the United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing next month. Powerful Republicans say Hillary Rodham Clinton's participation would lend credibility to a repressive regime. They say Washington should refuse to send a delegation at all, to punish China for its human rights record.

Yet the American delegation, led by Madeleine Albright, the chief American representative at the United Nations, should hold firm. This conference, along with parallel meetings of grass-roots organizations, is expected to be the largest international meeting in history. The issue it will address is not women's rights but human rights: they are the same thing.

China's detention of the American activist Harry Wu is appalling, and Washington is correct to make his release a top priority. But boycotting altogether to protest his arrest will only be counterproductive. Whether or not Mrs. Clinton chooses to attend, the presence of the United States at the meeting is essential.

Women in China and around the world are demanding that their governments take action against rape, genital mutilation, wife-burning, domestic violence, the enslavement of children and forced abortions. They are tired of authorities at the national and local levels who pretend these crimes don't exist or justify outrageous abuses of women by attributing them to "cultural practices."

Women want their governments to stop treating them as third-class citizens, denying them equality with men before the courts, in property law, education, health care and politics. The Beijing conference will remind its hosts and the more than 180 participating governments that in 1993 in Vienna, at the World Conference on Human Rights, they agreed that women are human -- that abuse of women is an abuse of human rights.

At last year's United Nations Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, the world's governments affirmed that educating women and girls and increasing their options in life are the single best investments any country can make.

In Beijing, debate will focus on how to convert these fine ideas into reality. The draft document for this meeting says that on critical issues such as population growth, poverty, famine, the spread of AIDS, domestic violence, illiteracy, women's rights have already been recognized as key to getting



The New York Times, August 22, 1995

these problems under control.

"Weren't the last three conferences enough?" some bureaucrats mutter.  
"Weren't the Cairo conclusions satisfactory?"

Well-meaning sympathizers say change will have to come slowly.

Human rights defenders like Harry Wu who dare to speak out against dictatorships hear that excuse in their prison cells. And women have heard it for centuries. They don't want to hear it all over again, and that will be the message if the Beijing conference is disrupted for narrow political reasons.

This will be certainly be the case if the United States does not send a delegation to this conference. Those who are pushing for Washington to boycott are trying to keep away the leader in the United Nations on human rights in China and human rights for women. We cannot afford to take a chance that the world will back away from the agreements reached in Cairo and in Vienna the year before.

That's what the Chinese Government wants. We owe it to the world's women to attend, especially the 5,000 Chinese women who are planning to be there. They will return to their cities and villages to spread the word about problems that are taboo in public discussion -- coerced abortion, female infanticide, forced sterilization, domestic violence.

If the American delegation fails to go to Beijing, who wins? Not Harry Wu. Not women. Not the United States. Only China's hard-liners will have reason to cheer if we stay home.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: August 22, 1995



4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1995 The Washington Post  
The Washington Post

August 27, 1995, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A20

LENGTH: 1536 words

HEADLINE: WOMEN'S WORK: NEW OPTIONS; Debating Focus of Conference;  
Traditionalists Want Motherhood Stressed

BYLINE: Laurie Goodstein, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

The controversy over whether China is an appropriate host for the fourth United Nations World Conference on Women has masked deeper divisions over the focus of the conference itself: the question of what the world's women most need to improve their lives in the 21st century.

Christian conservative and "family values" groups active on the religious right in this country are mounting an unprecedented campaign to assert their agenda internationally by making their voices heard at the Beijing meeting. As traditionalists, their stated priority is raising the status of motherhood, and they have clashed at pre-conference meetings with feminists focused on bolstering women as breadwinners.

These conservative groups sat largely on the sidelines during last year's Cairo conference on population and development, watching while the Vatican and some Muslim countries sought to hold the line against abortion rights and creeping secularism in the international arena.

At the upcoming conference, "I want to make sure that womanhood is not changed to be something that was never intended for women, and by that I mean taking away any of the honor and respect toward motherhood," said Beverly LaHaye, founder and president of the conservative group Concerned Women for America, who is leading a delegation to Beijing. "We're proud to be mothers and we want to make sure that all over the world women can carry that same pride."

By contrast, members of the official American delegation say they want "to see that economic opportunity for women is expanded," said Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky, deputy chair of the U.S. delegation to the conference and a former Democratic congresswoman from Pennsylvania.

Citing various studies, Mezvinsky said that when women go to work, they spend far more of their earnings on their families' welfare than men do. When she lists her goals for the conference, Mezvinsky talks of "strengthening families" by increasing loans to woman entrepreneurs, creating flexible work hours and encouraging men to participate in child care.

The conference is expected to produce a "Platform for Action" that, while not binding on any government, will be a set of guidelines that citizens in each country can theoretically use to hold their governments accountable. About one-third of the language in the draft version of the platform has been "bracketed" in pre-conference meetings -- signaling that one country or



The Washington Post, August 27, 1995

another objects to it.

The final language could have an impact on countries debating their domestic policies on issues such as prostitution, reproductive health care, property ownership for women and treatment of rape victims.

The wrangling over that platform will be conducted in two separate but related forums -- one for representatives of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that begins Wednesday in the town of Huairou, a 1 1/2-hour drive from Beijing, and one for official government delegations that runs Sept. 4-15 in Beijing. It is the government delegations -- representing about 180 countries -- that must approve the platform.

Both forums have become the target of intense political and diplomatic tugs-of-war. Human rights groups have accused the Chinese government of selectively refusing visas to NGOs that have criticized China's policies on Tibet, environmentalism or nuclear testing. China also has been accused of trying to mute the influence of the NGOs by locating their forum so far from the official Beijing meeting.

In addition, some Republican members of Congress -- including Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) -- have said it would be a mistake for first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, the U.S. delegation's honorary chair, to attend the official forum. They have said her attendance, even for a day, would send a signal to the Chinese government that the United States is not concerned about China's human rights violations.

Other Republicans, such as Rep. Christopher H. Smith (R-N.J.), have called for the entire U.S. delegation to boycott the conference. The release from prison and expulsion this past week of human rights activist Harry Wu have not led critics to temper those calls.

Timothy Wirth, undersecretary of state for global affairs, said the loudest voices calling for a U.S. boycott on human rights grounds belong to those who oppose the goals of the women's conference anyway.

"There are conservative groups who do not believe in a focus on women's health issues, who do not believe in the rights and responsibilities of women . . . who do not believe in the United Nations, and they're using Beijing as an excuse for their opposition," he said.

James Dobson, president of Focus on the Family, a conservative Christian organization based in Colorado Springs, has called the women's conference "the most radical, atheistic and anti-family crusade in the history of the world." In an eight-page letter sent to 2 million members on the group's mailing list, Dobson says "most of what Christianity stands for will be challenged during this atheistic conference."

The outrage of Dobson and other conservative Christian leaders is based on their general suspicion of most initiatives endorsed by the Clinton administration and on their interpretation of sections of the conference's Platform for Action. In their reading of the draft document, men are seen as oppressors, marriage is an exploitative arrangement, homosexuality is not only tolerated but favored, sexual promiscuity and abortion are promoted and religion is regarded as backward and primitive.



The Washington Post, August 27, 1995

"When the word 'family' is referred to in the document, most often it is in the sense of a negative, like when they say that most violence takes place in families," LaHaye said. "But the majority of families are a beautiful place to be, and most are safe havens."

Responded Mezvinsky: "This is a document that's trying to solve problems. Are we going to, in this document that's already 121 pages, explain what works in families? We are not. What we are trying to do is make policy that will help address the problems."

Susan Sechler, director of the Pew Global Stewardship Initiative, an NGO attending the conference, said: "I think a lot of these family values groups, like Concerned Women for America, spend most of their time in the U.S. thinking about the U.S., so some of what they react to comes from naivete about what's happening to family throughout the world."

But LaHaye responded that she is familiar with the international context because Concerned Women has ministries in Costa Rica and Nicaragua giving out small loans to men to start small shoe repair and fishing businesses.

Members of the U.S. delegation say they are primarily concerned that these conservative groups will attempt to undermine the consensus on such sticky issues as abortion and birth control reached at the population conference last year. Despite intense controversy surrounding that conference, 184 countries, including Vatican City, ultimately agreed to the plan of action adopted there.

The language on abortion, for example, said that "in no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning," but that where abortion is legal it should be safe. Few official delegations, including the Vatican's, say they want to reopen the battle over abortion language at the Beijing conference.

In contrast to the overt hostility between Vatican and U.S. diplomats at the Cairo conference, "we have had a very constructive relationship with the Vatican this time around," Wirth said. "I have seen no indication in discussion with their delegates that we ought to look forward to anything but a cooperative approach in Beijing."

Annette Kane, executive director of the National Council of Catholic Women, agreed. After attending a White House session on the Beijing conference, she said the U.S. delegation "seems very interested in trying to let those problems that surfaced at Cairo be put behind us."

But the Vatican will find common cause with some of the conservative Christian groups attending the NGO conference. Vatican spokesman Joaquin Navarro-Valls told a news briefing in Rome last month that while the draft platform for Beijing makes some positive efforts to promote women's equality and dignity, it reflects the social philosophy of secular feminists from Western countries on many issues.

Maternity and family life "are given scarce attention and little space," Navarro-Valls said. "The fundamental right to be mothers" must be legally guaranteed to all women.

U.N. FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN



The Washington Post, August 27, 1995

What: About 6,000 delegates from at least 150 countries are to adapt strategies to improve the lives of women.

Where: Beijing, China's capital, a city of more than 7 million people.

When: Begins Sept. 4 and runs through Sept. 15.

NONGOVERNMENTAL

ORGANIZATIONS' FORUM

ON WOMEN

What: A gathering of more than 2,000 nongovernmental organizations, known as NGOs, the forum will run in parallel with the U.N. Women's Conference. About 36,000 women have expressed intention to attend.

Where: Huairou, a dusty farm town 35 miles from Beijing.

When: Begins Wednesday and runs through Sept. 8.

GRAPHIC: Photo, afp; Illustration, brad wye, A worker repaints tables and chairs at the main outdoor meeting area for the parallel forum of nongovernmental organizations to be held in Huairou.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: August 27, 1995



15TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1995 The Washington Post  
The Washington Post

August 18, 1995, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; Pg. A24

LENGTH: 424 words

HEADLINE: Mrs. Clinton to China?

BODY:

MRS. CLINTON is reported to have a "passionate desire" to attend the United Nations' world conference on women. Under different circumstances, it might be a good idea for her to go; she can be a highly effective advocate. But as things now stand, we think it would be a mistake. The conference is being held in China early next month, and her presence could only indicate that the United States is not serious in its objections to China's violations of human rights.

That's exactly why the Chinese want Mrs. Clinton to come. You can safely assume that there's a process of bargaining now going on over the terms of her attendance. But unless China is prepared to make fundamental changes in its conduct -- a highly unlikely prospect -- this year is not the time for Mrs. Clinton to see Beijing.

The Chinese government continues to hold an American citizen, Harry Wu, who has infuriated it by courageously exposing its use of prison labor. But Mr. Wu's case is not the only official injustice in China, nor the most egregious. Suppose the Chinese offered to trade Mr. Wu's release for Mrs. Clinton's visit. She ought to refuse that one flatly. The deal would be too cynical, and too heedless of the hundreds of thousands of incarcerated Chinese whom Mr. Wu has risked his life to help.

Two arguments have been advanced in favor of Mrs. Clinton's attending the conference. The State Department said, "It's a conference that's not about China. It's a conference that's about women." That is obtuse. The location makes the two subjects inseparable, even aside from the reality that fully one-fifth of the world's women are Chinese. Another idea is that there would be a special value in sending such a prominent supporter of human rights to a country with little regard for them. But other visitors' attempts to try public exhortation have generally left matters worse than before.

The United States is sending a strong delegation in any case. It will be headed by the extremely able Madeleine K. Albright, the ambassador to the United Nations. She will be accompanied by Donna E. Shalala, the secretary of Health and Human Services, and possibly by Carol M. Browner, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. That would be three members of the Cabinet, more than enough to demonstrate this country's interest in the subject of the conference.

The women's conference will take up a wide range of questions that interest Mrs. Clinton greatly. But she will have other, and better, opportunities to pursue them.



*Sabrina Corlette*

THE BOSTON GLOBE • WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 30, 1995

# For Mrs. Clinton, new dilemma

By Charles A. Radin  
GLOBE STAFF

**News Analysis**  
**BEIJING** — Now that China's release of the Chinese-American activist Harry Wu has cleared the way for Hillary Rodham Clinton to represent the United States at next week's Fourth World Conference on Women, American policy makers face an even thornier issue.

What should she say?

If Mrs. Clinton does not mention such hot human-rights issues as prison labor, forced abortions and abuses of Tibetans, the administration will leave itself open to attack from critics both at home and within the strong alliance of international human rights groups gathering here for the conference.

If she does take on those subjects, observers here say, her speech may be seen by the Chinese government as a deliberate irritation of an already troubled relationship.

US-China relations have been chilly since China crushed its domestic prodemocracy movement in 1989, and have nosedived as a result of a spate of nasty disputes over Taiwan, trade, human rights and arms sales.

But in recent days, according to diplomats and other observers, things are looking up.

Wu, whom the Chinese arrested and convicted on spying charges, is back home. China's ambassador, recalled at the height of Chinese fury over Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui's visit to the United States, is expected back in Washington soon.

For the moment, no missiles are flying over the Taiwan Strait, and the Clinton administra-



**HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**  
**Thoughts for China on rights?**

tion has chosen not to make a major issue of reports that China has been selling missiles to Pakistan. There is no pending economic crisis.

Washington, moreover, is holding out the possibility of President Clinton's inviting Chinese President Jiang Zemin to a summit conference — a diplomatic card that may be worth something to China, since the United States is the only nation where a ban on receiving Chinese leaders due to the 1989 repression remains in force.

Nevertheless, the US-China relationship is a long way from good health.

Resentment smolders here over the US

Senate's opposition to the Olympics being held in China and over American objections to Chinese entry into the World Trade Organization.

There is an abiding feeling, in the media and the general public as well as in elite circles, that the US is moving toward a policy of "containing" China — which to the Chinese means preventing their country from attaining its natural and deserved place in the world. And the Chinese got nowhere with their demand that the US promise not to allow the Taiwan's Lee to visit again.

To the distress of the Chinese, Clinton has indicated his desire to nominate former Tennessee Sen. James Sasser, a sharp critic of China when he was in the Senate, as the next US ambassador to Beijing. To the distress of the Americans, China has not agreed to accept him, meaning the US mission here could continue without a formal leader for the indefinite future.

There is, however, some optimism among observers here who believe the Chinese are moving away from their extreme anger over the Lee visit and toward a more pragmatic approach to the United States.

"How long can you stay mad at the US? For decades," says a veteran observer here. "But there are big costs, and the Chinese have a lot of business to do with the Americans."

It is in this delicate and subtly shifting situation that Mrs. Clinton's speech must be delivered. What she will say — and how the Chinese will react to it — have emerged as the first unexpected political issue of the women's conference.

**LE COAT SALE**



# Women's Forum In China Opens Amid Disputes

THE WASHINGTON POST  
THURSDAY, AUGUST 31, 1995

By Steven Mufson  
Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIJING, Aug. 30—As a torch was passed from hand to hand and a performer sang a song called "Keep on Moving Forward," more than 15,000 women cheered the opening today of the Nongovernmental Organizations Forum on Women amid controversies over visas, venues and Chinese restrictions on demonstrations by participants.

