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BRIEFING BOOK OF THE FIRST LADY

U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women

September 5 - September 6, 1995

FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

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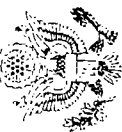
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CONFERENCE BACKGROUND

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FOCUS ON 4WCW



Questions and Answers About 4WCW

United States Department of State

Bureau of Public Affairs

Office of Public Communication

July 31, 1995



The following are some frequently asked questions and answers regarding the 4th UN World Conference on Women (4WCW).

Q. What is the purpose of the UN World Conference on Women? Why do we need it?

A. The goals of the UN Decade for Women, 1975-1985—equality, development, and peace—remain unattained. The U.S., as well as the rest of the world, has made a great deal of progress in advancing the status of women, but has not fully succeeded in making women equal partners of men.

This conference refocuses the efforts of individuals, communities, and nations on the practical actions we must take to remove the remaining obstacles to equality and develop an agenda for action that will accelerate women's empowerment.

Q. Why is the Fourth World Conference on Women important to all Americans?

A. Americans have a stake in the future of the world's women. Not only do their situation and their actions increasingly affect us and our overall commitment to democracy and human rights, but women face many of the same challenges and share the same goals the world over. They want strong families, economic security, improved education and health, personal safety, legal rights, and the ability to participate in decision-making.

That American women share these goals became increasingly apparent last year during frequent meetings between government officials involved in U.S. preparations for the conference and private citizens, many of whom are members of women's organizations

U.S. participation in this conference ensures our role in setting the policies contained in the principal

document of the conference—the Platform for Action. The Platform for Action is an agenda that will influence international and national policy well into the next century.

Q. Why is the Fourth World Conference on Women being held in China, a country with a record of serious human rights violations?

A. In 1992, the United Nations accepted China's invitation to host the conference. UN tradition follows a system of geographic rotation, and it was the Asia region's turn to hold a world conference on women. China was the only Asian nation to issue an invitation.

This is a conference about women and girls, not about China. Moreover, with some 45,000 people expected to attend the conference or forum, it is clear this conference will have—and is already having—a tremendous impact on the Chinese.

Q. What major issues of interest to women will the U.S. pursue at the conference?

A. With the advancement and empowerment of women as the primary goal, we have a unique opportunity to solidify and build on previous commitments made for women's empowerment at other UN conferences.

Besides reaffirming these international agreements, the U.S. will provide leadership on the following issues in the Platform for Action, which are of importance to Americans and the world:

- The human rights of women, including action to end violence against women.

- A life-span approach to and improvements in education and health.

- Efforts and arrangements to balance work and family responsibilities for both women and men.

- Economic security and self-reliance.

- The importance of the private sector and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as partners in building communities—locally, nationally, and internationally.

- The full participation of women in political and economic decision-making.

Q. *Why has there been controversy over the use of the word "gender" in the Platform for Action?*

A. In early April, at the close of the final preparatory meeting for the conference, a handful of countries raised objections to the use of the word "gender" throughout the draft Platform for Action. This action took most countries by surprise, since the word has been used extensively throughout the UN system for the past 20 years, usually as a reference to the distinctions between males and females that are more a matter of sociology than biology.

Interested countries met in May in order to resolve the issue. Rather than attempting to define the word, they agreed to a Chairman's statement reflecting their general understanding of the word and acknowledging that there are no new meanings attached to the word and that "gender" would continue to be understood as before in the UN system. Only one country did not join consensus. The statement will appear in the conference report.

Q. *What is the NGO Forum and how does it relate to the conference?*

A. Recognizing the importance of the private sector in helping to shape public policy and put international agreements into action, traditionally there is a forum for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and interested individuals held parallel to the government conference. The forum—operated independently from the government event—provides a structured meeting place for people interested in the issues of the government conference. It is an

information exchange involving workshops, seminars, debates, and opportunities for networking. It takes no official action, although sometimes NGOs develop alternative platforms that they offer to government delegations to use for improving the UN document in negotiating sessions. While there is no formal interchange between the forum and government conference, there is frequent and intense communication between the NGOs and government delegates. Since the draft platform is a working document able to be amended, the NGOs lobby delegates about their issues and do influence the outcome. Also, some NGOs are accredited observers to the government conference and send members to the proceedings.

Q. *Do all NGOs, regardless of their particular views, have a fair opportunity to participate in the NGO Forum? And to be accredited as observers to the government conference?*

A. Yes. Participation in the forum is a simpler matter than obtaining accreditation to the conference, where guidelines about a group's relevance to the issues, competence, and status come into consideration. To foster citizen involvement, the United States actively promotes participation of NGOs without regard to their substantive positions. The U.S., at senior levels, has urged the UN Secretariat to follow open and fair credentialing procedures for NGOs. Additionally, the U.S. has also asked the Chinese Government to meet its obligations as host country by applying fair and transparent visa procedures to all who have registered to attend.

Q. *Why was the NGO Forum site changed and why is it now so far away?*

A. Last March, the Chinese announced that the scheduled site—a sports stadium in Beijing—had "structural problems" and that the site was being relocated to

Huariou, a small town and scenic tourist area near the Great Wall of China. There was widespread concern and protest on the part of the forum organizers, NGOs, and governments that the site was too far from the government conference and grossly inadequate for scheduled activities and hotel accommodations. However, as a result of many negotiations and discussions with the Chinese, the NGO Forum organizers agreed to the site. Most forum activities will be held in Huariou, and extensive construction is underway to provide adequate facilities and accommodations. Buses will shuttle participants back and forth to Beijing, and in Beijing, NGOs will have two satellite facilities available where they can meet with delegates.

Q. *Who will be on the U.S. delegation and how are they chosen?*

A. The U.S. will send a strong delegation to Beijing—one that is skilled and representative of the broad range of people and interests in our country. It will consist of both government and private sector members. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is Honorary Chair. Although no decision has been made about her attendance at the conference, her willingness to accept this position reflects her strong interest in and commitment to effective U.S. participation.

Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, will chair the delegation. Donna Shalala, Secretary of Health and Human Services, will serve as co-chair; Timothy E. Wirth, Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs, is alternate chair. The Honorable Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, former member of Congress, is deputy head of delegation and director, and Veronica Biggins, former assistant to the President, is vice-chair.

Other members of the delegation include Maria Antonietta Berriozabal of San Antonio, Texas, Lynn Cutler of Washington, DC, Arthenia Joyner of

Tampa, Florida, Dorothy Lamm of Denver Colorado, and Linda Tarr-Whelan of Washington, DC.

The delegation is appointed by the White House in close coordination with the State Department. Government delegates are chosen for their expertise in U.S. policy and experience in international negotiating. Non-governmental delegates are chosen for their expertise in subject areas of the platform, for their achievements and contributions to public life, and for their representation of the various groups that constitute the American social fabric.

Q. *Since the United States is committed to advancing the status of women around the world, why haven't we ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women?*

A. President Carter signed the Convention in 1980 and submitted it to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification, though no further action was taken. However, the Convention came into force worldwide in 1981 after having acquired the requisite ratification of 20 nations. As of April, 1995 the number of states had grown to 139. In 1993, Secretary of State Warren

Christopher announced at the Vienna Conference on Human Rights that ratification of the treaty was a priority of the Clinton Administration. The Administration submitted its ratification package to the Senate. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted favorably to send it to the full Senate on September 29, 1994. However, the Senate took no action before it adjourned. Ratification remains a priority for the Administration, but at this time it is not known when the Senate Foreign Committee will take it under consideration. ■

FOCUS ON 4WCW



Background on UN Conferences and NGO Forums

United States Department of State

• Bureau of Public Affairs

• Office of Public Communication

• July 12, 1995



A UN world conference usually involves two related events—a conference of governmental delegations and a forum for non-governmental organizations—NGOs. These events are held simultaneously or sequentially in the same city.

The Importance of These Events

UN conferences and their parallel NGO forums focus on a particular issue or world problem. They serve to change and advance world public opinion and policy. They also are a major opportunity for those interested in, and/or working on, an issue to meet, discuss a subject, exchange experiences, and organize new groups or networks.

The effects of world conferences can be profound and long-lasting. For example, the 1985 World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade for Women, held in Nairobi, Kenya, marked the first time the world focused on and governments acknowledged the pervasive problem of violence—including domestic violence—against women. The 1992 UN Conference on the Environment and Development in Rio refocused global attention on environmental issues. The 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna declared women's rights to be human rights and violations of women, such as wartime systematic rape, as human rights violations. On the recommendation of this conference, a special rapporteur on violence against women was appointed by the UN Commission on Human Rights.

World Conference Preparations

Conferences are composed of official government delegations representing UN member or observer states. Delegates represent their government's interests, not themselves. All nations come together as equals, all have a voice, and all have an equal vote.

The conferences require the following preparations.

- The UN establishes the purpose, theme, date, and location of the conference.

- The UN Secretary General appoints a conference secretary general who handles administrative, logistical, UN-host government relations, and other substantive concerns of the conference.

- A preparatory committee—PrepCom (such as the UN Commission on Human Rights)—prepares the conference agenda and develops a proposed conference document. It also establishes guidelines for the role of NGOs in the conference—their access to the formal conference and the general rules for the separate NGO forum. Often, UN regional preparatory meetings and regional NGO forums are held prior to the world conference.

- Delegates to the conference are selected by foreign ministries and heads of government of each country. Countries sometimes hold national meetings to discuss the conference agenda and that nation's priorities and input to the conference document.

- At the conference, governments exchange views on the subject matter, and a plan or program of action—generally representing global consensus on the subject matter of the conference—is discussed and adopted.

- Drafting committees are often established to work out the final version of the document during the conference. Delegates from each nation participate in committee sessions. Negotiations on the conference document and resolutions can be influenced by individual delegates or by relationships between delegates who are experts on the subject or advocates for a particular point of view. Regional groups frequently caucus to discuss and compromise issues.

Each nation has one vote on the final acceptance or rejection of the document and usually is instructed from their capital on how to vote. By their vote—sometimes made with specified reservations—countries commit themselves to goals, standards of behavior, and actions. The conference document and resolutions may suggest new international institutions or other ways of dealing with the issue.

Following the conference, the document is distributed worldwide by the UN. It and any resolutions adopted at the conference are taken up at the UN General Assembly or by UN specialized agencies for action.

NGO Forums

In the United States, NGOs are more commonly described as private, non-profit, or voluntary organizations. **The NGO forum is usually open to everyone.** It is intended to provide a structured meeting place for persons and groups interested in the subject matter of the government conference.

NGO forums require the following preparations:

- The Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations with UN consultative status—CONGO—establishes a forum-planning committee made up of volunteers from organizations with consultative status and usually other NGOs.
- The planning committee—with its coordinator or director—obtains a site, sets the date, establishes a forum newspaper, and handles logistics. It raises funds to cover forum expenses—not including funding of workshops, seminars, or exhibits—sets the program based on submissions from interested groups, organizes briefings, and produces a printed program.
- Interested groups and individuals fill out the program: They organize workshops, seminars, and other events and apply to the coordinator for a time and space. Some groups hold workshops. **NGOs must finance their own events and participation.**

The forum takes no official action. **It is primarily an information exchange, spirited debate, networking, and organizing opportunity.** Although there is no formal interchange between the forum and the delegations to the government conference, the two events can and do influence each other. The conference document, while drafted and debated in advance, is a working document that may be amended. NGO members often lobby conference delegates and an influence the final outcome.

International Women's Year, 1975

In 1972, the UN General Assembly proclaimed 1975 International Women's Year—IWY. The proclamation called for action to promote equality, the involvement of women in development efforts, and the recognition of the woman's role in strengthening peace and promoting friendly relations among nations.

The General Assembly's action came at the recommendation of the UN Commission on the Status of Women—CSW. Established in 1947, the CSW prepares reports and recommendations on women's rights and status and has served as the preparatory body for the UN conferences on women.

The World Conference of the International Women's Year was held in Mexico City in 1975. More than 1,000 delegates, representing 133 countries, participated; 75% were women.

The parallel conference for NGOs—the NGO Tribune—drew 6,000 women and involved information exchange, debate, networking, and leadership development. It was known as the world's largest consciousness-raising session ever and attracted extensive media attention.

The government conference adopted a **World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year.** The plan, drafted by the CSW, incorporated input from grass-roots organizations and women's groups around the world and set minimum goals, such as the eradication of illiteracy. The plan provided a blueprint to NGOs, governments, and international organizations for improving the status of women.

The conference also approved a **draft Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women**, subsequently adopted by the General Assembly in 1979. In force since 1981, to date it has been ratified by 139 countries. The United States signed the convention in 1980. Senate ratification remains a top priority for this Administration.

UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development, and Peace

The General Assembly endorsed the Mexico City Plan of Action in December 1975 and proclaimed 1976-85 the UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development, and Peace. It called for a mid-decade conference in 1980 and added three sub-themes: employment, health, and education.

During the first half of the decade, the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women—INSTRAW—and the UN Voluntary Fund for the Decade of Women were created. Now called UNIFEM, the latter provides direct financial and technical support to low-income women's groups in developing countries.

The most widely quoted statistics to come out of research conducted during the first half of the decade contained the International Labor Organization's sobering, yet galvanizing, revelations that:

While women represent 50% of the world population and one-third of the official labor force, they perform nearly two-thirds of all working hours, receive only one-tenth of the world income, and own less than 1% of world property.

The mid-decade conference, held in Copenhagen in 1980, drew 1,326 delegates from 145 states. Another 8,000 women attended the NGO forum. The Copenhagen conference adopted a **World Programme of Action** calling for women's participation in politics and decision-making, and for the elimination of discrimination in law and policy. It encouraged governments and international institutions to conduct more research and to collect gender-disaggregated data.

The Decade for Women ended with the **UN World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development, and Peace** held in Nairobi, Kenya. The conference was attended by 1,400 delegates from 157 nations; about 14,000—60% of them women from developing countries—attended the NGO forum.

The conference adopted a plan of action for the years 1986-2000—the **Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women**. The strategies validated the goals and objectives of the earlier Mexico City and Copenhagen documents and indicated concrete measures to overcome obstacles to their achievement, especially in light of the worsening world economic situation that was slowing women's advancement and, at times, setting them back.

The UN Fourth World Conference on Women and NGO Forum '95

In calling for a **Fourth World Conference in Beijing in 1995**, the General Assembly, in 1990, recognized that "the pace of implementation of the Forward-Looking Strategies must be improved in the crucial last decade of the 20th century."

The Platform for Action that is expected to emerge from the Fourth World Conference on Women is not intended to replace the Nairobi document but to accelerate its implementation, based on the accomplishments of the past 10 years and the most stubborn or difficult obstacles to women's progress that remain.

The preparatory body for all four women's conferences has been the UN CSW. At its 1993 annual session, the CSW adopted five goals for the Beijing conference:

- Sharing power in private, public, political, and economic life;
- Full access to the means of development—education, employment, and health;
- Overcoming poverty;
- Promoting peace and defending women's human rights; and
- Inspiring a new generation of women and men working together for equality.

The final draft of the Platform for Action negotiated by governmental delegations at the final PrepCom in March outlines critical areas of concern and proposes objectives and actions.

Critical areas as outlined in the current UN draft are:

- The persistent and growing burden of poverty among women;
- Unequal access to and inadequate educational opportunities;
- Inequalities in health status and unequal access to and inadequate health care services;
- Violence against women;
- Effects of armed or other kinds of conflicts on women;
- Inequality in women's access and participation in the definition of economic structures and policies and the productive process itself;
- Inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels;
- Insufficient mechanisms at all levels to promote the advancement of women;
- Lack of awareness of, and commitment to, internationally and nationally recognized women's human rights;
- Insufficient mobilization of mass media to promote women's positive contributions to society;
- Lack of adequate recognition and support for women's contributions to managing natural resources and safeguarding the environment; and
- The girl child.

The conference will be the culmination of a process that has involved national and regional preparations and is intended to stimulate increased activity at all levels—from local to global—to improve the status of women and promote equality between men and women. The critical areas of concern and strategic objectives and actions contained in the platform reflect the groundwork done at these preparatory meetings where the issues were raised and actions suggested.

Five UN regional preparatory meetings were held in 1994. The European UN regional preparatory conference—in which the United States and Canada participated—was held in Vienna from October 17-21. It was organized by the UN Economic Commission for Europe—ECE—based in Geneva. Non-governmental organizations held an NGO forum in Vienna from October 13-15.

For the first time at a world conference on women, the UN is accrediting a larger number of diverse NGOs for the Beijing conference and the regional preparatory conferences.

Contact Information

United Nations. Ms. Gertrude Mongella of Tanzania is the Secretary General of the Conference. Contact:

UN Secretariat of the Fourth World Conference on Women
Division for the Advancement of Women
DC2-1234
Two United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
Phone: 212-963-8385
Fax: 212-963-3463

NGO Forum. Ms. Supatra Masdit of Thailand is the Convenor of the NGO Forum. Contact:

NGO Forum on Women, Beijing '95
211 East 43rd Street, Suite 1500
New York, NY 10017
Phone: 212-922-9267 or 922-9268
Fax: 212-922-9269

Due to the change of site to Huairou, all Forum participants are required to fill out a "New Hotel Reservation Form" that is being sent out by the NGO Forum. The deadline for returning this new form to the China Organizing Committee is July 5, 1995. The address for the committee is:

China Organizing Committee
Fourth World Conference on Women and NGO Forum on Women Beijing '95
No. 15 Jianguomen St.
Beijing 100730
P.R. China
Phone: 861-522-1133, ext: 3006
Fax: 861-522-5329

U.S. Department of State. The Honorary Chair of the U.S. delegation to the Fourth World Conference on Women is the First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, although no decision has been made about her attendance at the Conference. Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright, U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, is Chairman of the

delegation. Timothy E. Wirth, Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs will serve as Alternate Chair and Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, former member of Congress is the Deputy Chair/Director of the delegation.

U.S. preparations for the world conference have included a series of meetings in the 10 federal regions of the country held in 1994 under the auspices of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor in coordination with the U.S. Department of State and in cooperation with local organizations.