At the opening ceremony in a Beijing stadium, Chinese performers put on a variety show that featured orange-clad dancers with yellow and green pompoms, a 126-piece all-female Chinese orchestra playing Beethoven's "Ode to Joy," thousands of balloons, Beijing opera, women carrying plaster doves and members of the Song & Dance Ensemble of the general political department of the Chinese army.

"Look at the world through women's eyes—look and act," said Supatra Masdit, a Thai politician in charge of the meeting of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). "The women's movement will go forward into the next century with higher spirits and . . . will help create a new and democratic relationship for humankind."

A rallying call was issued in six languages: "Let us celebrate women's power—our strength."

Thursday marks the beginning of more than 10 days of workshops and assemblies to be held in the Beijing suburb of Huairou for delegates from organizations concerned about women's issues. They hope to influence a "program of action" document that is to be debated and issued by governmental representatives at the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women that starts Monday.

"There is enormous potential for putting pressure on governments and institutions to change," said Bella Abzug, the former New York City congresswoman who now helps run the Women's Environment & Development Organization.

The NGO Forum is offering participants a dizzying choice of events—5,000 workshops and panels on subjects ranging from "Sexism and the Buddhist Religion" to "Women's Empowerment" and "Cooking With Sunshine: A Global Strategy." Other sessions will deal with human rights in China, women's banking, affirmative action and family planning.

Though most of the sessions will focus on the problems women confront around the world, today's cere-

See CHINA, A26, Col. 4

## CHINA, From A26

mony was a well-orchestrated celebration beneath a blimp that read: "Equality Development Peace Friendship." The performances took place against a giant cutout of a woman who appears to be bravely turned toward a strong headwind. "The Goddess of Joy is holy and pure, and the good earth is bathed in the brilliance of the sun," the Chinese program notes said, describing the backdrop.

Behind the upbeat opening ceremony on the eve of the forum, controversies still swirled about the Chinese hosts and comments by a security official who said public demonstrations would be confined to an area the size of a basketball court within the sealed-off NGO Forum site in Huairou.

At a news conference this morning, Irene Santiago, the NGO Forum's executive director, said the Chinese never told organizers of any such restrictions. There is "no such instruction—nor will such instruction ever be given," she said. "We're certainly not going to allow that a small area of the big forum site is designated as an area for freedom of expression."

The letter of agreement signed by the Chinese government gives organizers jurisdiction over the site allocated to them in Huairou, a town near the Great Wall an hour's drive north of Beijing, Santiago said.

The spat was just one of the tensions between the boisterous forum participants and government officials anxious to make sure the enthusiasm for participation and demonstration doesn't spill out of the forum and into the Chinese population at large.

For the most part, organizers have done their best to avoid antagonizing their Chinese hosts. Gertrude Mongella, a former Tanzanian lawmaker who chairs the U.N. conference, said she expected the meet-

ings to be orderly and would not "allow any unruly behavior that will disrupt the working of the conference." Though she rejected the tough Chinese guidelines, she said she understood China's distaste for criticism.

"What else would they have said? I wouldn't allow anybody to come and attack my leader in Tanzania," Mongella said.

It was unclear how many groups and individuals who wanted to attend the meeting had been barred either by rejection of visa applications or simply through bureaucratic delays in the Chinese consular system.

Santiago said organizers have protested to China about its exclusion of groups from the rebellious province of Tibet and from Taiwan, regarded by the Communist government here as a breakaway province of China.

"We are trying to make sure that they are heard here," she said.

China also barred all 30 would-be participants from Niger, allegedly because applications were misplaced. But Niger recognizes Taiwan and is widely believed to have been barred for that allegiance.

Getting here is only part of the battle. Many women today complained that they were unable to obtain tickets required to get into the opening ceremony. Many women also chafed at close surveillance by police in Huairou hotels and by solicitous forum organizers who have tried to steer women into buses for orderly trips to meeting sites.

An elderly Japanese women staged a lone protest against nuclear testing as thousands of women gathered for the gala opening ceremony of the women's forum, the Reuter news agency reported. The woman stood on the main steps to the China National Olympic Stadium, holding up a banner reading in English: "Stop nuclear tests. Nuclear weapons results of non-feminism government. I am a mother of a Nagasaki victim."

The woman, who appeared about 70 years old, staged her brief protest in the face of a huge security presence. She wanted China to halt its own nuclear weapons testing program.

"I came here to appeal," she told the reporters. "Stop nuclear tests. I want all over the world to know."

When Chinese police approached the woman, she disappeared into the crowd.



## China Policy: Heading Off Crisis

**T**HE COINCIDENCE of the women's conference in Beijing and the tension in U.S.-China relations has fostered a confusion about American purposes in China. It is much in the American interest to have that confusion sorted out.

The conference is a one-shot event resulting from China's prideful and even daring aspiration to taste the satisfactions of playing world host. It will subject the Chinese to an unaccustomed and potentially troublesome degree of contacts with foreigners holding diverse notions of the roles of women and of citizens in general. But at the end of the day the foreigners will go home, leaving China's women to cope alone with their country's new economic opportunities and rigors and its abiding political controls, including its immense intrusions into individual family choice. The problems lying between the United States and China, meanwhile, which did not arise from the women's conference, will remain when it is over.

For a while, the question of conference participation by President Clinton's wife became itself an issue bearing on Sino-American relations. The considerable prestige of her presence was finally bestowed on Beijing after it freed the jailed American human rights crusader Harry Wu. This gave the unfortunate impression of rewarding China for undoing a step it should not have taken in the first place and therefore should not have been paid for undoing. In the succession struggle now going on in Beijing, dispatching Mrs. Clinton risks being seen as a sign of American eagerness to wipe the Wu/human rights slate clean—in short, as American weakness.

It is beside the point that Mrs. Clinton may shine at the conference. The more important consideration, one that American officials do not yet seem to have grasped, is to put relations with China on the right footing.

Two things are happening in China. It is reaching for a larger role in the world commensurate with its size, economic growth and sense of itself. At the same time it is conducting, in the runup to the succession to Deng Xiaoping, a familiar Communist-type argument over how to open up and modernize without jeopardizing the party's grip on power.

In the Cold War years, China's part in the American-led containment of Soviet power soft-

ened expressions of Chinese nationalism. But now a hard-edged readiness to provoke and countenance contention with the United States and other foreigners, as a matter of politics as well as policy, is evident in Beijing. In this mood, the Chinese are prone to believe their own misleading propaganda to the effect that the United States has actually hatched a strategy to replace the old "engagement" with China as a new "containment."

The Taiwan issue is widely cited as a deeper source of Sino-American tension. The United States is faulted for granting a visa to Taiwan's president and, by extension, for moving away from the compromise on Taiwan that permitted the diplomatic breakthrough between Beijing and Washington 20 years ago.

But it is not the visa or the visit that has altered this picture, and the United States remains faithful to the old Taiwan formulas. The flowering of Taiwan as an economic dynamo and, especially, as an ever more democratic society is the new political reality, and neither China nor the United States has absorbed it. The Chinese, vying among themselves to show their nationalistic credentials, have blown up the Taiwan issue for political purposes of their own.

Perhaps this is too difficult a time for China's old-fashioned Leninist leadership to think through the new circumstances. If so, then some heavy obligations remain on the United States while it waits. Washington should do nothing careless or gratuitous to aggravate the connection, particularly as it affects Taiwan. However, American officials, starting with the president, should be carefully explaining a basic proposition. It is that while Americans understand and agree that China deserves an important place at the international table, it must be achieved by a respect for international rules and norms—in trade, in diplomacy and military affairs, in non-proliferation and not least in domestic practice, including issues of human rights and democracy.

Is China not ready to meet all these standards? Then there is bound to be not a hostility but an impact on the quality of relations. Still, there are ways to limit the damage. The October summit now being worked up by the two governments could be the occasion to begin.



# A China Agenda for Mrs. Clinton

It was never realistic to think that Hillary Rodham Clinton could lead the American delegation to the Beijing women's conference without becoming entangled in the difficult relationship between the United States and China. Once her visit was linked last week to the release of Harry Wu, the connection became undeniable. But that should not stop Mrs. Clinton from going to China to make herself and her country heard as champions of women's needs and rights.

The challenge for Mrs. Clinton is to advance the cause of women without seeming to bless China's repressive treatment of its own citizens by her presence. She can manage that if she is fearless in her defense of women throughout the world, including China, and makes clear that she does not condone the clumsy steps taken by the Chinese authorities to suppress dissent outside the conference halls.

The great advantage of having Mrs. Clinton lead the United States delegation is the added attention and articulate voice she will bring to the official American agenda for the conference. The people chosen to represent this country — including members of both parties — have been instructed by the Clinton Administration to raise issues like violence against women, improved access to education and health care and the promotion of greater political and economic equality. Neither those goals nor the overall themes of the conference fit the extremist image conjured up by some critics of the gathering, like Senators Bob Dole and Phil Gramm.

The United Nations holds these women's con-

ferences only once every 10 years. For the tens of thousands of women who attend them, and the millions more they represent back home, particularly in the less developed world, the meetings provide much-needed encouragement and a spur to local action.

Women's rights are human rights, so there can be no question of keeping human rights off the agenda, however much the subject discomforts the Chinese hosts. China is not the worst offender against women's rights. But it is home to one-fifth of the world's women, and the problems of women there cannot be ignored, including abusive population policies, like forced abortion and sterilization.

Beijing's leaders wanted the prestige of being host to the conference, especially after the humiliation of losing their bid to stage the 2000 Olympics. They have proved unable, however, to tolerate the public demonstrations and clash of views that go with an international meeting like this.

Regrettably, China has exiled nongovernmental delegations to the women's conference to a remote site 40 miles from Beijing, held back visas for unofficial participants and reporters and rounded up Chinese political activists in advance of the conference.

Mrs. Clinton has an obligation to express her country's contempt for these steps, while registering its strong support for the goals of the conference. China's leaders may not appreciate that approach, but anything less from the leader of the United States delegation would be a betrayal of American principles.

# Take Mr. Packwood's Gavel

Senator Bob Packwood has changed his mind. He now wants public hearings on the sexual and official misconduct allegations against him. Mitch McConnell, the Republican who runs the Senate Ethics Committee and has fought hard to prevent public hearings, should quickly accede to Mr. Packwood's surprise request. He should also set a date certain for the proceedings to begin.

This latest twist in the Packwood saga comes less than a month after the Oregon Republican voted with other G.O.P. senators to block a resolution requiring the committee to follow its established practice of open hearings in serious ethics matters instead of resolving them behind closed doors.

It also represents a tactical turn in an ever-shifting but dependably shameless defense strategy. After failing to suppress news stories by attacking the character of his female accusers, the Senator issued a general apology for his behavior. Then came claims he could not remember many of the alleged incidents, followed by silence. Early this month he took the offensive, alternately claiming alcohol-induced memory lapses and portraying himself as the victim of a "smear" campaign.

Mr. Packwood says he is now asking for hearings because the committee changed the rules "in the middle of the game" by adding two new allegations of unwanted sexual advances, including a charge from a former intern who was 17 at the time of the alleged incident.

There is a more realistic way to look at this. Mr. Packwood's support among his Republican col-

leagues is dwindling fast. There is a chance that he will not only be censured by the committee but stripped of his coveted chairmanship of the Senate Finance Committee. He may well have decided that his last, best chance is to come out smearing. The committee was about to begin its private deliberations on what sanctions, if any, to recommend to the full Senate, so hearings also stand to delay the day of reckoning.

But it has long been apparent that Mr. Packwood does not belong in a post requiring his full concentration and the undiluted respect of his colleagues. To conclude that he has not for a long time met this test of Congressional leadership does not in any way violate his rights. His litigious resistance to the committee's requests for evidence should have led the Republicans to look elsewhere when they took control of the Senate in January. Instead the Senate majority leader, Bob Dole, in effect rewarded Mr. Packwood's intransigence, keeping him in the job even after a unanimous Ethics Committee issued its preliminary findings in May.

In addition to the sexual misconduct charges, the committee found "substantial credible evidence" that Mr. Packwood had tampered with diary entries to obstruct the committee's inquiry, and sought jobs from lobbyists for his estranged wife. He should have handed over his gavel then, pending the case's conclusion. That is still the right course, especially given the prospect of public hearings. A damaged and distracted Senator cannot lead a pivotal committee facing momentous decisions on Medicare, welfare and taxes.



## CAPITAL JOURNAL

BY GERALD F. SEIB

## Hillary in China: Dubious Signal At a Bad Time

**A**FTER TRYING TO TACKLE health care, Hillary Rodham Clinton knows better than most that life is full of risks. Some are worth running, some aren't.

Here's one that isn't worth it: the risk Mrs. Clinton will run if she goes to



China now. If ever there was a chance of sending the wrong signals at the wrong time, Mrs. Clinton would be running it by traveling to Beijing.

This quandary arises, of course, because U.S.-Chinese relations happen to be on the skids just as China is about to host a United Nations Conference on Women. Mrs. Clinton is honorary chairwoman of the U.S. delegation to the conference, which begins in two weeks. She considers the conference an important event, which it is. Administration aides note that her stature would ensure that the final conference document would have an American imprint.

The problem is that, as first lady, Mrs. Clinton simply can't divorce a trip made to China for any purpose from the public statement it will make about current Sino-American relations. And right now those relations are as messy as the O.J. Simpson trial. The Chinese, in a snit about American gestures of kindness toward Taiwan, have refused to accept a new American ambassador to China, suspended arms control talks and arrested the visiting Harry Wu, a naturalized American citizen who has struggled for years to uncloak China's prison labor system.

Mr. Wu's wife and friends have pleaded with Mrs. Clinton to stay away from China as long as the human rights activist remains in custody. Officially, Mrs. Clinton is reviewing the matter. In reality, administration aides say it's clear she would like to go.

**I**F MRS. CLINTON goes ahead, one of two outcomes is likely, and either would be bad. She could go and stick to the business of the women's conference. In that case, the Chinese likely would conclude that the U.S. isn't serious about Harry Wu or broader human rights issues. At home, meanwhile, the Clintons would be accused of turning a blind eye to an imprisoned American.

Alternately, Mrs. Clinton could go

and diverge from the work of the U.N. conference to make some pointed public statement about human rights in general, or Harry Wu in particular. In that case, the Chinese would feel both that they were duped and that they had lost face. Having been publicly humiliated, they might dig in their heels harder on the Wu case, and bilateral relations between Washington and Beijing would sink further.



Hillary Rodham Clinton

"It's a lose-lose situation for her in the current environment," says Jeffrey Fiedler, a leading AFL-CIO official and a close friend of Mr. Wu who has been working for the activist's release.

This isn't to say that there shouldn't be high-level exchanges between China and the U.S. There should be, and Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff is heading off to Beijing for just such a talk. But most China-watchers think the way to deal with Beijing at this point, on both the narrow Harry Wu case and the broader deterioration of Sino-American relations, is through blunt and direct private communication, accompanied by reinforcing public signals.

**I**N FACT, a case could be made that the president should send someone as close and trusted as Mrs. Clinton to China to serve as his private emissary to launch full, unvarnished talks about what Americans expect of this vital relationship. But that kind of diplomatic mission is a far cry from a trip to a U.N. conference, a venture that requires either ignoring the fundamental problems in the relationship or addressing them in the wrong way.

Administration aides say Mrs. Clinton's final decision will be influenced by the vibes Mr. Tarnoff picks up in his talks in Beijing in coming days. It's possible the Chinese will say that they would be highly offended if Mrs. Clinton didn't attend the conference, and that her absence would impair the bilateral relationship. Given the recent attitude of the Chinese authorities, though, it seems more likely that they wish they had never agreed to host the U.N. conference in the first place and would like the whole matter to just evaporate.