Overall coordination of U.S. preparations and immediate follow-up for the conference is the responsibility of the Department of

State. Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs Timothy Wirth established a Conference Secretariat to coordinate preparations for the Women's Conference and the related conferences on Population and Development, held in Cairo in September 1994 and the World Summit for Social Development, held in Copenhagen in March 1995. Theresa Loar is Director of the Conference Secretariat. Secretariat staff for the Beijing conference include Mary Curtin, Ann Ganzer, Kathleen Hendrix, Sharon Kotok, Jeffrey Meer, Regina Rhea, and Lycia Sibilla.

To add your name and organization to the Secretariat's mailing list, use this address:

G/Conference Secretariat
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street, NW, Room 1318
Washington, DC 20520
Phone: 202-647-3129
Fax: 202-647-4787

The Secretariat holds regular monthly briefings at the Office of Personnel Management, 1900 E Street, NW. Meetings are scheduled for Tuesday, July 11 and Tuesday, August 1, from 3:30 p.m. to 5 p.m. Call the Secretariat hotline for further information: 202-663-3070 or, for the hearing impaired, TDD number 202-647-3750. ■

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FOCUS ON 4WCW

U.S. Support for the 4WCW



United States Department of State

Bureau of Public Affairs

Office of Public Communication

July 31, 1995



In September, the United States will join the international community at the Fourth World Conference on Women—4WCW—in Beijing, China. A parallel meeting for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) NGO Forum '95, will be held at about the same time.

The United States welcomes the opportunity to participate in this important event. U.S. goals are increasingly linked with those of a peaceful and prosperous international community, and global prosperity is closely linked with the fortunes and freedoms of the world's women.

At the 4WCW, all nations will focus attention on women—the aspirations they share and the challenges they face. The conference enables us to build support for policies that invest in women and girls, such as economic and educational opportunities. By moving these issues to the top of the policy agenda, the 4WCW can make a difference in the quality of life for women and families around the world. The 4WCW will adopt a comprehensive Platform for Action to empower and improve the lives of girls and women. This action plan can serve the United Nations and national governments as a guide for setting public policy as the 21st century approaches. And it provides citizens with benchmarks by which they can measure progress in their own countries and communities.

Value to Americans

Women everywhere share the same aspirations—access to opportunity, thriving families, economic security, quality health care and education, personal safety, and the ability to participate in the decisions that affect their lives.

In looking toward this conference, Americans can take pride in the progress they have made in these areas. At the same time, Americans have much to learn from the experiences of women elsewhere, i.e., in an area such as micro-enterprise loans for women entrepreneurs. The 4WCW is a chance to exchange information and experiences about ideas that work.

The challenges women face are also similar. There is a whole range of inequalities that separate girls from

boys, and women from men. In too many parts of the world, girls are given less to eat, are provided with less medical care, and are forced to work harder and at an earlier age than boys. In the United States, women make up too large a percentage of those in poverty and constitute too small a percentage of those in power. These inequities exact an unacceptable cost in human potential and in the well-being of individuals, families, and communities. They warrant our attention and action.

Americans have a stake in how women live around the world. Improving the status and lives of girls and women is an important goal in its own right. It is also the key to building a safer, more secure, and peaceful world.

Policies that improve the status of women enable communities to alleviate poverty, develop local economies, expand the number of educated and healthy citizens, sustain the environment, and strengthen families. Educating girls and women is one of the best development decisions any country can make.

Serious problems facing the world will never be solved until women are able to use their full potential on behalf of themselves, their families, and their global and local communities.

The Path to the 4WCW

The 4WCW is the latest in a continuum of recent international meetings that have underscored the importance of advancing the status of women:

- At the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, world leaders embraced the concept that the effective participation of women as environmental managers is vital to achieving sustainable development;
- At the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, governments acknowledged that women's rights are human rights—universal, inalienable, and indivisible—and that attention to gender-specific violations is necessary to ensure the enjoyment of human rights for all;
- The Cairo 1994 International Conference on Population and Development recognized women's

health and rights as the cornerstones of effective population and development policy; and

- At the 1995 World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen, governments determined that women's equality and political and economic empowerment are essential to combat poverty and social disintegration.

These conferences and the 4WCW build on previous UN efforts in support of women. The foundation for this increased empowerment and participation was laid during the UN Decade for Women, 1976-85. Throughout the decade, women and governments worked toward advancing the status of women under the themes of equality, development, and peace. The experience of the past 10 years, including both the progress made and the obstacles faced, has demonstrated that the essential ingredient for change is women's empowerment—access to and participation in all levels of decision-making and all institutions of society.

What is at Stake

The 4WCW is an opportunity to reaffirm past commitments, link them to women's lives, and put them into action. In preparatory meetings for this historic gathering, a few important issues were left open, or unresolved, including some that were the subject of consensus at recent conferences. The U.S. will work to defend those hard-won and important agreements, and to proceed with the critical work of the 4WCW.

Much is at stake, including the idea that the world's nations can come together to craft solutions to our most serious problems. For that process to work, we must negotiate in good faith, abide by our commitments, and translate words into effective policies and actions.

U.S. Policy Goals

The following U.S. goals are embodied in the Platform for Action, and the international community has agreed to most of them. The exact language will be finalized at the 4WCW.

Improve Women's Economic Security

Although women have entered the labor force in record numbers over the last two decades, they comprise a majority of the world's poor. In some countries, 60-80% of the people in poverty are women. About 60% of poor adults in the United States are women.

The causes of women's poverty are complex. In many cases, women living in poverty reflect widespread economic underdevelopment, unemployment, and human suffering throughout a society. Women are afflicted by poverty for unique reasons as well. Women may be impoverished when they are left to raise children alone. Many fully employed women remain poor, confined to low-wage jobs or denied access to the education, credit, and resources needed to advance. Too few women receive training in science and technology—which can open the door to high-wage employment. Although the gap has narrowed in the U.S. since 1963 when women earned an average of 60 cents for every dollar men earned, there is still a gap between their wages—75 cents for every dollar. The gap is wider for some groups: in 1992, the average African-American woman earned 64 cents, and the average Hispanic woman 55 cents for every dollar men earned.

Women make great contributions to their families' well-being. When both wage-earning and unpaid work are taken into account, it is clear that women provide substantial, primary, or sole economic support to a large proportion of the world's families. In households with two wage-earning

parents, the father's income typically exceeds the mother's, yet mothers usually contribute a larger proportion of their income to family needs.

At the Copenhagen World Summit for Social Development, the international community agreed that women are pivotal in efforts to address poverty. The 4WCW will build on the Copenhagen agreement by offering an action plan to enhance women's economic self-reliance. It asks governments to remove legal and practical barriers that prevent women from obtaining training, credit, property, and opportunity, and urges support for women-owned businesses and micro-enterprises—especially in technical fields.

Women in the U.S. have progressed in this area. The number of women starting their own businesses has more than doubled in the last 10 years. During the current Administration, the U.S. Congress has made \$33 million available for small loans to those ventures through the Small Business Administration.

U.S. citizens' groups also are pioneering new ways to help women overcome poverty. Some help women break into technical, traditionally male-dominated occupations. For example, Orientation to Nontraditional Occupations for Women in Columbus, Ohio, trains low-income women for careers in carpentry, plumbing, and electrical engineering. As the U.S. works to implement the 4WCW Platform for Action, it will seek to replicate strategies such as these across the country.

Empower Women and Strengthen Families

Families are the most important unit of society. Within them, we develop self-esteem, learn how to care for others, and begin to develop our values. But families around the world are challenged as never before, and women and children bear the greatest burden. Policies that acknowledge the

realities of work and family life, and ensure a better balance of parental responsibility for children, are critical to improving the lives of women and strengthening families.

Countless families are struggling to make ends meet while caring for children and elderly family members. In most countries, it is difficult, and sometimes impossible, to sustain a family on one person's income. Therefore, economic necessity—and increased opportunity—have led millions of women to enter the paid labor force in recent years. Yet as their wage-earning responsibilities have increased, women have not experienced a corresponding lessening of their domestic duties.

At the same time, the number of single-parent households has soared. In the U.S., nearly one in five households with children is headed by a single parent—about twice as many as 15 years ago. Families are sundered for many reasons—divorce, death, war, or migration in search of economic survival and opportunity. But the result is often the same: Most single-parent families are headed by women, and many are desperately poor.

More than one-third of all female-headed families in the U.S. are living in poverty. In part, this is because fathers often fail to meet their obligations to their children when marriages break up. Two-fifths of divorced fathers do not pay court-ordered child support.

These trends add immeasurably to the difficulty of women's lives. They also deprive children of the resources and nurturance they need to thrive.

Governments and the private sector can ease the burdens on women by enacting policies that support children and the adults who care for them. For example, the U.S. Family and Medical Leave Act, signed into law by President Clinton in 1993, guarantees that most workers will not have to choose between keeping their job and caring for a new child or sick family member. In the last year, the U.S. has also helped to strengthen families by providing new resources for child immunization, Head Start, family preservation and support services, and enforcement of child support.

The Platform for Action urges the adoption of policies that preserve the integrity of families, and recognizes the needs of those—such as single-parent families—that face special challenges. The platform seeks to encourage men to shoulder their full share of responsibility as parents, by promoting their involvement in child care as well as ensuring their contribution to the financial support of the children they father. It also suggests ways to increase the earning power of poor women—especially those with children—through training and self-help programs. Finally, the Platform for Action recommends measures—such as the Family and Medical Leave Act—that enable parents to better balance jobs and family responsibilities.

Promote Life-long Education

Education is a core American value. Without education, women and men are unable to participate effectively in a democracy, protect their health and that of their families, and contribute to and benefit from a rapidly changing economy. Although the gender gap in education is narrowing worldwide, about 130 million children—two-thirds of whom are girls—lack access to primary school. Nearly two-thirds of the illiterate people in the world are women.

Universal education helps girls and women fulfill their aspirations as individuals, strengthens families, and has well-documented benefits for the broader society. These include increased economic productivity; less dependence on government benefits; and families that are smaller, healthier, and better educated. The gains can be dramatic. For example, it has been shown that women's wages rise 10-20% for each year of education they receive. In the poorest countries, each year of basic education of mothers is associated with a 5-10% decline in child mortality.

In many parts of the world, discrimination limits girls' access to education. Because boys are seen as having greater earning potential, parents often are more willing to invest in education for their sons. In the U.S. and other countries where primary

education is universal, schools can fail to benefit girls in subtle ways. For example, researchers have found that in American schools, girls receive less attention, less praise and less detailed instruction from teachers than do boys. Worldwide, girls are steered into training for low-paying jobs. Girls and women remain under-represented in science and technical education—at a cost to both their future earning capacity and to the broader goal of social and economic development.

The platform asks governments to close the gender gap in primary and secondary schooling by the year 2005, and to ensure universal access to primary education by the year 2015. It suggests ways to attract more girls and women to fields of study where they are under-represented. It proposes to broaden women's access to technical training—including training in "non-traditional" careers and continuing education. It encourages adult and family engagement in learning to promote literacy for all. These goals are closely aligned to steps the Clinton Administration has already taken to strengthen and improve educational outcomes for students of all ages. Key to this effort is the implementation of national education goals now embodied in the GOALS 2000: Educate America Act. Education reform strategies include encouraging gender-equitable teaching and learning methods, eliminating gender-bias in curriculum materials, and involving girls and women in advanced math and science courses. The Administration's new School-to-Work systems link education and employment opportunities for girls and women through educational, mentoring, and training activities, particularly in non-traditional areas.

The Platform for Action also asks governments and schools of all kinds to develop education and training programs that are free of gender bias. U.S. citizens groups have been pioneers in developing programs and materials free of gender-bias. Organizations including Girls, Inc. and the American Association of University Women are working to ensure that schools give girls the encouragement

and opportunity they deserve. For example, a program called "Girls Can!" is developing community-based models for correcting gender-bias in education.

Improve Women's Health Throughout Their Lives

Health policies and services should enhance women's physical, psychological, and social well-being throughout the life span. Girls and women often face particular barriers to health care services they need—in part because of gender discrimination, poverty, or the lack of primary health care and social services. The platform calls for improving women's access to appropriate, affordable, and quality health care and related information and services. It acknowledges that programs and services must take into account women's multiple roles and responsibilities, including their role as primary custodians of family health.

Although women experience many of the same health problems as men, they face unique health risks as a result of both gender inequality and biological difference. Too often, women are subjected to the inappropriate or over-prescription of drugs, or medically unnecessary care including the overuse of Caesarian sections. The platform seeks to address these issues and calls for ensuring voluntary and informed consent for all health services. In addition, the platform makes specific reference to the importance of addressing physical and mental health issues associated with aging, nutrition, environmental and occupational health hazards, substance abuse—including tobacco and illegal drugs—and ensuring that girls and women of all ages with any form of disability receive supportive services. Special emphasis is placed on the prevention and early detection of health problems, particularly breast, cervical, and other cancers of the reproductive system.

The platform addresses important ethical issues such as eliminating practices of over-medication and medically unnecessary or coercive medical interventions. It calls for ensuring responsible, voluntary, and informed consent for all health services. It advocates research actions—including research on how

gender-based inequalities affect women's health—to be taken by governments, the UN, health professions, and other appropriate governmental and private institutions.

Women of reproductive age face heightened health risks as well. Every year, 500,000 women die of pregnancy-related causes. Most of those deaths occur among women in developing countries who have had several closely spaced pregnancies or who resort to unsafe abortions. An African woman, for example, is 200 times more likely than a European woman to die in childbirth. Universal reproductive health care, including family planning, would go a long way toward preventing these deaths. It would also reduce infant mortality, by enabling women to avoid high-risk births. Better reproductive health care would also slow the deadly advance of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). Women are the fastest-growing group of persons living with HIV/AIDS infection. Indeed, in some U.S. cities, AIDS already has become the leading cause of death among women aged 25-44.

In preparations for the 4WCW, controversy has flared over the Platform for Action's provisions on reproductive health. The platform reaffirms consensus language that was agreed to at the Cairo conference less than a year ago, which asks governments to ensure universal access to the full range of reproductive health services, including family planning, so that every child is wanted and supported as they deserve to be and women and men can exercise their right to decide the number, spacing, and timing of their children.

The document's provisions on abortion have been the source of much debate—and much misunderstanding. While declaring that "... in no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning," the Platform for Action asks governments to address unsafe abortion as a major public health concern. It seeks to ensure that abortion services are safe when they are not against the law, to provide reliable and compassionate counseling for all women who have

unwanted pregnancies, and to provide humane care for all women who suffer the consequences of unsafe abortion.

This represents a hard-won consensus among delegates with diverse perspectives. These issues, in conjunction with the entire health section, are recognized by the U.S. as integral to a woman's ability to control her life and act as an equal partner in society. The U.S. supported that language in Cairo, and is committed to reaffirm it at the 4WCW.

The ICPD document defined a new direction for population policies, focusing on people's needs rather than demographic targets.

Protect the Human Rights of Women

In many countries, the human rights of women—and men—are violated by political persecution, torture, and disenfranchisement. But women face another dimension of injustice as well. Rape, domestic violence, and gender-based discrimination are among the abuses that disproportionately affect women in all parts of the world and prevent the full expression and enjoyment of their human rights.

Violence is a major threat to women's safety and bodily integrity. From battered women in the U.S. to the millions of impoverished women living in refugee camps, women of every class, race, and ethnicity are subject to violence and its aftermath. Women are most likely to encounter violence and abuse at home—at the hands of husbands and other male relatives. While the private nature of this crime makes it difficult to assess its full extent, research confirms its horrible and universal prevalence. Worldwide, domestic violence is the leading cause of death among women 14 to 44 years of age.

The human rights of women also encompass freedom from coercion in sexuality, contraception, and child-bearing. But many women lack these fundamental freedoms. Rape, forced prostitution, and forced marriage remain common—especially among girls and adolescents. And women's reproductive freedom has been violated by those in power seeking

to limit—or in some instances to increase—population growth. The Platform for Action condemns all such violations as abhorrent.

In 1993, delegates to the World Conference on Human Rights declared that the rights of women are an inalienable, integral, and indivisible part of universal human rights. The Platform for Action reaffirms that principle, and outlines specific actions for governments to protect and enhance those rights. For example, it calls on governments to take responsibility for preventing and punishing acts of violence against women. It also urges governments to review civil and customary law to eliminate gender-based discrimination, educate women about their legal and human rights, and condemn human rights violations of women.

Human rights issues have generated extensive debate during preparations for the 4WCW. Some delegations seek to renegotiate previously agreed human rights language from the Vienna and Cairo conferences. Again, the U.S. stands by those agreements and will work to uphold them.

The U.S. Government is committed to ensuring the human rights of women. The landmark 1994 Violence Against Women Act seeks to curb family violence in the U.S. and to help its victims by providing support networks and violence prevention programs in neighborhoods across the country. In addition, new provisions strengthen penalties for crimes against women including rape and spousal abuse. The Administration also has established an Office on the Prevention of Domestic Violence in the Department of Justice.

Protect and Support Girls and Youth

The skills, ideas, and energy of girls and young women are vital for us all to attain our goals. Yet, in many parts of the world, especially in cultures which prefer sons, discrimination can cost little girls their lives. Also, in those cultures girls suffer various forms of discrimination. They are often deprived of food and medical care. Research in Bangladesh found that boys under the age of five were given

16% more food than girls. A study in India found that girls were more than four times as likely as boys to suffer from acute malnutrition, but more than 40 times less likely to be taken to a hospital. Partly as a result, some 100 million women are missing from the world's population. The normal ratio of females to males at birth is 105 to 100, but in South Asia, West Asia, and China the ratio at birth is 94 girls to 100 boys.

The Platform for Action asks governments to eliminate preferences for sons through educational campaigns and other programs. It calls for public efforts to ensure that girls can realize their potential and develop self-esteem and to eliminate all forms of discrimination including in health, education, and forced child labor. It also asks governments for health and safety protections from all forms of violence.