For the Clintons, the simple, troublesome, but unavoidable fact is that Harry Wu is an American citizen and human rights activist who is in a Chinese prison. "If she were to go, it would signal in our view two things," says Mr. Fiedler. "Number one, that she and the president don't care, although I know that not to be true. And number two, that the U.S. is weak." It isn't clear that any potential payoff justifies the risk of sending those kinds of signals.



## Letters to the Editor

### When a Mother Has HIV

Research does not support the assertion that "mother's milk is a prime carrier of HIV" ("Sacrificing Babies on the Altar of Privacy," editorial page, Aug. 3). The Occupational Safety and Health Administration does not include breast milk among "potentially infectious materials" and the contact with breast milk does not constitute occupational exposure. The prime carriers of HIV are infected blood and semen.

For the vast majority of human infants, mother's milk continues to be a vital source of disease protection and optimal nutrition.

KAREN KERKHOFF GROMADA  
President  
International Lactation  
Consultant Association

Evanston, Ill.

It is impossible for me to fathom why the Centers for Disease Control would perform HIV testing on newborn infants and then not inform the parents or doctors. Knowledge could help protect the newborns from developing AIDS because breast-feeding could be averted, plus effective therapy exists. Every baby is already screened for thyroid disease and given a Vitamin K injection at birth without prior authorization by the family. (Many other mandatory tests are also done.)

Yet when there is a much more critical illness (AIDS), the CDC does not inform the mother or doctor that the HIV test is positive. Is this logical? What if the mother

gets pregnant again? Is this in keeping with our medical calling?

KATHLEEN QUADRO M.D.  
Sacramento, Calif.

While the Centers for Disease Control currently maintains its 1985 stand that women infected with HIV should not breast-feed, the World Health Organization issued a revised statement in 1992 recommending that breast-feeding be promoted and supported in all populations irrespective of HIV infection rates.

The known, documented health and emotional benefits of human milk and breast-feeding for both mother and child should be weighted against the known, documented health hazards of artificial infant-feeding and the as-yet-unclarified risk of HIV transmission through human milk.

LEE ANN DEAL  
Executive Director  
La Leche League

Schaumburg, Ill.

### Generation X Struggles To Make Ends Meet

In response to your "Getting Going" column on Aug. 1, I have one thing to say: "Yeah, right." Members of Generation X are not lazy and selfish as so many in the media have portrayed us. But neither are we able to "make an annual investment of just \$3,900."

Just? I am a recently married alumna of an Ivy League institution who recently earned my master's of science in education. After supporting me while I was in school, my husband has now gone back for a second degree. We earn enough to pay our rent, student loans, car insurance, utilities and all our other expenses. We dream of owning a home one day and of having children, but even as we face our 30s, we are in no way able to save for our future. Frankly, we are thankful to have health insurance through my employer and are proud to be keeping our heads above water. So, thanks a lot for the advice. I have cut your article out and have placed it on my night stand along with my other evening fiction.

LEANNE GORFINKLE CLANCY  
Philadelphia

### Children Had It Hard Way Back When

In "Can We Ever Go Back?" (editorial page, Aug. 9), Andrew Peyton Thomas invokes Susan Smith's dreadful deed and suggests that previous generations cared for their children more than we do. The past as a golden age for children is a myth.

In Colonial times a father worked his son and daughter to exhaustion then stripped them naked and made them sleep on rags in the cellar even in winter. Children were beaten and abandoned at a great rate. In the 19th century, youngsters (even toddlers) worked 12-hour days in the textile mills or in dark tenements, sewing on buttons or stripping tobacco and then sleeping on the debris, which ulcerated their skin. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was founded after—and modeled on—the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, perhaps an indication of cultural priorities.

GERALDINE YOUCHA  
New City, N.Y.

(Ms. Youcha is the author of "Minding the Children: Child Care in America from Colonial Times to the Present.")

The real news in your article lies not in the fact that 61% of "twenty-somethings" are actively saving for our future financial security. Rather, what is newsworthy is the fact that people in the financial world were surprised about it. The article may prove seminal if it is the beginning of a broader discussion about Xers' pursuit of personal financial security in an economy that offers us neither job security nor any real likelihood of retirement security.

In doing research for my book, "Managing Generation X," I interviewed over 100 star Xers, all fast-trackers in top firms across the nation—highly motivated, innovative, natural entrepreneurs, perfectly suited to today's information age workplace. None of the Xers whom I interviewed said they expect to have careers built around long-term relationships with any one employer. As a result, Xers know we must pursue a new form of economic security from within ourselves.

For most Xers, this new economic security is much more than saving early for retirement. It means maximizing every job opportunity no matter how short-term, welcoming new challenges, learning by doing, meeting and impressing new people, creating tangible end results—proving to others and confirming for ourselves that we are growing in value as players in the work force. I call this process "self-building for career security."

We know it is up to us to secure our own financial future, and saving early for retirement is only the most obvious method.

BRUCE TULGAN

New Haven, Conn.

### Only 19 More Years Till I Can Light Up

I was dismayed by Barry Goldwater's article supporting a government role regarding children smoking ("Save the Children," editorial page, Aug. 8). In this case he is dead wrong. To start with, the federal government has been ineffectual in controlling dangerous drugs. Drugs that are far more dangerous than cigarettes are in the hands of children and easily obtainable. How can the senator possibly believe that government regulations can have any effect? Regulations are not replacements for good parents.

Smoking is a delightful and enjoyable habit. I was 20 years old when I was taught to smoke. It was in the midst of World War II and the radio ballyhooed "40 million Luckies free, greet our boys across the seas." Cigarettes were available everywhere, either free or for a nickel a pack. For those of us in the military, smoking was a pleasant way to while away the idle hours, of which there were many. For 15 years I was hooked, and then I subjected myself to the cost-benefit test. The benefit was an enjoyable relaxing indulgence in personal pleasure. The cost was my health, my life—not to mention the inconvenience to myself and those around me. Smoking did not pass the test and for 35 years I have been "clean." In 19 more years I will be 90, and then I am going to light up. So much for the habit.

CHARLES E. SMALL  
Westford, Mass.

### The Other Threats To National Defense

Why worry about a terrorist-nation-launched ballistic missile if our defenses to a clandestinely introduced nuclear "device" are themselves shoddy ("GOP Stakes Missile Defense," editorial, Aug. 8)? Would it be that difficult for a terrorist nation to covertly sequester a nuclear device on a ship and explode it when the ship reaches a U.S. port, like New York or San Francisco? Or would it be that difficult to simply transport the device on an airplane headed for a busy U.S. international airport and explode it when the plane was in its approach pattern?

Why worry about nuclear defenses when there are other weapons of mass destruction that are far cheaper to build, easy to employ, and equally, if not more, devastating in their effectiveness. I am, of course, referring to advanced chemical and biological weapons.

All terrorist nations around the globe have had chemical and biological warfare development efforts underway for many years. Certainly, smuggling advanced chemical or biological warfare agents into the U.S. need not be more difficult than smuggling in heroin or cocaine or marijuana.

It is high time we began to recognize our vulnerability to nuclear armed ballistic missiles and take appropriate action. However, why expend the time and resources to do so without paying equal attention to other threats that can be even more devastating and might be even more realistic?

That is, if we are going to get serious about national defense, let's be sincere in our efforts.

JOSEPH D. DOUGLASS JR.  
Falls Church, Va.

(Mr. Douglass is co-author of "America the Vulnerable: The Threat of Chemical and Biological Warfare" and "CBW: The Poor Man's Atomic Bomb.")



Today's debate: **WOMEN'S CONFERENCE**

# No hidden agenda, just improving women's lives

## **OUR VIEW** The intent of the Beijing conference is to make a better world for women and their families.

The upcoming U.N. World Conference on Women in Beijing has a lot of people agitated for all the wrong reasons.

They're worried that U.S. participation — especially if first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton attends — will send the wrong signals about American tolerance of Chinese human rights abuses. Others warn that a bunch of "femi-Nazis" hellbent on global annihilation of family values will impose Western will on the poor, uneducated women of the developing world.

Let's talk reality.

China is not going to stop its abuses simply because the first lady boycotts this conference. As a matter of fact, such an affront might make Beijing even less inclined to reverse the latest outrage, the arrest and jailing of human rights activist Harry Wu, a naturalized American citizen.

That does not mean China's abuses should be ignored. But in trade and politics, the U.S. has opted for "constructive engagement" on the theory that the only way to reform this communist relic is to do business with it. The same logic should apply to the women's conference.

### Worldwide, women earn less than men

In 30 other nations, women earn a higher percentage of male wages than U.S. women. Here, women earn 75 cents for every dollar men earn. Some other nations, with women's percentage of men's wages:

|               |      |
|---------------|------|
| Tanzania      | 92   |
| Vietnam       | 91   |
| Australia     | 91   |
| Sweden        | 89   |
| Kenya         | 85   |
| Costa Rica    | 83   |
| France        | 81   |
| Poland        | 78   |
| Mexico        | 75   |
| Spain         | 70   |
| Canada        | 63   |
| China         | 59   |
| Bangladesh    | 42   |
| World average | 74.9 |

Source: United Nations

As for the philosophical bent of this conference, there's no denying politics will abound. Over 185 nations will be represented. About 7,000 government delegates will attend the Sept. 4-15 U.N. conference. Another 40,000 non-governmental delegates will meet 30 miles outside the capital.

Abortion, birth control and other reproductive issues will be hot topics, as well they should. But equally compelling will be issues such as:

► Equal access to training, credit and land for women. Equal pay for equal work.

► Equity in health care. Equal opportunity in education and governing.

► Prevention and punishment of rape and domestic violence.

There's good cause for that discussion.

Worldwide, women perform an estimated 60% of the work yet earn only 10% of the income and own only 1% of the land. Almost two-thirds of the world's illiterate are women. Domestic violence is the leading cause of death for women ages 14 to 44 worldwide. And between 85 million and 114 million women and girls have undergone brutal genital mutilation.

Those problems are not confined to the undeveloped world. In the U.S., women make up 46% of the workforce yet hold only 5% of senior management positions. And in Congress, U.S. women hold only 10% of the seats.

This conference won't resolve all those inequities. What it can do is inspire a commitment to effect change and show women how to make it happen.

Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the U.N. and head of the U.S. conference delegation, likes to recall a Chinese poem in which a father tells his young daughter:

*We keep a dog to watch the house; a pig is useful, too. We keep a cat to catch a mouse; but what can we do with a girl like you?*

With thousands of baby girls abandoned to orphanages each year by Chinese parents holding out for sons, Beijing may be the perfect place to discuss how to fix the problems of the women of the world.



## OPINION USA

# Extreme paranoia about government abounds

**Public officials can restore trust — with the left and right — by ceasing to do harm.**



## COMMENTARY

By Francis Fukuyama

Johnnie Cochran's defense of O.J. Simpson and the right-wing militias, out of which accused Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh is alleged to have come, have one thing in common: They both carry to extremes a distrust of government and the belief that public authorities are in a vast conspiracy to violate the rights of individuals.

For the Simpson defense to be credible, we are asked to believe that not just one racist cop, but a whole network of officers, criminologists and lab technicians, was out to get Simpson.

Some militia members, for their part, believe that the legitimate U.S. government has been usurped by the United Nations, which is planning armed operations to take away Americans' guns and liberty.

This culture of extreme paranoia about public officials started during the 1960s on the left, where many believed that the CIA and Pentagon had secret plans to usurp civilian authority. To this day, there are Americans who believe that these agencies were somehow involved in the Kennedy assassination. In the intervening years, this culture of conspiracy gradually drifted from the far left to the far right. Hollywood played a part in this transition; for the past 20 years, it has not been evil Nazis or Soviet agents, but sinister U.S. government agencies, that star as the evil villains of popular imagination.

During the Cold War, strong government authority had its partisans on both the left and the right. Liberals cheered on the welfare state as the cutting edge of social justice, while conservatives supported the Pentagon, armed services and FBI as bastions of patriotism and law and order.

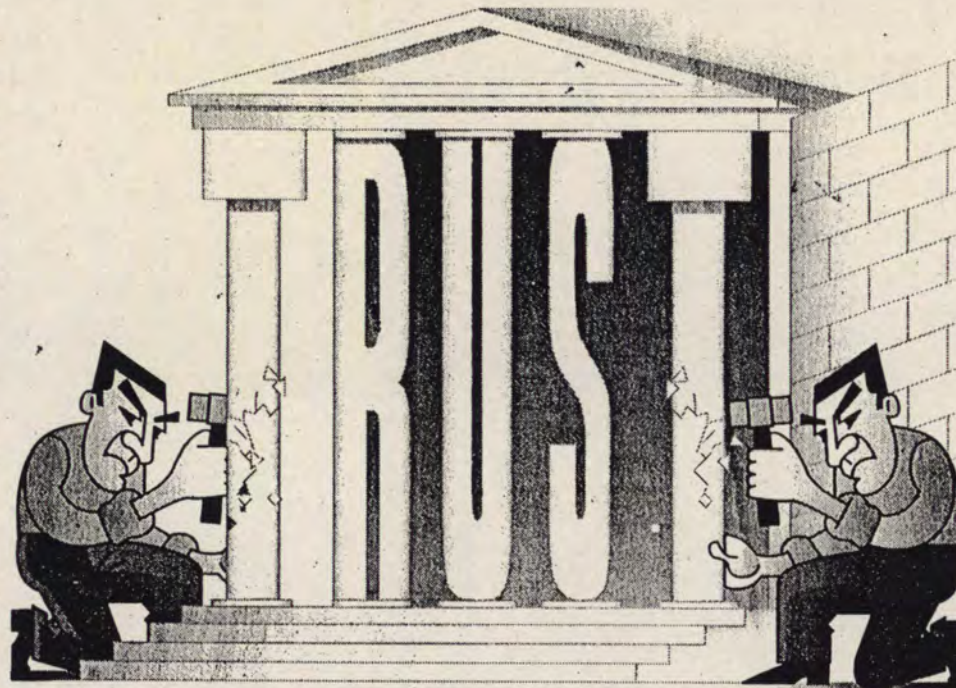
Today, these sources of support have been knocked out. Liberals have grown skeptical about "big government" solutions to social problems, while conservatives no longer see the need for strong national de-

fense after the collapse of the USSR. The result is a distrust and hostility to government across the board.

Paralleling the decline of trust in public authorities is a decline in the trust Americans feel toward each other.

In 1960, 58% of Americans surveyed responded affirmatively when asked whether they felt "most people" could be trusted; by 1993, the number had fallen to only 37%. The rises in violent crime and in litigation have both taken their toll. Parents now routinely counsel their children to be suspicious rather than trusting of strangers, and tend to refer to the courts what in previous generations would have been worked out informally. Today, companies no longer routinely write recommendations for employees going on to new jobs because a number of employees getting poor recommendations turned around and successfully sued their former employers.

Distrust of government has deep and venerable roots in American history, and government officials have done a lot in recent



By Marcia Stalmer, USA TODAY

years — from Vietnam and Watergate to "no new taxes" and Whitewater — to earn that distrust. But a democracy in which many people believe that the officials elected or appointed to serve them are in fact working secretly to undermine their rights is not a healthy one.

Even more serious is the breakdown of trust on a person-to-person level.

For trust is at the root of what Alexis de Tocqueville called the American "art of association," that is, the ability of Americans to work together cooperatively in groups and

organizations, from schools, churches and charities to businesses large and small. A society without trust can function, but inefficiently. Instead of a handshake and a promise, people have to rely on lengthy contracts, formal rules, bureaucracy and litigation. The American propensity for trust and association is what permitted the country to emerge, at midcentury, as the world's premier economic power; the decline of trust in recent decades threatens America's economic future.

How can trust be restored in America?

In terms of public trust, the government can help itself by ceasing to do harm. People would trust the government more if it restricted its activities to those things that cannot be accomplished by the market and society on their own. Multiculturalist and bilingual policies in school systems are one example of how the state is actively promoting distrust by creating artificial barriers between ethnic and racial groups.

Restoration of private trust is a much more complicated proposition. Trust and community are ultimately based on shared moral values — it is impossible to have trust in the absence of trustworthy people, that is, people who are honest, reliable and seek to do the right thing by others. It is therefore impossible to talk about the restoration of trust without what historian Gertrude Himmelfarb calls the "remoralization" of society, that is, the restoration of high standards of personal behavior. Religion has a role to play here, as does a return to some form of moral education in the school system.

Public trust can be restored by public means, by a government more humble and honest in its reach and ambitions.

Private trust, on the other hand, is not something that can be imposed from the top down. It must proceed from the bottom up, through an unwinding of our culture of rights and the nurturing of a sense of duty to others.

Understanding how trust has been the product of an individualism tempered by a strong sense of community is one way of beginning this process.

*Francis Fukuyama is the author of the new book Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity. He is also a senior social scientist at the RAND Corp. in Washington, D.C.*



# Beware radical feminists

**OPPOSING VIEW** **Militants from the USA want to impose their anti-family views on the rest of the world.**

By Armstrong Williams

The women's conference to be held in China next month is being billed as a great step forward for women's health and equality. Actually, it subjects women from other cultures to an ideological makeover to suit the tastes of Western feminists.

The conference's Platform for Action has become a vehicle to impose very Western ideas about proper feminist behavior and thought upon women at home and abroad through government intervention.

Proponents of the conference talk about it blandly, as though it were simply about ensuring women's basic human rights and health.

The simple fact that the conference is located in Communist China belies this. No forum remotely interested in human rights or health would legitimize a regime that enforces a one-child-per-couple policy with forced abortions and sterilizations.

There is method to this madness, though. The conference has its sights set on eradicating not women's health or rights problems, but the very nature of femininity.

Radical feminists, in particular Bella Abzug and her Women's Environmental Development Organization, have had their way in shaping the Platform for Action and in preparing the agenda for the conference. That agenda focuses on government-mandated "sexual freedom and reproductive rights," access to birth control, sterilization and abortion.

The conference seeks to carry the West's sexual revolution to the rest of the world along with widespread abortion, family dissolution and rampant sexually transmitted

diseases like AIDS. Feminists have opposed references to "family," "motherhood" or "father."

Do these ideas have nothing to do with women's welfare?

Specific sex differences revolve around procreation. Women are more physically and psychologically geared toward bearing and rearing children. But it is exactly that specifically feminine thing, motherhood, that holds women back from achieving economic and political parity of the type feminists have in mind.

Child rearing is a difficult and spiritual pursuit. It involves the cultivation of minds and souls. It may be the highest natural human calling, and both men and women are participants.

Women, though, are more constrained physically by the process of procreation and are more suited to nurture and care for children. It is this, the very constraint of feminine nature against the more worldly pursuits of lucre and power, against which feminists rage.

That is why the conference launches an all-out assault against fertility in favor of sterility. That is why hosting a supposed "women's" conference in China is not understood by conference organizers as the cruel irony it is. It is almost as if China and feminism have a common foe — the procreative virtue of woman. What the feminists are really at war with is the feminine nature of motherhood and the natural burdens of procreation.

A healthy feminism would seek to accord equal human dignity to men and women worldwide and would include a call for respect and recognition of that vital and uniquely feminine role of motherhood.

This conference would instead abolish womanhood itself and do so in the name of women's health and rights.

*Armstrong Williams is a businessman, talk-show host and author in Washington, D.C.*



**Los Angeles Times first-edition Page 1 for  
Thursday, Aug. 24, 1995:**

Top of page:

Col 1: Feature on medical ethics. Will move in future series.

Col 2: In a disturbing sign of the growing danger of drug-resistant infections, federal researchers have found that 25 percent of people with pneumococcal infections are resistant to penicillin, which was once nearly infallible in killing the bugs. (DRUG-TIMES, moved).

Cols 3-4: The media blitz reaches a peak Thursday, when an estimated \$1 billion budgeted by Microsoft and other industry vendors to sell Windows95 and related products begins to generate a flood of print and television ads, including one featuring a popular Rolling Stones song. (with art). (MICROSOFT, moved).

Cols 5-6: Israel's secret security force, the Shin Bet, announces that it has smashed a network of the Hamas militant Islamic movement in the West Bank that it believes planned and executed Monday's suicide bombing attack in Jerusalem and an earlier attack in Tel Aviv. (MIDEAST-TIMES, moved).

Above fold:

Col 2: College-bound seniors in 1995 chalked up the biggest gains in more than a decade in math and verbal skills on the Scholastic Assessment Test, but the significance of the new scores is being debated because of changes made to the test. (SAT-TIMES, moved).

Col 6: Trying to escape expulsion by Zaire, thousands of refugees from Burundi and Rwanda scatter into the countryside in a desperate act that one U.N. official says has "all the makings of a disaster." (REFUGEES, moved).

Below fold:

Col 3: Public support for a third-party candidate in the 1996 presidential race has been rising steadily as President Clinton's approval rating continues to decline, according to a survey by the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press. (POLL, moved).

Bottom of page:

Cols 1-3: With a studious jury taking copious notes, an internationally respected evidence expert testifies that bloody prints on the blue jeans of murder victim Ronald Lyle Goldman could have been created by a shoe of a different type than one that left prints leading away from the scene of the crimes. (with art). (SIMPSON, moved).

Cols 5-6: The woman's movement, once the preserve of wealthy Western countries, is spreading to the rest of the world; yet, on the eve of the International Conference on Women in Beijing next month, women everywhere fare worse than men by just about all measures, concludes the 1995 U.N. Development Program report. (WOMEN, will move Thursday).

**FBI's Freeh Says Agency Capable of  
Police Itself By Ronald J. Ostrow= (c) 1995,  
Los Angeles Times=**

WASHINGTON FBI Director Louis J. Freeh, saying he does not doubt the FBI's ability to police itself, Wednesday rejected any suggestion that bureau officials' conduct be examined by a review process outside the U.S. Justice Department, as has been done at some big city police departments.

At the same time, Freeh said, he could not think of allegations "more serious" than those against the five senior FBI officials he recently suspended because of accusations that they did not accurately disclose what took place in a 1992 siege at Ruby Ridge, Idaho. A white separatist's wife was killed during the siege by an FBI sniper in what Freeh has described as a "tragic accident."

If the allegations prove to be true, Freeh said, "I can't think of anything more serious, and I would be very concerned about undermining the public confidence in the FBI."

Freeh, in a telephone interview, voiced no alarm at a new poll showing that public confidence in the FBI had plummeted in the last three months, possibly tied to congressional hearings on the FBI's 1993 siege of the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas, in which more than 80 people died.

The poll, by the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press, found that only 16 percent of respondents said that they have a very favorable opinion of the FBI, compared to 34 percent who had a very favorable impression just three months ago in an ABC News/Washington Post poll. Unfavorable views of the bureau increased from 9 percent in May to 28 percent in the current survey.

"The fact remains that in FBI cases going to court, where juries are sitting in judgment of FBI agents and their credibility, they're in the 96 percentile conviction rate, which (shows) confidence in (the agency's) credibility and reliability," Freeh said. "I would look at much more of a variety of indicators than a question and answer poll."

(Begin optional trim)

Freeh said one lesson from a commission, which investigated New York City police corruption in 1972, "is that police have to police themselves. If you leave policing of a law enforcement organization to an outside entity exclusively ... there is more of a tolerance by police commanders and officers to certain kinds of misconduct. "What you have to do is ensure oversight, as we have in this case, with the oversight of the Department of Justice and the Office of Professional Responsibility, and ultimately the Congress," Freeh said. "It's essential that organizations have the responsibility to police themselves. If you take that away, you take away the accountability and responsibility for assuring professional conduct."

(End optional trim)

Until the Ruby Ridge controversy, Freeh had enjoyed a reputation as an effective and popular law enforcement leader. Although Freeh was a federal judge when the Ruby Ridge incident occurred, officials he relied on and promoted after taking command of the FBI more than a year later, including former Deputy Director Larry A. Potts, now are subjects of a criminal inquiry by the U.S. Attorney's Office into the Idaho incident.

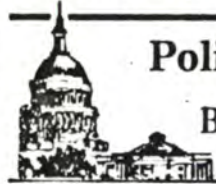
After removing Potts as his deputy, Freeh suspended him and four others with pay pending the outcome of the inquiry. On the recommendation of the Justice Department's Office of Professional Responsibility, their explanations of what took



# The Assault on the Women's Conference Is Specious

The "Hillary Clinton shouldn't go to Beijing" clamor largely is a smoke screen by right-wingers who despise the notion of a conference on women in China or anywhere else.

The United Nations-sponsored Conference on Women officially begins Sept. 4 and is expected to attract more than 40,000 participants from almost 200 countries. It's in Beijing—actually the potentially troublesome non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been isolated more than an hour away—because a few years ago China, eager to improve its image, offered to host anything that moved; this probably



## Politics & People

By Albert R. Hunt

seemed like a nice group of shoppers. Now those Communists rue the day they invited hard-charging feminists.

The first lady has been slated to head the American delegation. But the deepening crisis in U.S.-China relations, especially the imprisonment of American citizen Harry Wu, has jeopardized that role. The White House still insists she's determined to go. But given the elevated stakes prompted by the administration's penchant once again to vacillate on this decision and the clearly negative domestic consequences, it'll be a surprise if she does. (Reports yesterday that China may quickly try, convict and then release Mr. Wu, if true, would make it much easier for Ms. Clinton to go.)

The larger issue, however, is the concerted effort to discredit the conference. Critics, mostly movement conservatives or religious-right zealots, charge that the American delegation to the U.N. conference has been hijacked by radicals, is pushing an anti-family agenda, and will be paying homage to a repressive regime. "It

will represent the most radical, atheistic and anti-family crusade in the history of the world," thunders the religious right's James Dobson.

On closer examination, these charges are sheer sophistry.

1.) The favorite target of those claiming the U.N. conference is being directed by anti-family radicals, insensitive to the Chinese regime, is Bella Abzug, the tough-talking former left-wing congresswoman from New York. But the always vocal Ms. Abzug is going to Beijing as one of the NGOs after her efforts to become part of the official delegation were rebuffed.

The head of the U.S. delegation will be U.N. Ambassador Madeleine Albright, the mother of three children; a native Czech, she and her family fled both the Nazis and the Communists. The director of the U.S. delegation is former Democratic Rep. Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, the mother of 11 children, five adopted.

Other members of the U.S. delegation include vice chairman Thomas Kean, president of Drew University and the former GOP governor of New Jersey; Elizabeth Coleman, chairwoman and CEO of Maidenform Inc.; Sister Dorothy Ann Kelly, an Ursuline nun who is the president of the College of New Rochelle; and Susan Weld, a Boston College law professor and wife of the Republican governor of Massachusetts. This distinguished group is far closer to mainstream American women than its wacko critics.

2.) Critics charge that the draft agenda for the conference is a radical feminist screed, disdainful of family values. Allegations are made that this embraces five genders—men, women, homosexual men, lesbians and bisexuals—and nowhere mentions the words "mother" or "family."

The facts, according to the State Department's computer, are that "mother" is mentioned 13 times and "family" 89 times; there is no reference to five genders. The

heart of the argument—as Elizabeth Lurie, one of the more articulate conference critics, has written—is the following sentence in the draft: "In many countries, the differences between women's and men's achievements and activities are still not recognized as the consequences of socially constructed gender roles rather than immutable biological differences." The word "just" should have been inserted before immutable. But right-wing arguments that there are no such things as "socially con-

### The Big Bash in Beijing

Estimated number of attendees:

|                                          |        |
|------------------------------------------|--------|
| 1. Countries represented:                | 185    |
| 2. Delegates:                            | 4,000  |
| 3. Non-governmental attendees:           | 39,000 |
| 4. NGO observers of official conference: | 7,000  |
| 5. Members of the press:                 | 6,000  |

Source: State Dept.

structed gender roles" are as specious as radical feminists' claims that there are no such things as biological differences.

This criticism is standard right-wing stuff. "In 1985 the conservatives contended there was no such thing as women's issues," recalls Maureen Reagan, the president's daughter, who headed the delegation to the women's conference in Nairobi that year. "Fortunately I had a president who knew otherwise."

The real agenda of the U.S. delegation is human rights for women, including a call for tougher actions to end violence; for vastly expanded economic opportunities for women and an end to all gender discrimination; for more participation of women in political and economic decision-making; and for more attention to women's health problems, including reproductive health services. But there will be no new ground broken or broadening of

abortion rights issues.

Some of this may get controversial, even kooky at times. But listen to Sister Kelly, a bona-fide anti-abortionist: "The draft document certainly isn't perfect, but it conveys a great deal of respect for women on important issues." As for the charge that it's anti-family, this scholarly nun says: "I have read it twice, and I don't see where they get that idea. There is an overwhelming number of references to family as that term is commonly understood." Ms. Mezvinsky, the mother of 11, simply notes: "I don't get involved with things that don't celebrate the family."

3.) Holding a women's conference in China, charges New Jersey Republican Rep. Chris Smith, "is analogous to holding a human rights conference in Hitler's Germany." The highly respected Amnesty International has confirmed cases of forced abortion and mandated sterilization, about pregnant women being rounded up in the middle of the night for such dastardly acts. "China's human rights record for women is dismal," it concludes.

But Amnesty International also says the location of the U.N. Conference on Women "does not diminish the significance of the conference itself. It's not a Chinese conference, it is a world conference addressing a most important issue."

It's good that China didn't get the 2000 Olympics, a celebratory event that would have given short shrift to its human rights record. But there's little chance of that happening at this conference; there will be thousands of Chinese women participating, and that country's brutal behavior toward women certainly will be on the table. Suppose a human rights convention had been held in Berlin in 1936 with tough-talking, even loudmouth advocates screaming about the dangers of human rights abuses and bigotry. With thousands of reporters present, it might have served as a warning of the dangers ahead.



## What do Women Want? Hotel Rooms for Starters.

China's geriatric male rulers will learn this week that they committed a major blunder by trying to put women in their place, that place being a farm village 35 miles away from Beijing. The change of venue for the unofficial part of the United Nations Conference on Women will without doubt raise the anger level of the delegates and insure that China's loathsome human rights record receives a full measure of attention.

The unofficial meetings, called the "Non-Governmental Organizations Forum on Women," will begin Wednesday in the little town of Huairou. China's old men no doubt thought they were being clever by moving the NGO gatherings out of Beijing.

### Global View

By George Melloan

It will keep all these noisy women away from Tiananmen Square and all the bitter memories they might be able to revive about that place. Moreover, it will allow China to plead a lack of accommodations as an excuse for denying visas to women it wishes to exclude from the meetings, delegations from Taiwan and Tibet, for example. Huairou has rooms for only about 10,000 of the 35,000 who have applied from countries all over the world to attend the NGO meetings. The rest of those China chooses to admit will have to be bused from Beijing.