Enable Women To Participate In Decision-making

When important policy decisions are made—in legislatures, board-rooms, and at negotiating tables—few women are likely to be present. Worldwide, women comprise only 10% of the members of all legislative bodies. In the U.S., men still hold 95% of senior management positions in business, although women comprise 46% of the labor force. Women also are under-represented in the ranks of scientific and technical experts who guide and influence government policy.

Women lack access to decision-making for many reasons. In some areas, women are barred from positions of power by law or custom. In others, laws have changed but centuries of discrimination have left a legacy of cultural conditioning that effectively prevents women from participating in public life. The 4WCW asks governments to remove barriers to women's full participation in all decision-making processes. At the same time, it seeks to overcome traditions of discrimination through leadership and self-esteem training for girls and women.

The Clinton Administration has been an active champion of women's participation in decision-making. The Administration has more women in

positions of real power—47%—than any before it. It has made a particular effort to appoint women to key policy-making positions in law enforcement, federal judgeships, and science and technology. Women now hold the following positions: Secretary of Energy; chief scientist at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration—NASA, and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration—NOAA; the Undersecretary of Commerce for Science and Technology; and Directors of Research and Development at the Departments of Defense and Energy.

Protect the Environment

Women must have a central place on the agenda for environmental protection in the 21st century if we are to protect our natural resources and leave our children a healthy environment.

Women play leadership roles in promoting an environmental ethic, reducing resource use, and reusing and recycling resources to minimize excessive consumption and waste. Women's contributions to environmental management—including grassroots and youth campaigns to protect the environment—often have taken place at the local level, where decentralized action on environmental issues is most needed and decisive.

The 4WCW Platform for Action makes the important linkage between women's health and environmental protection by addressing the lack of information concerning women's susceptibilities and exposures to environmental hazards and toxic substances. This is particularly urgent in light of the increasing environmental hazards worldwide, particularly in rural and poor urban areas, and the platform is an important step forward in focusing global attention on this issue.

Encourage Citizen Involvement

Worldwide, women are the driving force in thousands of citizens' groups and NGOs that work to meet the needs of various groups in society, hold governments accountable, and improve the quality of life.

The U.S. Government believes that NGOs have a crucial role to play in shaping the 4WCW Platform for Action and ensuring its implementation. In preparations for all major UN conferences, the U.S. Government makes every effort to ensure the full participation of interested citizens and NGOs and to include NGOs on U.S. delegations. During the world summit in Copenhagen, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton applauded the important work of NGOs, often in partnership with our government. In preparation for the 4WCW, the Departments of State and Labor co-sponsored 10 regional meetings across the U.S. to obtain citizens' views on issues affecting women. NGOs will also be represented in the U.S. delegation to the 4WCW, and the U.S. regularly seeks citizen input and participation in preparations for the conference. During preparatory meetings for the 4WCW, the government held daily briefings for NGOs. In addition to monthly NGO briefings in Washington, DC, the U.S. also has hosted a series of open meetings to solicit citizen comment on issues in the platform.

In UN preparatory meetings for the 4WCW, the U.S. delegation has advocated language in the platform that encourages governments to work in partnership with NGOs, grant NGOs legal status, and protect their independence. The Clinton Administration also works with the UN to facilitate NGO participation in the conference by, for example, applying fair and transparent visa procedures to all who attend.

Commitments—Putting Words Into Action

To help ensure that the words agreed to come to life, the U.S. supported language in the draft platform that invites governments to come to Beijing ready to state specific national commitments for priority action. The U.S. will propose immediate steps it will take to improve girls' and women's lives. The U.S. currently receives input from citizens on policies, programs or legislative initiatives that should be undertaken to implement the platform.

The platform already contains two commitments:

- Governments should consult with citizens groups, private sector, and philanthropic institutions to discuss implementation strategies soon after the conference; and

- Have a national strategy to implement the platform by the end of 1996.

Conclusion

The Fourth World Conference on Women is an important milestone on the path to a future that is sustainable and just. We cannot address the problems that threaten a common future unless women are empowered to make the decisions that affect their lives—and the world.

The 4WCW document presents a plan of action that is fair and sensible. It acknowledges the rich context of women's lives, and addresses women's needs as individuals, as wives and mothers, as workers, and as members of the human community.

The U.S. supports the broad objectives of the 4WCW conference. It believes that implementation of the 4WCW Platform for Action will benefit American women, families, and communities. Perhaps most importantly, it will help ensure that our children—girls and boys—grow up in a world that appreciates the dignity and potential of each person. ■

FOCUS ON 4WCW



United States Actions and Priorities

United States Department of State

• Bureau of Public Affairs

• Office of Public Communication

• June 28, 1995



The UN Fourth World Conference on Women will be held in Beijing from September 4-15, 1995. The final preparatory meeting for the conference was held at the United Nations in New York from March 15-April 7, 1995. At this meeting—held during the annual session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, the preparatory body for the conference—delegations negotiated a draft Platform for Action to be considered for adoption in Beijing. Following is an overview of the draft platform as it was negotiated at the New York meeting, describing U.S. actions and priorities.

Overall Message

The final draft of the Platform for Action to be adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing contains **distinct elements that reflect a developing consensus around the world—a consensus that did not exist 10 years ago.** The UN decade for women, 1975-85, and the document adopted at its culmination—the “Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies” (a plan for the years 1986-2000)—sought to **advance the status of women working under the broad themes of equality, development, and peace.**

The experiences of the past 10 years—a combination of research, analysis, legal reform, development work, and the networking and organizing efforts of women themselves—have brought worldwide realization that **the only way to bring about equality, development, and peace is to empower women by integrating them into the mainstream where they can work in partnership with men at all levels and structures of society.**

This directly mirrors the overarching goal for the conference set by the United States. From the first paragraph of the mission statement to the final chapters on institutional and financial arrangements for implementation and follow-up, **the draft platform calls for the empowerment of women; integration of women into the mainstream of all institutions of**

society; a gender perspective into all systems; and an equal partnership between men and women for the good of society.

The overall U.S. priority is to build on the commitments made at the past world conferences on women and on the recent world conferences on the Environment and Development in Rio, Human Rights in Vienna, Population and Development in Cairo, and Social Development in Copenhagen.

Platform Areas Requiring Extensive Negotiation

Human Rights. There are three sections on human rights: **violence against women, the impact of armed conflict on women, and the human rights of women.** Support for strong language in these sections and leadership to retain such language came from all regions of the world. The U.S. underscored governments' responsibility to ensure the human rights of women, and to advance women's legal equality and civil and political rights. African delegations, in particular, led the effort to call on governments to address harmful practices that lead to violence against women, and to review civil and customary law so as to reduce legal discrimination against women, in such areas, for example, as inheritance and property rights.

The section on violence against women provides a comprehensive definition of what constitutes such

Draft Platform for Action

Single copies of the full text of the draft *Platform for Action* are available from the Conference Secretariat at the United Nations. Requests may be made by fax (dial 212-963-3463) or by writing to:

Secretariat for the Fourth World Conference on Women
Division for the Advancement of Women, Room DC2-1234
United Nations
New York, NY 10017 □

violence and calls on governments to take responsibility for preventing and punishing acts of violence. The platform also addresses the importance of preventive action, including through counseling and rehabilitative programs for offenders.

The sections on human rights and promoting peace focus on the fact that the human rights of women are—as stated in the Vienna Declaration adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993—an inalienable, integral, and indivisible part of universal human rights, and that governments and international organizations must ensure the protection of these rights.

Although agreement has been reached on a number of important issues, there was a strong effort by some countries to prevent any language that might broaden UN efforts in the area of human rights, and efforts by some to inject political issues into the debate. Thus, large portions of these sections remain bracketed.

The draft platform calls on the UN to **integrate concern for the human rights of women into all its human rights activities.** The U.S. took the lead in committing governments to train officials, including security and military personnel, in human rights and humanitarian law, and to punish violations against women.

The platform recognizes that if women are to fully exercise their rights, they must be informed about those rights. The U.S. was part of a broad consensus recognizing that innovative programs must be developed to help women **achieve legal literacy** so that they understand and exercise their rights.

Inequality in Power-sharing And Decision-making. Drawing from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which provides that everyone has a right to take part in the government of his or her country, the platform includes a section on the importance of increasing the participation of women in politics. Although there was disagreement over the types of mechanisms for facilitating this participation—with some

countries favoring more affirmative measures—there was little disagreement expressed about the importance of this section.

Health. The U.S. goal was to take a **lifespan approach to health**, broadening attention to women of all ages and from diverse situations and backgrounds. In addition, progress was made in negotiating language on preventive programs, research, increased resources, and follow-up on women's health.

Issues related to breast and cervical cancer, as well as other cancers of the reproductive system, menopause and other conditions associated with aging, nutrition, substance abuse, and environmental and occupational health hazards are all addressed. Much of the text remaining in brackets is language that was previously agreed to in September 1994 at the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo. Bracketed text primarily addresses reproductive and sexual health including in the sections addressing HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, reproductive rights, unsafe abortions, unwanted pregnancies, contraceptives, and the number of times language addressing parental involvement in adolescent services is included in the document.