Sexist it may be—and even worse, a cliché—but the only epigram that seems to fit this situation is that old line, "Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned." The women showing up for both the NGO gatherings and the official U.N. sessions, which begin next Monday, are mostly inclined to be furious even without additional stimulus. The whole point of this

Fourth World Conference on Women is to deplore the way women are treated in the 180 or so countries that are sending delegations. So just to insure some real fury, the old guys in the politburo banished to Huairou the visitors who are likely to be the most vocal and undiplomatic.

This move already has earned press attention throughout the world for one of China's dirtiest secrets, the extent to which its one-child policy encourages abortion of female fetuses and even postpartum female infanticide. The Chinese, with their intense focus on family dynasties, strive to insure that if there can be only one child it should be a boy. China also goes beyond merely recommending one-child families to officially demanding abortions and contraception as part of its population control policy.

These abuses of female rights, part of a broader pattern of political trials and imprisonment and summary executions, are the dark side of a China that has perhaps received more credit than it deserves for its grants of freedom. The open-door policy toward foreign investment and agricultural reforms initiated by Deng Xiaoping in 1979 have indeed improved the lot of many Chinese individuals. But the Chinese have had little taste of democracy. Until the Communist party and local officials submit to popular choice and a rule of law, there is not likely to be much improvement in the country's human rights record.

Some U.N. critics have argued that Beijing was a bad choice for the conference on women for the very reasons cited above. In fact, it was a good choice, not that the U.N. was overwhelmed by bidders for the honor. The U.N. is a poor hand at some of the things it undertakes, such as peacekeeping and trying to control its own inefficient and often corrupt bureaucracies. It can be an outright disaster when it inflicts enormous economic costs on the world in

the name of environmentalism, as it did with its now infamous Montreal Protocol banning widely-used refrigerants to address an unsubstantiated claim that these chlorofluorocarbons were depleting the earth's ozone layer. But it does have usefulness as a global forum, a place where representatives from even the most benighted or obscure countries of the globe can have a voice.

Some of the voices at the official sessions in Beijing will not ring true for the simple reason that they are official voices representing governments that are part of the problem. Even the unashamed Hillary Clinton will feel certain constraints because her husband is trying to damp down

### *The U.N. also has a rather fundamental contradiction in its own policies.*

the conflicts that have arisen lately between the U.S. and China. The President has kowtowed to the Chinese by promising to "discourage" Taiwanese officials from visiting the U.S.

The U.N. also has a rather fundamental contradiction in its own policies. Its Conference on Population and Development in Cairo last year tilted heavily toward population control, despite strong objections from the Vatican. Thus it is not in a position to be persuasively critical of the abuses of women's rights in China that are directed toward population control. The quality of the discussion will be improved if Professor Mary Ann Glendon of Harvard Law School, who will lead the Vatican delegation to Beijing, takes some note of that attitudinal conflict.

The yeastier debates will be at the NGO meetings, where the American quarrel between ardent feminists and equally ardent defenders of family values will be con-

tested in a global context. The feminists will most likely cite data from the latest U.N. Human Development Report showing that of the 1.3 billion people in the world living in poverty, 70% are women. The family values side will be able to retort that a major cause of female poverty in the developed countries is divorce or births out of wedlock. They will insist that women contribute to their own undoing by heeding the cry of radical feminists to cut themselves free of a male partner. To which the feminists will retort that if women had equal opportunities in the workplace they wouldn't need to be dependent on a male. And the family values folks will respond to that by saying that the old saying about two living as cheaply as one is in fact almost true and that the two-parent family is a far more efficient economic unit than a one-parent family. To which the feminists can reply that, yes, but women shouldn't have to do all that housework free of charge, and that the total global value of unpaid or underpaid "women's work" adds up to \$11 trillion, according to the U.N.

And so on and on. There will be little doubt about where the U.N. bureaucracy stands in this debate. Its "Gender Empowerment Measure," which is part of the Human Development Report, is a catalog of feminist grievances. One of the most fascinating lines in a press release on the GEM statistics reads as follows: "Though U.S. life expectancy for women is seven years longer than for men, it tends to be low as compared to other industrialized nations." Perhaps seven years of extra life is an inadequate reward for seven years of domestic suffering, but it's not nothing.

Anyway the fireworks will soon begin. The Chinese big chiefs could have saved themselves a lot of unfriendly attention if they had not left several thousand women homeless in Huairou. But then Communist godfathers are often their own worst enemies.



## Your Contempt Is Showing

Your Aug. 14 editorial "Jane Roe's Choice" is a transparent attempt to cloak your antichoice opinion under the veil of self-alignment with the so-called "compassionate center." Odd that you should call for your readers "to learn to manage some respect for each other's views" when you can barely refer to pro-choice advocates without sounding demeaning.

For example, you cite the "shrill warnings" from pro-choicers, who fear the loss of reproductive freedom. "Shrill" is not a word associated with reasoned debate; nor (and not incidentally) is it often used to describe the voices of men. Similarly you refer to Norma McCorvey's "former sisters" repudiating her, now that she's jumped ship from the "movement"; a rather snide attempt to devalue the women's movement with its own language [Ms. McCorvey was the "Jane Roe" of *Roe vs. Wade*.]

It is bordering on the ridiculous to denounce the "fiery rhetoric" of both sides and yet employ only these examples while ignoring the pro-life picketers and clinic bomb threats.

Again, your language is revealing when you suggest that the American public may not be "unsympathetic to the plight of a young woman or girl who makes a mistake or is raped or who finds out she is carrying a severely ill fetus." Your failure to recognize that the "mistake" of an unplanned pregnancy is not hers alone, but rather, the product of two, puts your approach to the subject of abortion in the era of "The Scarlet Letter."

For those of us concerned about the "big hand" of government, (a fear your paper generally shares when it comes to money), reproductive freedom is clearly something to be concerned about. On July 19, the House voted to deny federal employees from choosing a health care plan that provides abortion coverage. On Aug. 5, the Senate concurred. Perhaps even worse, the House passed an amendment on Aug. 3 that will allow states to deny Medicaid funding of abortions for victims of rape and incest.

If this doesn't worry you, so be it, but don't hide your contempt for pro-choice advocacy behind a "rational and centrist" plea.

RACHEL GLITZ

Washington

While rightly concluding that there should be respect and consideration on each side of the pro-life and pro-choice argument, your defense of the pro-lifers as

## Ya Got a Problem With Our Success?

Your Aug. 10 Politics & Policy article did get one thing right ("Conservative Heritage Foundation Finds Recipe for Influence: Ideas + Marketing = Clout"): Of all those trying to end business-as-usual in the nation's capital, nobody has done more, with greater effect, than the Heritage Foundation.

This success, however, seems to haunt you. You appear bothered by the fact that the people responsible for writing the Heritage success story are well-compensated. You express concern that our Asian Studies Center is endowed by Asian donors, and that we actually take positions on issues affecting the countries where those donors are headquartered. And it bothers you that we devote more of our resources to "marketing" than our competitors, a strategic decision that we believe helps account for our success.

Unfortunately, such hangups have resulted in sloppy reporting. For example, you are correct that we have four large Asian donors, all of whom are named in our annual report. But you miss the fact that we have more than 200,000 contributors overall.

HERB B. BERKOWITZ  
Vice President  
Heritage Foundation

Washington

being more "compromising" leaves out one rather important fact: I know of no pro-choicers who have killed people working for the pro-life movement.

ROBERT FEINSTEIN

Hicksville, N.Y.

Recent House Judiciary Committee hearings on legislation known as the "Partial Birth Abortion Ban" exemplify your contention that, overall, abortion advocates have been "uncompromising." Although it may seem inconceivable that any compassionate person could support the partial-birth abortion (which involves partially delivering a late-term child and then brutally ending his or her life), "pro-choice" stalwarts Patricia Schroeder and Barney Frank actively lobbied against banning this procedure, which, it seems, blurs the line between abortion and infanticide.

You erred, however, when you asserted that it is possible to be "both pro-life and pro-choice," i.e. for abortion only in the cases of rape or fetal deformity. It is not a pro-life position to assert that some abortions can be defended, while others cannot.

The pro-life movement stands on the side of life and justice for mother and child, no less for one than for the other. Our hearts break for any woman who has been the victim of rape, but a child should not be killed based solely on the circumstances of his or her conception. Moreover, the child's mother should not be further traumatized by abortion, which only continues the cycle of violence begun by the rape and can aggravate the woman's physical and psychological injury. And the fact that an unborn child may be "severely ill" should inspire in us greater care and concern—not provide the justification to take an innocent life.

MARY A. HALLAN

Director, Respect Life Office  
Archdiocese of Chicago

Chicago

According to you, it's the pro-life side that overall has proved itself more inclusive and more willing to give up some political ground. Really? Is that why they've blocked and bombed clinics, harassed the women entering them and even killed some of the doctors and security guards?

Pro-choice has always been, and will continue to be, the more open-minded and "inclusive" side. The pro-choice philosophy, unlike that of the pro-lifers, accepts the other opinion. It does not harass women who decide to have an unwanted pregnancy. It does not resort to violence. It lets people make their own decisions, as opposed to the pro-life side, which wants to enforce its beliefs on everyone.

CHEL HOUSER

New York

## In Experiencing God, A Host of Images

Walter J. Benjamin's Aug. 16 editorial-page essay, "Fatherless Heaven; Fatherless Children," contains some significant misrepresentations that must be addressed. He states that "mainline religious institutions . . . influenced by a feminist agenda . . . have expunged liturgy and Scripture of 'God the Father' and other 'words that hurt.'" The Episcopal Church, certainly a mainline institution, is currently studying and using an expansive liturgy, one that expands the imagery for God to include both male and female aspects of our creator that are revealed in Scripture and throughout the Christian tradition. No one has suggested removing "God the Father" from the liturgy or teaching of the church, rather this very worthwhile image has been "added to," to more accurately reflect the totality of the Christian tradition.

Within Scripture God is imaged as judge (Genesis 18:25); midwife (Psalm 22:9-10); dew, gardener (Hosea 14:5-7); rock (2nd Samuel 22:2-3); father (Mark 14:36); comforting mother (Isaiah 66:13); good shepherd (Psalm 23:1); she-bear (Hosea 13:8) and woman searching for a lost coin (Luke 15), to name a few. For the writers of Scripture a host of images were needed to describe the richness of their experience of God; the same is true of some of the church fathers.

Both Martin Luther and John Calvin describe God as mother. Why? Because one image of God, used exclusively, distorts the reality of the one incomprehensible God, who is beyond the constraints of any human language.

The liturgical revision currently under way in the Episcopal Church is based on a well-known three-legged stool not mentioned by Mr. Benjamin, that of scripture, tradition and reason. Recovering and recapturing lost tradition is what is being suggested, not inventing something out of whole cloth to answer only a 20th-century concern.

THE REV. ELIZABETH R. GEITZ  
Episcopal Priest  
author, "Gender and  
the Nicene Creed"

Westfield, N.J.

## It Could Be Torture For a Non-Sports Fan

I never realized what peril I must have been in during my years squared off against Cold War adversaries as a member of an American "service cryptologic agency" until I read "Kessler's a Drag" by Alexander Volokh (editorial page, Aug. 8). Mr. Volokh says that during World War II, you could unmask a Nazi soldier masquerading as a GI by asking the fellow, "Who won the World Series?"

The Russians I was so well trained to observe and avoid could have racked me until I admitted red was yellow, but I still would have been unable to muster an accurate response to "Who won the World Series?" World Cup, maybe (I was raised in Europe); Stanley Cup, perhaps (I love hockey). But the World Series?

Too bad when they were recruiting us for our Russian language lessons that no one warned us about having to know American baseball lore.

JUAN MIGUEL PEDRAZA  
Senior Correspondent  
AGWEEK

Grand Forks, N.D.



# The Boston Globe

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## Looking toward Beijing

Last fall a heady consensus was reached in Cairo at the United Nation's conference on population and development. Delegates from 150 nations ratified an action plan that for the first time established the centrality of women in the effort to achieve a sustainable world. The Cairo plan calls for attacking unchecked population growth not just by throwing condoms at the problem but by improving the education of girls and empowering women to take charge of their own reproductive health and economic lives.

The vain hope among conferees was for these principles to dovetail with the Fourth World Conference on Women, which opens in two weeks in Beijing. But already a handful of delegations want to reopen Cairo's most controversial issues, including family planning and abortion. If delegates are distracted by the weary business of defending last year's gains, little energy will be left for the important new work before Beijing: protecting the civil and human rights of women against forced marriages, domestic violence, teen-age pregnancy, child labor and discrimination in education, employment, credit and property ownership.

Delegates at Beijing should not be distracted from the disproportionate burdens endured by the world's females. Women comprise a majority of the poor in every country. Two-thirds of the world's illiterate population is female. Of the 120 million children who lack access even to primary education, 66 percent are girls.

The Beijing conference is designed to take on

these issues with a nonbinding platform that urges all the signatory nations to remove legal barriers to achievement for women and ensure universal access to education by the year 2015. These efforts are obscured by the redundant, divisive debate on abortion.

American critics are also doing their part to distort the Beijing agenda. Earlier this month Jesse Helms, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, blasted the conference on the Senate floor, calling it "a smorgasbord for radicals who are constantly fighting against traditional family values" and complaining because the draft platform does not include the word "mother." A fundamentalist group called Focus on the Family claimed, preposterously, that the Beijing conference "recognizes five genders."

In Cairo, much of the action plan's meaning was similarly lost in the translation. The United States delegation was repeatedly excoriated for forcing Western, secular values on religious nations. But the Cairo document is in fact remarkably sensitive to cultural differences. What the document actually says is that women should have access only to family planning methods "which are not against the law" in their countries and that "in no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning."

The Beijing draft does nothing to change these reasonable, good-faith compromises. Conferees gathering there intending to improve the lives of half the world should get on with it.



# Women's Rights, Human Rights

By Geraldine A. Ferraro

**V**oices are growing louder in Washington against American participation in the United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing next month. Powerful Republicans say Hillary Rodham Clinton's participation would lend credibility to a repressive regime. They say Washington should refuse to send a delegation at all, to punish China for its human rights record.

Yet the American delegation, led by Madeleine Albright, the chief American representative at the United Nations, should hold firm. This conference, along with parallel meetings of grass-roots organizations, is expected to be the largest international meeting in history. The issue it will address is not women's rights but *human* rights: they are the same thing.

China's detention of the American activist Harry Wu is appalling, and Washington is correct to make his release a top priority. But boycotting altogether to protest his arrest will only be counterproductive. Whether or not Mrs. Clinton chooses to attend, the presence of the United States at the meeting is essential.

Women in China and around the world are demanding that their governments take action against rape, genital mutilation, wife-burning, domestic violence, the enslavement of children and forced abortions. They are tired of authorities at the national and local levels who pretend these crimes don't exist or justify outrageous abuses of women by attributing them to "cultural practices."

Women want their governments to stop treating them as third-class citi-

zens, denying them equality with men before the courts, in property law, education, health care and politics. The Beijing conference will remind its hosts and the more than 180 participating governments that in 1993 in Vienna, at the World Conference on Human Rights, they agreed that women are human — that abuse of women is an abuse of human rights.

At last year's United Nations Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, the world's governments affirmed that educating women and girls and increasing their options in life are the single best investments any country can make.

In Beijing, debate will focus on how to convert these fine ideas into reality. The draft document for this meeting says that on critical issues such as population growth, poverty, famine, the spread of AIDS, domestic violence, illiteracy, women's rights have already been recognized as key to getting these problems under control.

"Weren't the last three conferences enough?" some bureaucrats mutter. "Weren't the Cairo conclusions satisfactory?"

Well-meaning sympathizers say change will have to come slowly.

Human rights defenders like Harry Wu who dare to speak out against dictatorships hear that excuse in their prison cells. And women have heard it for centuries. They don't want to hear it all over again, and that will be the message if the Beijing conference is disrupted for narrow political reasons.

This will be certainly be the case if the United States does not send a delegation to this conference. Those who are pushing for Washington to boycott are trying to keep away the leader in the United Nations on human rights in China and human rights for women. We cannot afford to take a chance that the world will back away from the agreements reached in Cairo and in Vienna the year before.

That's what the Chinese Government wants. We owe it to the world's women to attend, especially the 5,000 Chinese women who are planning to be there. They will return to their cities and villages to spread the word about problems that are taboo in public discussion — coerced abortion, female infanticide, forced sterilization, domestic violence.

If the American delegation fails to go to Beijing, who wins? Not Harry Wu. Not women. Not the United States. Only China's hard-liners will have reason to cheer if we stay home.

Geraldine A. Ferraro, a lawyer, is a member of the delegation to the United Nations Conference on Women.

Russell Baker is on a short leave of absence.

Boycotting  
the Beijing  
conference will  
hurt the U.S.  
and Harry Wu.



1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1995 The Times Mirror Company  
Los Angeles Times

August 11, 1995, Friday, Home Edition

SECTION: Metro; Part B; Page 8; Editorial Writers Desk

LENGTH: 360 words

HEADLINE: BEIJING AIMS AT ITS OWN FOOT;  
CHINA AGAIN SEEMS TO BE SABOTAGING ITS IMAGE IN THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

BODY:

Eight weeks after the arrest of activist Harry Wu, and less than a month before thousands of women will converge on Beijing for a conference of the United Nations, Chinese authorities have started a new roundup of dissidents. As if that was not troubling enough, Beijing said Thursday that it will begin a second series of guided missile and artillery tests in the East China Sea north of Taiwan.

These actions are worrisome and self-wounding, bringing into question China's sincerity in mending strained U.S.-Sino relations. They also undermine the prospects for a meeting of the countries' top leaders, recently discussed in Brunei by Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

Relations have not been so strained since 1989, when the Chinese army turned its guns on citizens during the Tian An Men demonstrations. Beijing has been upset since May, when Washington approved an unofficial visit to the United States by Taiwan's President Lee Teng-hui. Beijing recalled its ambassador because it was so offended by this action -- which Washington made clear involved no change in its "one-China" policy. A few weeks later China test-fired a ballistic missile toward Taiwan.

On June 19, Wu, a Chinese-born U.S. citizen who has publicized human rights abuses in his native country, was arrested in China. He is being held in a prison, accused of espionage. The State Department reports he is well.

U.S. officials are pressing Beijing to release Wu. In the Brunei talks, Christopher said it would be "very difficult . . . to envision" a summit until after Wu's release. Meanwhile, there have been reports of other dissidents being arrested. Tong Zeng, held 24 hours, was released with a warning not to give news conferences until after the U.N. conference on women, which ends Sept. 15.

A big question is whether First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will attend. President Clinton said on Thursday that no decision had been made but the United States would send a strong delegation whether or not Mrs. Clinton goes. Under current circumstances, neither a summit nor a visit by Mrs. Clinton seems a sound idea.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: August 12, 1995



2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1995 The Times Mirror Company  
Los Angeles Times

August 11, 1995, Friday, Home Edition

SECTION: Metro; Part B; Page 9

LENGTH: 691 words

HEADLINE: MR. PRESIDENT, SEND YOUR WIFE TO CHINA;

POLICY: THE U.S. CAN BEST CHAMPION THE GOALS OF THE U.N. CONFERENCE ON WOMEN BY HAVING HER LEAD THE DELEGATION.

BYLINE: By RUTH ROSEN, Ruth Rosen, a professor of history at UC Davis, writes regularly on politics and culture.

BODY:

Hillary Rodham Clinton waits while her husband and his foreign policy experts debate whether she should attend the fourth U.N. Conference on Women in September in China. What a sobering image for the women of the world to contemplate.

While he waffles, President Clinton should consider why America's First Lady should attend this important gathering:

- \* Hillary Rodham Clinton is the honorary chairwoman of the U.S. delegation, to be led by U.N. Ambassador Madeleine Albright. But it would take the First Lady's presence to draw the world's attention to the growing impoverishment of the world's women and the effort to redefine women's rights as human rights.

- \* The current strains between the United States and China are irrelevant. This is a multilateral, international conference that will bring together 40,000 women from all regions of the world. The United States can best champion the conference's goals by sending its First Lady to the meetings. The imprisonment of human rights activist Harry Wu requires urgent attention by the State Department, but not an embargo of an international conference that will publicize the importance of human rights.

- \* Hillary Clinton should not be required to boycott China when the President has decided to allow U.S. trade with the world's most populous nation.

- \* Bill Clinton needs a majority of U.S. women's votes in order to win reelection in 1996. So far, his Administration has trivialized the U.N. conference, treating it as a cute gathering of "the girls." Yet, women across the nation, particularly many poor and minority women, have spent the past decade preparing for it. How will a campaigning Clinton explain that he wouldn't allow his wife, a long-time activist on behalf of women's and children's rights, to attend a conference concerned with improving the economic and physical well-being of the world's women?

- \* The best reason for Hillary Clinton to attend is that the Chinese government has made every effort to sabotage this conference. Just by her presence, she will ensure the visibility of the non-government organizations and the issues they will raise.



Los Angeles Times, August 11, 1995

While the President dithers, the Chinese government is working overtime to subvert the conference's success. Having lost its bid for the Olympic Games after the Tian An Men Square massacre, China hoped to recapture some international stature by hosting what it imagined to be a harmless ladies' tea party.

Now that tens of thousands of feminists and human-rights activists are about to pour into China, Beijing is busily engaged in damage control.

To silence the most radical activists at the conference, China has moved the NGO forum to a resort town 35 miles outside of Beijing that can accommodate only one-quarter of the anticipated participants and is ill-equipped for electronic communication with the rest of the world.

In response to complaints, the Chinese government sent an "advisory" suggesting that some women might prefer sightseeing to attending the conference. To discredit Western participants, officials are spreading rumors that most are prostitutes or lesbians. To stifle human-rights activists, China has denied visas to entire delegations, including groups that support Tibetan independence and gay rights. To limit publicity, China has restricted foreign journalists' visas. Of the Chinese press, only the official New China News Agency will be allowed to cover the conference.

In the face of such resistance, how can the Administration not send our First Lady to China? The President's aides are reportedly fearful that she will become embroiled in some embarrassing diplomatic nightmare. Excuse me, but there are few individuals in the Administration more adept or articulate than Hillary Rodham Clinton. And what could be more embarrassing than an American delegation whose chairwoman has been kept at home by her husband, the President?

Save the moral indignation. The United States can best promote democratic change there and elsewhere by improving our own nation's commitment to human rights. Send Hillary to China, Mr. President. The women of the world are watching.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: August 12, 1995



2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company  
The New York Times

August 11, 1995, Friday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 28; Column 1; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 545 words

HEADLINE: Join the Women in Beijing

BODY:

Early next month as many as 50,000 people from around the world will go to Beijing to attend the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women and a parallel gathering of grass-roots women's organizations. The two meetings will discuss subjects like women's access to health care and education, their role in economic development and politics and problems such as family violence and abuse of human rights.

These issues matter deeply to Americans, and many have been special concerns of the Clinton Administration. The United States should be a conspicuous participant at the Beijing conference, with the First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, leading the official delegation.

China's leaders, fearing free discussion of their own repressive policies, have done everything they can to damage the conference's credibility and divert attention from its women's rights agenda. Betraying its host-country responsibilities, China has arbitrarily excluded participants from Taiwan and Tibet, restricted press coverage and exiled the grass-roots meeting to a remote site more than 30 miles from the main conference. It has also placed obstacles like complex special visa requirements in the path of third-world women of limited means who have been saving up for months to attend the meeting.

A number of these issues remain under negotiation, but few now expect China to live up to its pledges of a conference open to all legitimate participants. This week Beijing began using the conference as a pretext for a new roundup of dissenting intellectuals and activists.

It is tempting to consider boycotting the conference to protest China's behavior, its forced abortion and sterilization policies and its detention of an American citizen and human rights activist, Harry Wu.

But United States participation in the world women's conference is not a favor to China. It is a show of respect and support for the efforts of women in this country and around the world. On almost all the issues scheduled for discussion, Washington figures to be a powerful ally of those favoring women's political, economic and human rights. If the official American delegation stayed home, the cause of women's freedom would be weakened, not strengthened.

The same reasoning argues for sending the most high-powered delegation possible. Mrs. Clinton is an especially articulate advocate on these issues. Her presence would enhance the visibility and authority of the American delegation. It could also help thwart Chinese attempts to restrict press coverage and exclude unwelcome voices.



The New York Times, August 11, 1995

Obviously, the White House cannot agree to any conditions on her attendance that would undermine larger United States policies toward China. She should not, for example, hold meetings with top Chinese leaders while Harry Wu remains in jail. But Washington's differences with Beijing should not be taken out on the women from around the world who have invested their hopes in this important international conference. Nor should they be a reason for abandoning China's more than 500 million women.

It would only hand a quiet victory to China's repressors for the strongest advocates of women's liberty to stay away from Beijing. The United States should be there in force and in full voice.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: August 11, 1995



# The right call on China

*But first lady should not join Beijing visitors*

**T**HE WHITE HOUSE decision to send a full delegation to the international women's rights conference in China next month was the right one.

U.N. Ambassador Madeleine Albright makes a good case when noting it makes no sense "in the name of human rights, to boycott a conference that has, as a primary purpose, the promotion of human rights."

But an ordinary level of participation in the conference is as far as Washington should go. Unless China does considerable about-face, the White House should scrap any plans to send Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Having the U.S. first lady travel to Beijing would grant the Chinese government the extraordinary level of international recognition it covets even as it takes step after step to cement its image as a repressive threat both internally and externally.

There are China's continued detention of U.S. activist Harry Wu and other dissidents, threatening missile tests conducted in the

seas near Taiwan, and China's belligerence over the U.S. visit of the Taiwanese president. There's also its suspected military technology sales to outlaw regimes and its military buildup occurring while it focuses on territorial disputes with its neighbors.

All of this points to a China not much interested in human rights or peaceful coexistence. The symbolism of having the first lady visit under such circumstances would send entirely the wrong signal about acceptance of China's outrageous behavior.

Still, as a growing power both economically and militarily, China is too big to ignore. So, too, is the issue of women's rights. The U.S. should be at the conference to exert leadership forcefully — or as forcefully as it can, given Congress' regressive stance on issues of reproductive freedom.

Sending traditional diplomats but keeping the first lady at home walks a fine line, but an important one.



*Lissa copy per Melanne*

E X E C U T I V E   O F F I C E   O F   T H E   P R E S I D E N T

27-Aug-1995 10:14pm

TO:           (See Below)

FROM:       Daniel G. Rauh  
             Office of the Press Secretary

SUBJECT:   Brinkley 8.27

THIS WEEK WITH DAVID BRINKLEY  
AUGUST 27, 1995

SPEAKERS LIST: RICHARD LUGAR (R-IN), UNITED STATES SENATOR, LEE HAMILTON (D-IN), UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE, GERALDINE FERRARO, U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, SUSAN MOLINARI (R-NY), UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE, SAM DONALDSON, ABC, COKIE ROBERTS, ABC, GEORGE WILL, ABC

ROBERTS: Harry Wu's out. Hillary Clinton's going in.  
It looks like a simple trade. China's expulsion of human rights activist, Harry Wu, cleared the way for the White House announcement that the First Lady will be attending the U.N. Women's Conference in Beijing next month.

But the detention of Harry Wu, an American citizen, was just one of the irritants in the relationship between the U.S. and China, which experts say is at it's lowest in many years. Missile testing, Taiwan, trade, all are major issues grating on U.S.-Chinese friendship.

We'll talk about those questions, and Mrs. Clinton's trip with the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, former Democratic Congresswoman, Geraldine Ferraro, and Republican Congresswoman, Susan Molinari. Then, some foreign policy experts from Capitol Hill, Indiana Republican Senator, Richard Lugar, and Indiana Democratic Congressman, Lee Hamilton.

In our round table discussion, a look at Republican front runner Bob Dole, is he beginning to slip? Helping answer that question will be Sam Donaldson, George Will, joined by Bill Kristol of the soon to be published magazine, "The Standard." That's all coming up on our THIS WEEK program.

China's at the top of the news this morning with the



announcement of a possible summit meeting between the U.S. and China in October. That's not likely to sit well with Human Rights activist Harry Wu. In a radio interview, yesterday, Wu criticized the First Lady's decision to go to Beijing, saying it means the Chinese win.

And The New York Times reports this morning, that a video tape of racist activities by Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms agents, might have been doctored. It might have been a set up by a disgruntled former policeman, angry about his exclusion from the Good Ol' Boys Round-up.

For more on the likelihood of a summit between leaders of the U.S. and China, and the background to the decision, we go now to ABC's Jim Laurie in Beijing. Jim.

LAURIE: The sudden release Thursday of Chinese American human rights activist, Harry Wu, provided a more positive atmosphere for a fence mending mission which encompassed a list of problems which seem about as long as China's Great Wall.

U.S. Undersecretary of State, Peter Tarnoff, was able, however to start discussions on a possible October meeting between President Clinton, and the Chinese leader Jiang Zemin.

TARNOFF (VIDEOTAPE): We have too much at stake, both in China and the United States to neglect the relationship, to try to isolate one and the other, and I have the conviction that the Chinese shared very much those, those sentiments.

LAURIE: The easing of tensions over Harry Wu also makes it more politically acceptable for Hillary Clinton to take part in the U.N.'s International Women's Conference in Beijing next week.

CLINTON (VIDEOTAPE): The reason these men and women are going to Beijing is to focus world attention on the issues that matter most to women and families: healthcare, education, economic opportunity, political freedom and participation, and human rights.

LAURIE: Beyond the limited visit of Mrs. Clinton, Chinese behavior remains belligerent. Mending relations between Washington and Beijing won't be easy.

Human rights abuses continue on a large scale. Harry Wu's release did nothing for thousands of other pro-democracy activists in jail, or in work camps. Recent statements about Taiwan seem threatening. Chinese leaders see Taiwan as a renegade province, were angered by Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui's trip to Cornell University in June, and now demand the Clinton administration promise nothing like that will happen



again.

TARNOFF: For Beijing, Taiwan presents an embarrassing contrast. Taiwan is holding free elections for President next year, while China remains a one-party police state.

MUNROE (VIDEOTAPE): Taiwan is intolerable to them on that level, because it is a Chinese country which has achieved democracy and is doing fine. I think they are prepared -- they are determined to curtail that ideological, political threat.

TARNOFF: China has launched a policy of intimidation. In a single month Beijing has staged two military exercises, firing missiles in the China Sea, within 80 miles of the island of Taiwan. It's also carried out two nuclear tests in three months, part of a long list of military actions that worry U.S. policy makers.

LILLEY (VIDEOTAPE): We've got to get at this proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Longer-range missiles to Pakistan, missile guidance systems to Iran, nuclear cooperation with Pakistan and Iran, this is not good news. We've got to get a handle on this.

TARNOFF: Some analysts see China's new aggressiveness the result of a greater military voice in decision-making under China's President Jiang Zemin.

SHAMBAUGH: He's given the military everything they want: increased budgets, better weapons, and increased domestic political profile. But Jiang Zemin knows that his own political future depends very much on his ties to the Chinese military.

TARNOFF: Others see Chinese policy suffering from the absence of the man who was the dominant power broker here for the past 17 years, the ailing Deng Xiaoping, who just marked his 91st birthday.