Girls. Through the leadership of African states, the G-77—a group of about 132 developing countries—introduced a new section for the platform focusing on eliminating discrimination and ensuring the rights of girls. The U.S. worked at the PrepCom to strengthen the proposed section by making it applicable globally rather than regionally. Bracketed language remains concerning discouragement of early marriage; addressing son preference that leads to prenatal sex selection; disparities in access to food, health services, and education on reproduction; and the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases.

Poverty. The platform calls attention to the increasing burden of poverty on women—the feminization of poverty—and places women's situations in the context of the global economy and the effects of global

economic policies. For this reason, there is a considerable amount of bracketed language—much of it involving “cause and effect” relationships—calling for foreign debt cancellation and the allocation of resources. The U.S. supported, and consensus was reached, on strong language calling for economic opportunities for women and inclusion of women in economic policy-making, access for women to credit and savings mechanisms, and support services. Although much of the text related to macroeconomic policies and structural adjustment programs is bracketed, consensus language calls for structural adjustment programs to be designed to minimize their negative effects on vulnerable groups and to review the impact of structural adjustment programs by means of gender-sensitive social impact assessments.

Education and Training. The U.S. supported the platform's emphasis on full participation of women and girls in life-long learning and in educational policy- and decision-making. The platform calls for equal access to education for women and girls; education, training, and retraining policies for women, particularly those re-entering the labor market; curricula free of gender stereotypes; and the reduction of female illiteracy and the promotion of family engagement in learning. Bracketed areas involve barriers to schooling for pregnant girls and young mothers, teacher training programs and materials to promote mutual respect and shared responsibilities between girls and boys, and religious expression in educational institutions.

Environment. The U.S. actively supported recognition of and action to address the data gap concerning women's susceptibilities and exposures to environmental hazards and toxic substances—the particular situation of women with low incomes, indigenous women, and minority women—the participation of women and girls at all levels of decision-making in both formal and informal arenas that influence environmental quality; and equal

access to education, information, and resources in furtherance of environmental protection and natural resource management objectives. U.S. language relating to risks to women's health in low-income areas with high concentrations of polluting industrial facilities remains bracketed.

Economics. In the section on economic structures, the U.S. supported and introduced new language that focused on the need for wider acceptance of basic worker rights as minimum labor standards for women; facilitating women's access to credit and capital markets and training; and developing new, financial intermediaries to serve their needs, including reaching hard-to-serve women, such as those in rural areas.

Mechanisms. There is much in this chapter that was supported by the U.S., including improved gender-sensitive analysis of statistics, information, and policy analysis; anti-discrimination; promotion of family-friendly policies for both women and men; and the acceptance and use of life-long learning for women and men in and out of school environments.

The platform urges governments to make efforts to measure and better understand unremunerated work, and to seek to develop methods to assess its value in quantitative terms for possible reflection in accounts that are separate from but consistent with core national accounts.

Document-Wide Features

Gender. A few countries moved to delete or bracket the word "gender" throughout the text. In order to resolve this issue, a special working group met in New York in May 1995. The U.S. joined consensus on the adoption of a chairman's statement that will appear in the conference report. The statement reaffirms that "gender," as used in the platform, is

intended to be interpreted and understood as it is in ordinary, generally accepted usage.

Diversity. The U.S. made inclusiveness a priority, working to ensure that the **diversity of women was recognized** and that some women face additional barriers to advancement because of factors other than gender. This concept is recognized throughout the document; for example, the U.S. and other supporters, working with women themselves, were successful in **including women with disabilities and those from ethnic and racial minorities**. One paragraph, early in the platform, describes the diverse situations of women which should be incorporated into action plans. Because it is bracketed, it will be negotiated in Beijing.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The U.S. strongly supported recognition of the role NGOs play in policy planning, development, implementation, and monitoring of programs for the advancement of women, and urged in several places in the document that governments work in partnership with NGOs, grant NGOs legal status and protection, and permit the independence of NGOs, including financial independence. Some delegations within the G-77 strongly oppose a monitoring role for NGOs. The U.S. has consistently supported inclusion of monitoring.

Young Women. Working with the youth caucus, the U.S. introduced language in the Global Framework calling attention to the importance of young people in shaping the next century, and the commitment that the international community must make to prepare them for the role they must play in the future. Young women should be part of the process—working to ensure that their needs and futures are addressed. The U.S. also supported specific references to young women or youth throughout the document.

Implementation and Follow-up.

The U.S. supported language in the document introduced by Australia that invites governments to come to Beijing ready to state **specific national commitments for priority action within the context of the platform**. These commitments are seen as first steps toward implementation, not as a substitute for action on the entire document. Currently, the U.S. is giving serious thought to the nature of commitments and types of initiatives it may bring to Beijing that will result in practical outcomes for women and girls in the United States.

The U.S. also supported and contributed to language that calls upon **governments to consult with relevant institutions and non-governmental organizations, preferably before the end of 1995, on how to best develop implementation strategies for the platform**. Further, governments are called upon to have such plans developed and in place within a year. The U.S. is committed to an ongoing process between government and non-governmental organizations to achieve full equality and partnership between women and men in the political, economic, and social structures of the U.S.

In this time of tight resources, the U.S.—as was true of donor nations in general—took a conservative approach toward finances and resources for implementation, urging refocusing and reallocation of existing resources where possible. Also, because the U.S. is interested in **overall reform of the UN and better coordination and linkage between its agencies and the whole series of international conferences that have been held in the past 10 years**, the U.S. concentrated on ensuring that implementation of the Beijing platform be in concert with this overall process. ■

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SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIEDScope Paper
Fourth World Conference on Women
September 4-15, 1995Summary

The following outlines the United States approach and priorities for the Fourth World Conference on Women. Delegates should use the negotiating matrix developed by the U.S. Government.

A number of issues related to human rights, diversity, resources, and macroeconomic policies were successfully negotiated at a July 31-August 4 informal negotiating session in New York. What remains to be negotiated in Beijing are several difficult issues not resolved at the informals, as well as issues not addressed that week, those related to the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), and girls.

Priorities

The primary U.S. objective is to promote the advancement and empowerment of women, and to reaffirm and build on the commitments made at other important UN Conferences. Women played vital, participatory roles in those conferences and were principal actors in implementing those agreements. Many issues essential to women's empowerment were addressed at those conferences, and women's central role in sustainable development was recognized.

Health

Issues related to health are the least negotiated because they were pushed to the end of the March prepcom and were not addressed during the summer informals. The United States, in partnership with other key actors, was successful, however, in expanding the section to address a lifespan approach to women's health as well as a wide range of health issues. The language in brackets is primarily consensus language agreed to in 1994 at the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD). During the prepcom, it seemed that generally the G-77 was standing behind the agreements on issues such as reproductive and sexual health, reproductive rights, unsafe abortion and condoms, but the handful of countries which took reservations at the ICPD were not willing to accept the language again here.

- 2 -

The United States places a high priority on its commitment to reaffirming the agreements achieved at the ICPD, many of which are fundamental to women's empowerment.

At the ICPD, a great deal of time was spent negotiating broadly accepted language on parental involvement with adolescent health services. Unfortunately, that language is not included in the draft Platform, but more than 20 references using non-consensus language on parental involvement (some of which are entirely ill-placed) are included in the draft Platform. The United States will recommend the inclusion of the ICPD consensus paragraph 7.45 in the section on health, and the removal of the additional parental involvement references that are in brackets.

The United States supports including language opposing coercive reproductive practices, such as forced sterilization or forced abortion. We also support language requiring fully informed consent regarding prescriptions and medical procedures.

Human Rights

Significant progress was made at the recent informals in reaching consensus on human rights related language. Two important issues were left unresolved: clear language about the universality of human rights and about equality between men and women. In addition, issues of reproductive rights were not addressed at the informals and remain to be negotiated.

At the informals, the United States, the Holy See, and the European Union sought to unbracket references to the "universal nature of all human rights," drawn directly from the Declaration from the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights, while the G-77 as a group sought to add language regarding "objectivity and non-selectivity" in applying human rights standards (also from Vienna). A compromise was worked out which would have combined these ideas. Only Malta objected. The United States will seek support of all delegations in advancing this compromise in Beijing.

There was no resolution of the proposal by Iran to refer to "equitable" and not just "equal" rights between men and women, in particular in regard to inheritance rights, property rights, and the right to engage in business or other economic activity. Several African delegations led the opposition to the Iranian proposal, which would undermine the concept of equality. African and Latin delegations told us that they believe they can isolate Iran and several other countries and emerge with a document with strong references to equality. The United States will support this move and will work closely with these and other delegations on the strategy to do so.

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Reproductive rights issues and related paragraphs about cultural and religious particularities were not discussed at the informals, and like health related issues remain to be negotiated. The United States places high priority on upholding language from Cairo about reproductive rights, both in the health and the human rights sections. We will also seek to replace currently bracketed language about cultural particularities, and place high priority on unbracketing all reproductive rights and other Cairo language before accepting any such language.

Political Issues

There are several political issues currently bracketed in the document which the United States will seek to delete, or reduce the number of references to.