YAHUDA: Deng Xiaoping, who used to be like the mastermind behind the scenes, is no longer politically active. And as a result, he is not able to ensure that Sino-American relations are kept on a reasonable basis.

TARNOFF: Still, for all China's bluster and uncertainty, Beijing leaders have reason to want a thaw in relations.

Hillary Clinton's visit here makes sense in the context of China's desire to host a successful U.N. Conference. And Chinese leader Jiang Zemin wants something more -- a high profile summit with President Clinton before the end of the year. A reason to try and paper over differences



now. Cokie.

ROBERTS: Thank you, Jim. Is Hillary Clinton's decision to go to China the right one? We'll ask Geraldine Ferraro and Susan Molinari when we come back.

(BREAK)

ROBERTS: Congresswoman Ferraro, we have the human rights activist, Harry Wu, saying that he thinks that Mrs. Clinton going to Beijing is a win for the Chinese. What do you think about that?

FERRARO: Well, I think it's a win for women, women throughout the world. Remember, this is the Fourth World Conference on Women and it is being held in China because that is the region of the world whose turn it was to hold the conference. China was the only country in Asia that bid on the conference.

But it is a conference about women, and what is happening to women throughout the world. As you indicated in your piece at the very beginning of this show, it's on economic rights. It's on violence and what's happening to women throughout the world on violence. It's about education. It's about political rights. It's about all these issues, human rights, obviously.

ROBERTS: Congresswoman Molinari, you've been concerned about women's issues, but you don't think it's a good idea for Mrs. Clinton to be going.

MOLINARI: No I don't. First of all I don't think it's a good idea for the conference to be held in China in the first place. I think it would have sent an even more powerful message if the United Nations international planning committee would have said, the human rights violations and the agreed violations against women in China make it impossible for us to do anything that might even intimate that we're condoning what goes on there. Clearly when Mrs. Clinton goes as first lady of the United States of America it sends a number of mixed messages.

I agree with Geraldine that this is, and could be, an important conference. But when we have the kind of tension that is existing between the United States and China right now, when you have the controlled media that China has there's no doubt that China is going to use the visit of Mrs. Clinton as a propaganda tool to tell the people in China that all must be OK.

The first lady of the United States is actually coming here to participate in a conference. How bad can we be?

FERRARO: Well I think you have to add a step further,



though. Also former president Bush is going to be there at the same time. When people say, "Oh, my goodness, that's on a private visit," knowing the Chinese, if they're going to use Mrs. Clinton's visit there as a propaganda item, they are bound to also use President Bush's visit. Let's go a step further. Going the next step further, what you're doing, Susan, is raising it to a bilateral position of the United States vs. China, which this is not. The bilateral issues are separate and apart from what's going on at this conference.

This conference is going to come out with 147 page document that's going to address the concerns of women throughout the world. And let me also say to you that China will be criticized in that document as well. China's position with reference to forced abortions, with reference to the fact that women don't participate in the political system in China, with reference to the fact that women in the work force are dealt with improperly and in a terrible way. If there are firings to be done it's women who are out. Women are forced into slavery...

MOLINARI: Geraldine, those are all very important. But let me just add to this. I think Hillary Clinton going raises it to a bilateral level. When you have all equal status of members throughout the world community, that keeps it focused -- and the attention of the world community -- on the issues at hand. Right now all anybody's talking about in the world is the fact that the first lady is going. And that's very distracting.

(UNKNOWN): Congresswoman, let me let some of the gentlemen in here. George, go ahead. Two New York women on a show, it's very (OFF-MIKE).

WILL: I need my assertiveness training.

(UNKNOWN): Come see me after the show.

WILL: Ms. Ferraro, the Chinese very much wanted the year 2000 Olympics and didn't get it. When the Russians had the Olympics we boycotted them because of the invasion of Afghanistan. Correct the ethics on this. Tell us what the ethics now are. Because a lot of Americans say that you and other American liberals would not have gone to a meeting like this in Berlin in 1935 and Madrid in 1955 and Johannesburg in 1985. Why this acquiescence?

FERRARO: Well it's not... No one is addressing the human rights situation in China when we go to this conference. And let me just say to you, George, that I participate as the U.S. representative in Geneva at the Human Rights Commission, with reference specifically to human rights issues throughout the world. And China, if you take a look at what you've done, and



the various meetings each year, China is very much a subject of what's going on.

What I'm saying to you is this is different from the Olympics. What comes out of this is not a medal for anybody. What comes out of this is a document, a 147 page document, that will be agreed to by consensus of all the nations there -- 184, well, states, that are participating.

And China will be responsible to adhere to the agreements that are made in that document. And that document will address human rights issues for women in China as well as women throughout the world. If the United States does not participate, and we are the leader and have been the leader in Vienna, in Cairo, in Copenhagen on other international conferences in which the world has participated.

FERRARO: If we don't participate in this one and make sure that the things that we have achieved for women in those other conferences are at least maintained in this document, I see a weakening of will with reference to the rights of women, and the human rights of women throughout the world.

And I see, in that instance, that truly China will be a winner, because the United States will not be there, the document will be weakened, and we will have done a disservice to women throughout the world.

WILL: Congresswoman Molinari, given that Mrs. Clinton's going, what should she say? How assertive should she be about forced abortion and forced sterilization? We have the example of Ronald Reagan standing at the Berlin Wall saying, "tear down this wall," speaking at Moscow University, challenging the system. What should Mrs. Clinton do?

MOLINARI: Well, here we come to the heart of what's going to be the near impossible problem right now. Mrs. Clinton clearly should go there and use every opportunity she gets to address the Chinese government. And speak out against forced abortion, forced sterilization, and the egregious human rights record that China has for men and for women.

But she can't do that, because as we just learned when we got into this segment on the show that President Clinton is acknowledging, and we're in a very precarious position between the United States and China right now.

So the First Lady's not going to go in there and do anything and act as forcefully as she needs to, to mitigate any problems she's causing by going over there,



because she is the wife of the President of the United States. And her words will be interpreted as words of the President. And here we go, therefore, worsening the whole geopolitical situation between the United States and China. There is no way we can win this situation as it stands today.

DONALDSON: Ms. Ferraro, I'd like to hear your answer to that question, as to what Mrs. Clinton should say.

FERRARO: Well, what she -- and I know what she's going to say. She's going to go to that conference and she's going to speak up on issues that the conference will be addressing. Again, human rights abuses to women throughout the world. And that will include human rights abuses that China is guilty of.

DONALDSON: Will she say that? Will she say, "and here in China?" Will the words escape her lips, "China?"

FERRARO: Well, let me just say to you, Sam, that if you take a look at the document, the document is very specific with reference to abuses, but does not name any individual country by name. It just doesn't.

Whether or not Hillary Clinton will get up and talk specifically about China will take that whole conference and put it in a different sphere than what it should be in. We should be concentrating on human rights abuses to women throughout the world. She will speak up very forcefully about that.

Let me just, also, say one other point. Make no mistake about it. China knows who we are speaking about. China will be very, very careful in dealing with that document, to try to water down language that deals, for instance, with slavery of women.

They know specifically who they are. They know who they are, here, in this U.N. document. They know who they are in Geneva when we deal with it. They know who they are in the General Assembly, in the Security Council. So, Hillary Clinton's presence there will be important, not only to the women of the world...

DONALDSON: May I just pose this question to both of you, and then, Ms. Molinari, you can begin it.

MOLINARI: Sure.

DONALDSON: China has a record of -- it's an awful record on human rights. We, as you know, link that to our most favored nation status. But every year we find a way to make an exception and say there's been enough progress.



Now they've released Harry Wu, and in return they get Hillary Clinton, something they want. Do we really have any pressure on China to change?

MOLINARI: No, absolutely not. I've been against the most favored nation status for China, and I think it shows that the more we afford the Chinese government, the more they take advantage of it, and the less they deliver on human rights.

With regard to what Ambassador Ferraro just said, yes, the government knows what the message is and they'll interpret it to mean China. Some of the high ranking officials in China will.

But what about the men and women who are the real victims of human rights abuses?

MOLINARI: Are they going to get that message when Mrs. Clinton goes there and doesn't specifically mention China? Or is somehow the record of this going to be able to misread and maligned to the people there so that it can be interpreted that the First Lady of the United States came to China and took part in a human right conference because we're just so good about human rights here in China?

Inevitably, that's going to be the spin that's going to be brought down to the men and women who are struggling for some kind of recognition in this world that there are tremendous atrocities being committed in China.

DONALDSON: Mrs. Ferraro, doesn't the United States blink when it comes to all of these matters?

FERRARO: No, I mean -- first of all, let's take a close look, and I get kind of a kick out of listening to the Republicans beat up on the President, and on Mrs. Clinton. Remember that this conference was chosen as a site for -- that China was chosen as a site for this conference during the Bush Administration.

Remember also that President Bush, a former President of the United States, who again -- the Chinese mentality is such that when he goes in there, they're going to say, "Hey, here's the President." They're going to say, "Here's the First Lady. Here's the President."

FERRARO: Those of them moving ahead. We are hesitant to look actually at what's going on. And to be quite frank, I think this is very much a partisan political thing that will continue...

FERRARO: And it's unfortunate for the women of the world.



ROBERTS: I want to ask you one quick question about the conference.

FERRARO: Sure.

ROBERTS: Aside from the Chinese aspect of it. And that is this whole business of gender definition. What, why is this conference doing that, and what is the political effect of that likely to be?

FERRARO: What is the conference doing, what, Cokie?

ROBERTS: This business of gender definition that the conservatives have been talking so much about.

FERRARO: Well, the problem is that there has been a lot of misinformation that is going out. Everybody was kind of stunned by the conservative attack on the use of the word gender in the document, and do you know that there was actually a meeting at the UN in which everybody sat around and said, "Gender is defined as it has been defined in every UN document as meaning male and female, and that's the end of that story."



What has happened is they have taken a 147-word document and they have tried through a good deal of misinformation -- because they don't want the U.S. going -- to try to define it as something it is not. It has -- it is not anti-family. It is not opposed to motherhood. And it is not talking about creating five genders.

It is about defining rights of women with reference to education, with reference to healthcare, with reference to political rights, with reference to domestic violence and violence against women in warfare, and violence against women in refugee camps. It is a huge document and the unfortunate thing is that most people don't know that, and most people in the media haven't read it.

ROBERTS: All right. Thank you very much, Congresswoman Ferraro, Congresswoman Molinari.

FERRARO: Thank you.

ROBERTS: The Clinton Administration policy, general policy toward China has come in for a good deal of criticism on Capitol Hill and we'll hear about that from Senator Richard Lugar and Congressman Lee Hamilton when we return.

ROBERTS: Joining us now, U.S. Senator from the State of Indiana, Republican Richard Lugar, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and here in Washington,



but also from Indiana, Lee Hamilton, the highest ranking Democrat on the House International Relations Committee.

Senator Lugar, this whole question about China has been one that you've talked a great deal about, particularly in terms of nuclear proliferation. Are -- is the United States sending all the wrong signals, particularly when talking about a summit with the Chinese leader?

LUGAR: Well, ironically, the player-for-player trade of Harry Wu for Hillary Clinton has finally brought China to the fore, and the Chinese must find it incredible that we seem to have no policy.

When the summit occurs, and I think it will, probably at the UN in October, between the two presidents, the Chinese are going to want from us a concrete statement of what we want in the relationship.

LUGAR: What we ought to say is that we want dynamic trade, because that increases jobs in our country. It increases prosperity for them. It also gives us an opportunity to export property rights ideas, contract ideas, individualism, and human rights, in that guise.

We ought to also say that we want a strategic balance with China in that area, because they are now testing missiles, as we have seen. They've had nuclear proliferation to Iran, probably to Pakistan.

They are imperialistic with regard to the spread of the islands; Hong Kong, Taiwan. We could do the same in new relations with Japan, with India, with southeast Asia, in a number of ways with Taiwan.

We need to come to grips with whether we want to have an ongoing, balanced relationship with the Chinese, strategically. It's in our advantage and clearly in theirs. But that really has to come from us. We have to know our policy, and my sense is that all of the contra temps over whether Mrs. Clinton goes or doesn't go indicates that we don't have a settled mind on this.

ROBERTS: Congressman Hamilton, we have no policy?

HAMILTON: I think we have a policy. I think this is probably the most difficult, complex, bilateral relationship in the world to manage.

We have a multi-faceted foreign policy: security interests, economic interests, political interests.

China matters. China is the most populous country in the world. It has the largest standing army, nuclear



power, a seat on the Security Council. It's an important actor today. It will become a more important actor, in all probability, in the years ahead.

The relationship, as you described earlier, is at a low point. The encouraging thing that has happened with Mr. Tarnoff's visit to Beijing is that the parties now seem to be focusing on all aspects, the broader aspects, of the relationship. I think that's a positive note. Likewise, if they move to a summit, and that's apparently the direction it's going, that's also a positive direction.

ROBERTS: But one of the reasons that it's at a low point is that the United States allowed the President of Taiwan to come in and go to his alma mater. Isn't that our right? Why should we even be in a conversation about what the United States does with the President of Taiwan, with the Chinese? Why should that even be part of the mix?

HAMILTON: This Taiwan issue is probably the most sensitive of all of the issues that we have with China. It's a very difficult one.

Since the 1972 communique, we have taken the position that all Chinese, on both sides of the Straits of Taiwan, recognize that there's one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. We don't challenge that.

That relationship has benefitted both countries, both China and Taiwan. They've both prospered. They've both grown. We have to be very careful if we move in a direction that will upset that relationship. We want to be extremely cautious in any move that would upset it.

Now, our relationships with Taiwan, I think, have prospered. It is moving towards a democracy, a full democracy. It has had marvelous economic growth. We want it to become more of an international actor. But once you move beyond that, to the point where you begin to recognize the sovereignty of Taiwan, then it creates tremendous problems in the U.S.-China relationship.

WILL: Senator Lugar, however, what if it's not really within our power to recognize the independence? China today is using missile flights, artillery barrages, disrupting international shipping and flights around Taiwan because Taiwan is on the edge of Democracy. Twenty-one million people. What if... Do they not have a right to move toward Democracy? And if they choose, democratically, toward independence?

LUGAR: Well of course they have a right to move toward democracy and I would simply point out that the current



dispute arises principally because of interpretation by the United States about a visit.

Specifically, there is nothing in the communique of '72 that says the President of Taiwan could not come to Cornell University. Warren Christopher, our Secretary of State, assured the Chinese that this was not going to happen. But suddenly, of course, it did happen. And they, the Chinese, are exploiting this once again.

I would say the movement, democratically, in Taiwan toward independence is still another question. Clearly we ought to be encouraging the Taiwanese to proceed with their negotiations that are considerable on trade and politics with the mainland.

WILL: Congressman Hamilton, a U.S. official has said the evidence is incontrovertible -- his words -- incontrovertible that M- 11 missiles have been sent by China to Pakistan. If that is demonstrated, then very severe sanctions are triggered automatically by law. Do you think that's going to happen?

HAMILTON: I don't know whether that's going to happen or not. But there isn't any doubt that China is doing a lot of saber rattling, at this point, including the sale of the missiles, including the maneuvers near Taiwan, including the actions in the South China Sea that causes very deep concern.

I think the way to deal with those problems, we may have to move to sanctions. But the way to deal with them at least initially is through dialogue and discussion. Political contact, engagement, and not through confrontation. I think that's the move we want to take.

You can't just look at this relationship in terms of Harry Wu or in terms of an international conference in Beijing. There are just too many aspects to it.

What I think we have to make very clear to China is that they're doing a lot of things we don't like and we ought not to let them get away with it. And that means we have to have a very candid, frank exchange with them and perhaps be prepared to take firmer action.

WILL: Senator Lugar, referring just a moment to the visit to Cornell, clearly Taiwan is trying to raise its international profile. Clearly China wants to pressure the rest of the world into resisting this. Clearly he would not have gone to Cornell if the Republican Congress had not put down a marker on this.

Is it not possible that this will become an issue in



the Republican presidential campaign in which you are a player, and this will become a kind of test of conservative solidarity to say that we will have as many of these visits as the Taiwanese wish?

LUGAR: It could become a marker, but I would say it's very important -- whether it's in the Republican nominating process or the general election -- we begin to talk about China altogether.

We have clearly, in the strategic sense, and Taiwan is a part of that, a question of a potential drift toward war in Asia if we're unsuccessful.

Most Americans turn off on China for months at a time. We're finally back to that point because our prosperity depends on it. Grain prices are going up because of Chinese trade. So are automobile prospects, and so forth. These are concrete for American jobs now, as well as potential war afterward.

With Taiwan, that's a part of our negotiating posture. If the Chinese understand we can play the game too, precisely, that we could have strategic interests in Asia and begin a more active phase as opposed to an almost totally passive non policy, then the Chinese have to think about it.

LUGAR: But, they want to know, what do we want? We have to determine that. And we have to be very explicit, and very firm about it.

HAMILTON: I think if we push this idea of Taiwan moving towards independence, you are going to see the whole relationship change rather dramatically, and I think to the worse for each country.

DONALDSON: May I just jump in here and throw a little heresy in here and ask you to respond to it. Chiang Kai-Shek escaped to Taiwan and in the height then of the Cold War, we put the seventh fleet there. We pretended that mainline China did not exist.

The world's moved on. Mainland China now's going to have Hong Kong. Do you doubt that 100 or 200 years from now they'll also have Taiwan? Why not step aside now and recognize that we're not going to protect Chiang's grandchildren anymore?

HAMILTON: It could very well have Taiwan as the precursor for Democracy on the mainland. It could still be China. But, it could be a China that engages in the world, as a player. That, I think, is the key factor.



DONALDSON: Do you believe Taiwan is going to...

LUGAR: We want to bring China into the international community in the sense. But, I think you have to focus on what happens.

If you move this relationship from one of engagement, to one of confrontation, what happens is that you have enormous new defense responsibilities in Asia. That's going to cost an awful lot of money. It means our whole Asian policy, not just with respect to China, goes into disarray. Countries in Asia are not going to like it if the United States and China take on a confrontational aspect.

And our whole Asian policy has to be restructured. Confrontation with China, a country as powerful as they are, means a very, very different kind of a world.

DONALDSON: Let me ask you a minute, our Most Favored Nation treatment of China. China, almost never by objective standards, comes up to the point where you really could certify that they've made a lot of progress. But, we always do because the important relationship that you both have talked about. Why not just take it off the books? Why not just be honest about it?

LUGAR: I don't think it would be a good idea. In other words, I think we're going to have Most Favored Nation, because one of our basic aspects, as I see it, is trade -- jobs in this country -- higher grain prices. That's a basic national interest.

DONALDSON: So, let's not pretend that we care about the human rights issue -- if they were going to give them Most Favored Nation treatment no matter what they do.

LUGAR: Sam, I think we, I think we do care about the human rights issue. I support Most Favored Nation for China. But, that's not the sum and substance, and the alpha and omega of our relationship with China. It's only part of it. And it is also part of our country, of our policy to want to push hard on human rights -- and to object to what China does.

We ought not to retreat on that. We ought not to push it aside. It has to be part and parcel of our policy. But, it's not the total policy.

ROBERTS: I think you've reached agreement there. Congressman Lee Hamilton, Senator Richard Lugar, thank you very much for being with us.

END



BC-WOMEN-HILLARY (SCHEDULED, NEWS ANALYSIS)

Mrs. Clinton marks role for U.S., herself at U.N. session

By Laurence McQuillan

HONOLULU, Sept 1 (Reuter) - Despite the misgivings of aides and complaints from critics, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's decision to attend a U.N. conference in China ensures a strong role for the United States and herself in the debate on women's issues.

Mrs. Clinton, in Hawaii with President Bill Clinton to participate in ceremonies marking the end of World War II, departs on Sunday for Beijing and the Fourth World Conference on Women that is sponsored by the United Nations.

Officially, she will be the "honorary" head of the U.S. delegation -- but in reality all the other members of the high-powered contingent defer to her.

"This is something she really wanted to do, something she felt really strongly about," said one adviser to Mrs. Clinton in discussing the trip.

"This is her."

The conference, and a related forum of nongovernmental organisations, will deal with a host of issues involving women's rights, including domestic violence, health care, illiteracy and poverty.

Mrs. Clinton wants "the United States to be a leader on the issues before the conference," said a White House official, who noted that even the Chinese were concerned that the world's largest gathering of women would be diminished if the first lady did not attend.

Just weeks ago, when the arrest of Chinese-American human rights activist Harry Wu further aggravated already plummeting relations between Washington and Beijing, most White House officials were saying she was unlikely to attend the conference -- everyone but Mrs. Clinton, that is.

"Everyone was saying 'No, don't go,'" said one senior administration official, acknowledging that domestic political concerns weighed heavily in the thinking heading into a tough re-election campaign next year.

Although officials in Washington and Beijing insist there was no connection between the expulsion of Wu and Mrs. Clinton's participation in the conference, only skilled diplomats could overlook the obvious connection.

Twenty-four hours after Wu was released, the White House said Mrs. Clinton would attend the conference -- an announcement that reflected not only the first lady's interests, but her own influence in her husband's administration.

Mrs. Clinton recently said, "The United States should do all that it can to make sure that barriers to women's participation are broken down and that training and credit and political involvement are available to all women."

A highly successful attorney in Arkansas before her husband was elected president, Mrs. Clinton has not followed the traditional ceremonial role adhered to by most presidential spouses -- and has been caught in controversy because of it.

She led the administration's failed fight to overhaul the nation's health care system, frequently testifying before congressional committees and negotiating directly with key members of Congress.

In the aftermath of that effort -- in which opponents demonised her along with the proposals -- and the landslide election of rival Republicans in last November's elections, Mrs. Clinton assumed a low public profile. She began emerging earlier this year to champion such concerns as the effort to detect breast cancer.

Conservative Republican presidential aspirants, including Senate leader Bob Dole and Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, have been highly critical of U.S. participation in the conference, which they contend would promote a "left wing ideological agenda" and undermine traditional family values.

An aide to Mrs. Clinton brushed aside the political critics, saying: "You have to do what you believe in."

\*\*\*\* filed by:RB--(--) on 09/01/95 at 07:16EDT \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* printed by:WHPR(JEL) on 09/01/95 at 08:47EDT \*\*\*\*



Chicago Tribune, August 20, 1995

# Not a pretty picture

## The reasons why the UN is so concerned about women and the lives they lead throughout the world

**T**here's a danger that next month's United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing will focus on the prickliness and ungraciousness of its Chinese hosts rather than on the problems of women, worldwide. That would markedly diminish whatever the once-a-decade conference might hope to accomplish.

The Chinese seem to be deliberately trying to be difficult. Their behavior has been so exasperating that some congressional leaders have called for Americans to boycott the conference. The administration has stalled for weeks about deciding whether Hillary Clinton should go to Beijing as honorary head of the American delegation, as she strongly wants to do.

Last week, the Chinese set off an underground nuclear blast, its second this year, in thumb-their-nose defiance of international efforts to halt further nuclear testing and finalize a global nuclear test ban treaty. The White House responded only by saying it "deeply regrets" the Chinese action in a statement issued from Jackson Hole, Wyo., where President Clinton is vacationing.

The Chinese have also imprisoned Harry Wu, a China-born naturalized American who has exposed human rights violations in China. Wu was charged in June with entering China illegally and stealing state secrets. So far, American protests have failed to get him released.

Rudeness by the Chinese is close to active hostility when it comes to arrangements for the Non-Governmental Organizations Forum on Women to be held Aug. 30 to Sept. 8 in connection with the UN conference itself on Sept. 4 to Sept. 15.

Despite angry reaction, the Chinese moved the NGO meetings out of Beijing, with its symbolic and telegenic Tiananmen Square, 35 miles away to the inconvenient farm town of Huairou. They apparently hope to control conferees more closely there and minimize the attention protest activities could get. Many of the 35,000 people who have applied to attend are outspoken activists for women and human rights issues.

Huairou apparently has accommodations for only about one third of the delegates who have requested them. Perhaps in hopes of discouraging people from coming, the Chinese have been slow to confirm hotel reservations and refuse to issue the necessary visas without such confirmation, making it difficult to plan travel.

Even in the best of circumstances, conferences and the resolutions they pass usually fade quickly into the fog of history. What shouldn't be forgotten, however, are the reasons why the UN is so concerned about women and the lives they lead throughout the world.

For example, the new UN Human Development Report shows that since 1970, women have progressed considerably in education and health, but are still lagging far behind men in earnings and political power. Here's a sampling of facts.

■ The market value of women's work that is unpaid or underpaid and so goes unaccounted for—and under-appreciated—in the total world

### Joan Beck

economy: \$11 trillion.

■ Percentage of the total amount of work women do that is unpaid: Two-thirds, in both developing and developed countries.

■ The percentage of all paid and unpaid work that is done by women: 53 in developing countries, 51 in industrial countries.

("There is an unwitting conspiracy on a global scale to undervalue women's work and contributions to society," says Mahbub ul Haq, principal author of the report. "In virtually every country of the world, women work longer hours than men, yet share less in the economic rewards. If women's work were accurately reflected in national statistics, it would shatter the myth that men are the main breadwinners of the world.")

■ Average number of working hours a day for married women who are employed and have children in industrial countries: 11 hours.

■ Percentage of seats in legislatures, worldwide, held by women: 10.

■ Percentage of cabinet-level posts held by women: 6.

■ Among the 1.3 billion people in the world living in poverty, the percentage who are women: 70.

■ The number of countries in the world where women fare as well as men: 0.

■ Number of children, mostly girls in Asia, forced into prostitution: 1 million.

■ Number of girls suffer genital mutilation: 100 million.

■ Number of countries in which women hold at least 30 percent of decision-making economic and political jobs: 6 (Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Seychelles and Sweden).

■ Proportion of women who are raped over a lifetime: 1 in 6.

■ Average wage of women, worldwide, compared to men: 75 percent.

It's unfortunate that China's current violations of human rights, its practice of forced abortion and its attitude toward delegates to the UN Conference overshadow the notable progress that country has made in other women's issues in recent years.

The literacy rate of Chinese women has doubled in the last 50 years, to 70 percent. Their life expectancy has increased from 63 years in 1970 to 70 years in 1991. Married Chinese women use contraceptives in higher proportion—83 percent—than women in any other country (undoubtedly a reflection of China's cruelly coercive one-child-per-couple policy). Chinese women hold about 30 percent of official jobs.

"Women hold up half the sky," Mao Zedong once said. The UN Conference aims to call worldwide attention to that fact and to help women get the credit, pay and power to which they are entitled—despite the obstacles the Chinese put in the way.





BC-RUBIN-COLUMN op-ed:R:PH

Human rights are women's rights, women's rights are human rights  
(AT-RISK)

By Trudy Rubin

Knight-Ridder Newspapers

Those conservatives who charge that the Beijing women's conference is promoting radical feminism along with the demise of family and motherhood ought to take a closer look at what's happening there.

What is most important about this gathering of women from First, Second and Third World countries is that it is advancing the relatively recent notion that all women have certain basic human rights. If that seems like tame stuff think again. In many quarters of the world the notion that women have the "right" not to be raped or beaten or sold into prostitution is downright revolutionary.

Promoting this notion, with the naysayers in a definite minority, may be the most valuable accomplishment of the conference. Since motherhood and family take a big hit if women are routinely murdered or mutilated, conservatives should be cheering this result, too.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who often gets treated as if she were personally responsible for the demise of the happy world of Ozzie and Harriet, got the tone just right when she addressed the nongovernmental delegates to the conference. Clinton said, "If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference it is that human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights, once and for all."

Why is it such an achievement that the issue of women's human rights be highlighted in the final platform of the women's conference? The reason is that flagrant abuses specifically directed against women have been traditionally excused or ignored by governments.

Sometimes these abuses are defended as part of local cultural norms, such as genital mutilation of young girls in Africa, or Mideast honor killings. Sometimes they are dismissed as inevitable, such as rape during wartime. And sometimes the abuses are only now beginning to be recognized as crimes, even in developed countries, such as domestic violence in America and Europe.

Only in 1993 did the U.N. Commission on Human Rights adopt a resolution calling for integrating the rights of women into the human rights mechanisms of the United Nations.

Later that year, governments participating in the Vienna world conference on human rights declared "the human rights of women and of the girl-child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights." Gender-based violence and exploitation, including that resulting from cultural prejudice, was denounced.

Yet even at Beijing the argument over whether women's human rights are universal, applying equally to all countries, continues. Negotiators seeking consensus have already dropped the word "universal" from definitions in the final platform, although human rights groups say that the phrasing still makes it clear that this is what is meant.

But the charges by some Third World nations that notions of universal rights for women amount to Western cultural imperialism just don't hold up when one examines what the lack of such rights entails. Does Chinese culture justify the killing of female infants (by families who are bound by China's one-child policy of population control and want a son to carry on the family line)? Not even the Chinese government supports this one.

Does Hinduism justify the murder of an Indian bride because her in-laws are angry that her dowry is inadequate? Of course not.

Should the practice in many African countries of cutting out a young girl's clitoris without anesthetic be tolerated because it is required for women to gain cultural acceptance? Is it cultural imperialism to oppose the concept behind such mutilation which claims that women are sexual predators who can only be kept chaste by eliminating their sexual pleasure?

Does Islam justify the murder of young girls who are suspected of having



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lost their virginity and thus staining the family's honor? In some areas of the West Bank and Gaza, for example, the favored method of dispensing with the victim is pouring gasoline on her while she is sleeping and lighting a match. Are those Western-educated observers correct who defend such practices as helping to keep the family together and to avoid Western permissiveness?

Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, a practicing Muslim, has a better take on the subject. She stressed to delegates that a distinction must be made between genuine Islamic teachings and social taboos that discriminate against women. Often what is justified as cultural tradition is only a reflection of local belief that the female is worth less than the male.

Thus the fight to gain recognition for human rights that revolve around the special circumstances and vulnerabilities conferred by the female gender has less to do with abstract concepts of feminism than it does with basic questions of the physical survival of women.

Even the Vatican acquiesced, for example, in draft wording of a plank at the conference giving a woman the right to say no to sex, even if she is married. This can be a life or death matter in a country where a husband can legally force a wife to have sex even when he is infected with the AIDS virus, an increasingly urgent problem in many parts of Africa.

No one thinks a U.N. conference report can protect every victim. But the setting of new norms for women's human rights in Beijing at least gives international organizations a platform from which to press governments to take into account the needs of women to be protected from gender-related violence.

That is a goal that those from all political persuasions should be able to support.

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(Trudy Rubin is a columnist and editorial-board member for the Philadelphia Inquirer, P.O. Box 8263, Philadelphia, Pa., 19101.)

\*\*\*\* filed by:KR-F(-- ) on 09/13/95 at 09:04EDT \*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\* printed by:WHP(R(JEL) on 09/14/95 at 09:01EDT \*\*\*\*