While the United States condemns all harmful practices, including the idea of trafficking in human tissues and organs, there is no evidence that this practice exists, and references to it in the document derive from a 1980s Soviet and Cuban disinformation campaign to spread the rumor that U.S. citizens sought organs and tissues from children in developing countries. There is no validity to the charge. Unfortunately, however, the rumors continue and resulted in the near-fatal beating of an American woman in Guatemala. The United States will seek to delete references to this issue throughout the document, particularly in the sections referring to the girl child.

In addition, the United States will seek to ensure that references to military spending and weapons are pertinent to the other issues in the document. We will seek to use Copenhagen language regarding excessive military spending. The United States is a leader in world-wide efforts to stop the indiscriminate use of anti-personnel landmines, and will propose language calling for export moratoria of such landmines.

Families/Mothers

Like many other countries, the United States wants this document to refer to the many roles women play in society, including but not limited to that of mother. At the intersessionals the United States took the lead in reformulating two paragraphs (one referring to the burdens women bear and one to media images of women leaders) which would include reference to women's roles as mothers, among other roles. Latin delegations strongly supported our language. Some African and EU delegations were hesitant to accept the reference to mothers because of their concern that emphasis is all too often placed only on motherhood excluding other aspects of life. We believe all these references are important, and can demonstrate the multiple roles of women and that they should be able to change those roles.

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In both the ICPD and the WSSD, countries recognized the family as the basic unit of society and that various forms of families exist (e.g. single parent or multi-generational families).

We hope all delegations will accept the carefully balanced language on mothers and reaccept the concept of families, other than simply "the family."

Media

The Media section in the document has not been controversial, but some of it remains to be negotiated, and there are a few key points of concern for the United States.

The United States is particularly concerned that the references to the media both in the media section and other sections, not in any way compromise freedom of the press. The United States will oppose language that implies or states that governments can direct the media to cover certain issues or tell the media how to cover issues. The United States will seek to include further references to freedom of the press in relevant chapeaus and action items. The United States will oppose any efforts to include discredited ideas such as the "right to communication" which have been promoted by authoritarian governments that seek the "right" to direct the media.

Financial Resources

The draft Platform for Action contains bracketed language, introduced by the G-77, that requests "new and additional resources" to implement the Platform. Given the increasing constraints placed on the U.S. budget, we believe it is unrealistic to continue to ask governments to provide "new and additional" resources.

At past conferences, Japan and the European Union have shared the U.S. view. However, we understand that Japan and the EU can now accept the term "new and additional" -- not because they intend to increase their financial contributions, but because the exchange rate favors their currency, making their current contribution worth more in U.S. dollars than it was in the past.

In describing resources required by UN organizations to carry out their mandates, the United States should insist on the terms "adequate" or "sufficient" and "within existing resources of the regular budget of the UN."

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In describing resources needed to implement the Platform, the United States should push for "adequate" rather than "new and additional." The United States can accept "new and additional" only if the language is consistent with (preferably identical to) the World Summit for Social Development, which recognizes that other actors--not just governments--will have to be approached for resources (as in Commitment 9(i) and paragraph 14a of the Programme of Action.

Debt Cancellation

The draft Platform for Action contains three alternative proposals on debt relief (para 61c):

-- The original text, proposed by the G-77, calls on the international financial institutions (IFIs) to cancel or substantially reduce the debt burden, or convert the debt servicing of developing countries.

-- The EU text paraphrases the Social Summit language and calls on IFIs to find effective development-oriented and durable solutions to external debt problems...through the immediate implementation of the terms of debt forgiveness agreed upon in the Paris Club in December 1994.

-- The text proposed by Japan calls on IFIs to continue efforts to alleviate the debt service burden.

The United States prefers the language introduced by Japan, although it is unlikely to be accepted by the G-77. The EU text paraphrases the World Summit for Social Development and the ideas presented in it are acceptable. However, rather than paraphrasing the WSSD, we would prefer to quote directly from it. (WSSD language on debt: Commitments 1(k), 7(c), 9(o), and paragraphs 10(a), 11(e), 90(a)-(f).)

The language on debt relief was a hard fought consensus at the WSSD, which took place less than six months ago. We believe it is too early to reopen the negotiations on this issue. If the Japanese alternative text is not accepted, the United States should push for the WSSD language.

Environmental Issues

There are a few key environmental issues which remain unresolved:

We want to make sure that the Platform for Action recognizes that women who live in low income and urban areas, where there is a high concentration of polluting and industrial facilities, may face disproportionate health risks (para 247).

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The United States supports language concerning respect for and preservation of the knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous women. A paragraph on this issue (para 110j) is already agreed to in the health section of the Platform. The United States also supports including language in the Environment Section of the Platform that reaffirms the goals established by Article 8(j) of the Convention on Biological Diversity. However the bracketed text on that issue (para 253c) goes beyond Article 8(j) by, for example, introducing a reference that might be interpreted as creating a new intellectual property right for indigenous knowledge.

On the issue of transboundary movement of hazardous and radioactive waste, the United States agrees with the EU that the language should be consistent with the Basel Convention and para 208 of the 1994 ministerial decision of the Commission on Sustainable Development.

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Cleared by: G/CS:T Loar
IO:S Blodgett - OK
USUN:V Marrero - OK
PRM/POP:E Marshall - OK
L/HRR:D P Stewart - OK
L/UNA:E T Bloom - OK
NSC:ESchwartz
EB/IFD/ODF:J Dehmlow - OK
USUN/W:S A George - OK
IO/SB:D Wynes - OK
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USUN:B Williams-Manigault - OK
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Talking Points / Flash Points

Divider Title: _____

**Talking Points for First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Briefing on the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women
June 26, 1995**

Introduction and Context

- Thank you for joining us at the White House to hear about our plans for U.S. participation in the upcoming United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women and our hopes to include women across America in the discussion of the issues. We also want to make sure that the United States plays a leadership role, as it appropriately should, both in preparation for the Conference and at the Conference itself. Your concerns and interest on these issues is well-known and respected.
- This is an important year for all women because of this upcoming international conference, but it is an especially important year for American women. Seventy-five years ago we won the right to vote, something I hope will be adequately celebrated this year so women and girls today will better understand the achievement that others secured for them. Fifty years ago at the State Department, the Women's Bureau at the Department of Labor was established and we're looking forward to marking that celebration with programs this year that particularly highlight the needs of working women. And I hope that we will be able to continue to make sure that a lot of the gains that women have been able to mark in the United States will be preserved. With all of this in mind, both in terms of our world role and our domestic one, we want the Women's Conference to be a vehicle that really does help us to promote and advance a progressive agenda on behalf of women.
- All of us have a stake in how women live in our country and around the world. The issues the conference will address are issues that women live with, talk about, and worry over. And women should be active participants in helping their societies and their family address them. These are issues about improving the status of American women with the focus on economic security, strong and healthy families, safe homes and communities, and quality education. The Conference will raise these issues to the top of agendas wherever they are considered at home and around the world.
- Our overall message will be one that focuses on women as agents of change -- active participants in helping their societies meet the challenges of this and the next century.
- But that can only be achieved if women are empowered through education and access. Empowerment and access will enable women to take their rightful place as they work in partnership with men to strengthen their families and contribute to their communities.

[You might mention your experience in South Asia and the programs you visited for women, particularly ones in which women themselves played leadership roles. Lessons to be learned.]

U.S. PRIORITIES

- Our overall priority at the Women's Conference is to build on the commitments made at previous important UN conferences such as Nairobi, Rio, Vienna, Cairo, and Copenhagen, and to guard against any backsliding, which is always a possibility, and to try to advance the agenda.
- One of the most urgent goals for the United States is to be sure that the Conference reaffirms human rights for women. We will focus on two interrelated objectives -- preventing violence against women and legal literacy programs.
- We will also work toward a life cycle approach to health and education and focus on health concerns specific to women. This includes, of course, reproductive health, but we want the agenda to be broader than that. We want the agenda to start looking at the other health challenges women face, both as women and as mothers. Because we think that there are some very important health care issues that we need to address. Issues pertaining to cancer and its prevalence in certain populations and other illnesses predominately affecting women.
- We want to drive home the point that the most transforming investment we can make is in universal primary and secondary education, especially for girls. I remember in the work I did in education in Arkansas, and that I was privileged to work with many of you and the groups that you have founded around the country, over and over again we came back down to noticing that one of the most important criterion to the academic achievements a child would make is the level of education the child's mother had received -- not the father -- but the mother. And I think that we have to continue to stress access to education opportunities. When I was in Copenhagen, I had the privilege to announce a new USAID initiative for the education of girls and women. We will use the commitment I announced to urge other countries to make similar investments around the world.
- As we talk to American women about this Conference, we want to be listening as well. We had a remarkable report that was issued in 1994 called "Working Women Count." The Women's Bureau at the U.S. Department of Labor surveyed women and then analyzed over 250,000 responses from working women about the challenges and obstacles that they face in the workplace in balancing families and work. We learned a lot from that. We want to continue to listen as we try to understand how women can be helped to balance work and family and the opportunities they have available to them. if they take advantage of those opportunities.
- We will, on behalf of the United States, promote women's equality with men in the governmental, political, and economic decision making structures of society.
- We will also highlight and try to involve as many NGOs as possible. We believe strongly in participation by NGOs in all United Nations activities. When I was in Copenhagen, I stressed the role of NGOs, paid a visit to the Women's Caucus, and

made clear that the United States would continue to press not only the United Nations but also any host country, such as China, about ensuring that the broad range of NGOs who wished to be able to attend, would be able to.

- We also intend to move ahead, beyond this Conference, beyond rhetoric to action. In order to ensure the goals of the Conference are achieved, the Administration will develop a plan of action for domestic implementation.

DELEGATION TEAM

- We are putting together a very strong leadership team to head our delegation to the Women's Conference. I will serve as honorary chair. Ambassador Madeleine Albright will lead our delegation, and Under Secretary Tim Wirth will be our Alternate Chair. Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky will be our Deputy Chair. Also, we have a number of public members who have participated in the preparatory conferences (Lynn Cutler and Veronica Biggins should be at this briefing). Finally, we have selected top-notch government representatives and others with a needed expertise and perspective have been added to the delegation.
- We cannot do this Conference right if we do not have the kind of support from the Corporate community that was essential to our success in Cairo and many other ways. So, to help us make some good things happen for women here and women around the world, we really need your help.
- Introduce Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs Tim Wirth

Reasons for White House Attendance at the
Fourth World Conference for Women in Beijing

- o WH attendance would signal to domestic constituencies and the world this Administration's commitment to women's advancement.
- o The Conference focuses on issues affecting mainstream American women who are concerned about the quality of their work and family life. The Conference addresses women's access to the American dream: training, education, employment, personal safety.
- o WH presence at the plenary and NGO Forum would lend strong support to NGO partnership with governments at UN conferences. NGOs are an important citizen empowerment and democracy-building tool around the world. This Administration has broken new ground in involving NGOs in governance and encouraging the UN system to permit greater access for NGOs in the UN system.
- o WH could use the occasion of the conference to be a strong advocate for human rights and women's rights by making a very focused speech at the plenary of the Conference and at the NGO Forum.
- o WH attendance would demonstrate a pro-active stance to China's human rights and women's rights problems. A WH presence would signal a strong commitment to human rights. Human rights are central to the agenda of the Conference.
- o *Silence is not an option*
We have been working very closely with human rights groups (Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, B'Nai B'Rith Women, International Human Rights Law Group) as we prepare for prepcoms and the Conference. Much of our input on human rights for the Platform of Action in the Vienna prepcom was drafted by these groups. We are their spokespeople at the official conference on these issues. These groups would welcome a WH presence as a validation of their efforts in the human rights arena.

produce. The United States is proud of its leadership at the ICPD that resulted in a new direction on population policy emphasizing the need to educate girls and empower women in order to slow population growth and achieve sustainable development. The Clinton Administration has pledged additional resources to ensure implementation of these goals.

- * This year, the World Summit for Social Development, which will be held in Copenhagen March 6-12, will be the first time heads of governments will have gathered to address the core problems of poverty, unemployment and social integration. Again, the advancement of women is an integral part of the solutions to those problems.

In addition, the U.S. delegation will work to ensure the full participation of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the World Conference on Women, in its deliberations and in its plans for enforcement of policies advancing women in the United States and worldwide. The public/private partnerships between government and community organizations are critical to achieving new global victories for women everywhere.

0 KEY OBJECTIVES FOR THE U.S. AT THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

Delegates from the United States are committed to providing leadership for the development of a consensus U.N. Plan of Action. Key issues include:

The Family: Women play a vital role in sustaining strong families worldwide. But too often, women are left to raise children on their own, without access to quality health and child care. Too many single-parent families live in poverty. Both mothers and fathers must be held accountable for [child-bearing] and child-rearing, including economic support of their children. At the same time, women deserve equal pay at work. And, at a time of falling wages, women and men need decent income and support systems at their jobs to enable them to balance work and family responsibilities. There is a need to promote healthy and enduring relationships between parents and children.

- * **Recent USA Successes:** In 1993, President Clinton signed the Family and Medical Leave Act, now being enforced at the federal and state levels. In addition, in 1994, new resources were put into child immunization, Head Start, family support services and child support enforcement. By 1996, every child in the United States will be immunized.

Economic Security: Women in the U.S. and in all parts of the world need access to decent-paying jobs, family health benefits, food, housing and education to be productive members of the modern economy. Over the last two decades, women have entered the work force in record numbers, both as employees and business owners.

However, three out of five U.S. workers earning minimum wages are women. In many countries women constitute 60 to 80 percent of the poor.

- * **Recent USA Successes:** The number of women starting their own businesses has more than doubled in the last 10 years. Throughout the United States, women-owned businesses have fueled economic growth and helped to keep families stable, and, in the last two years, the Small Business Administration has increased loans to women-owned business by 25 percent. New tax policies, such as the earned-income tax credit, have helped millions of working families who live just above the poverty line. President Clinton has asked Congress to raise the minimum wage to \$5.25 over the next two years.

Equal Access to Education: Education is a core American value. Without a good education, all Americans are acutely vulnerable to shifts in the rapidly changing global economy. There is now an international focus on equal education for girls as a critical building block for economic security. Girls and young women in the 1990s face new social and economic challenges. These challenges include conflicting and confusing pressures from their parents, peers, the media and society in general and have resulted in increasing rates of school drop outs, teenage pregnancies, under-employment and unemployment.

- * **Recent USA Successes:** In 1994, Congress passed comprehensive education legislation called Goals 2000. This Administration is strongly committed to full implementation of this law, which will improve our education system and ensure equal access for girls under the Gender Equity Act affecting public schools across the country.

Violence Prevention and Issues of Personal Safety: From battered women in the United States to millions of impoverished women living in refugee camps worldwide, women of every class, race and ethnicity are subject to violence and its aftermath. Women must have full legal and civil protections for all of their human rights, including, most importantly, protection from abuse and violence, and their voices must be heard in the resolution of conflicts. Young women who have been subjected to violence suffer harmful effects to their personal development.

- * **Recent USA Successes:** The Violence Against Women Act, a landmark new law passed in 1994, includes programs to curb family violence and to help its victims by providing support networks and violence prevention programs in local neighborhoods. In addition, new provisions strengthen penalties for crimes against women including rape and spousal abuse. Secretary of Defense Perry has committed additional resources to insure that all U.S. troops, including those involved in U.N. peacekeeping and humanitarian missions, are

trained in working with civilian populations that include women and children.

The Clinton Administration will be working to make sure that the World Conference on Women goes beyond rhetoric to implementation and accountability. It is time to complete our own plan of action on the issues that have been discussed and debated over the past twenty years. These issues, raised by women everywhere, deserve responsive action from their government. But more importantly, women must become full partners in the decision-making that affects their lives and families, their communities, their governments and the world.

"THE WORLD OF WOMEN"

Interviews with Influential Women from Around the World

A 13-Part Radio Series (13 programs x approx. 30:00 each)

Program #13: First Lady Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton, USA

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MARLOW: WELCOME TO "THE WORLD OF WOMEN," A SERIES OF CONVERSATIONS WITH INFLUENTIAL WOMEN FROM AROUND THE WORLD ON THEIR LIFE AND TIMES. THE SERIES IS PRODUCED BY THE POPULATION REFERENCE BUREAU IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

TODAY'S GUEST IS MRS. HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON, FIRST LADY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. MRS. CLINTON IS INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED AS A LEADING ADVOCATE FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN, ESPECIALLY FOR BETTER AND MORE ACCESSIBLE EDUCATION AND HEALTH SERVICES. SHE HAS SERVED AS FIRST LADY SINCE HER HUSBAND, PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON, WAS INAUGURATED IN JANUARY 1993.

UPON TAKING OFFICE, THE PRESIDENT APPOINTED MRS. CLINTON TO HEAD HIS TASK FORCE ON NATIONAL HEALTH CARE REFORM. IN THIS POSITION, MRS. CLINTON PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN FOCUSING PUBLIC ATTENTION ON THE HEALTH CARE NEEDS OF WOMEN AND THEIR FAMILIES.

PRIOR TO HER POSITION IN THE WHITE HOUSE, MRS. CLINTON SPENT TWELVE YEARS AS FIRST LADY OF THE STATE OF ARKANSAS, WHERE HER HUSBAND WAS GOVERNOR. DURING THAT TIME, SHE WORKED FULL-TIME AS A PARTNER OF A LEADING LAW FIRM, CHAIRED AN EDUCATION COMMITTEE, MANAGED A HOME, AND CARED FOR HER HUSBAND AND DAUGHTER.

MRS. CLINTON WAS GRADUATED FROM WELLESLEY COLLEGE WITH HIGH HONORS AND THEN ATTENDED YALE LAW SCHOOL, WHERE SHE SERVED ON THE BOARD OF EDITORS OF THE YALE REVIEW OF LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION.

HERE NOW TO TALK WITH FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON IS THE HOST OF THE PROGRAM, SHELLY CRYER.

CRYER: MRS. CLINTON, WELCOME AND THANK YOU FOR JOINING US TODAY. IN LOOKING AT YOUR DEVELOPMENT AS AN ACTIVE PUBLIC WOMAN, AT WHAT POINT IN YOUR LIFE DID YOU FIRST BECOME COMMITTED TO TRYING TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE NATION'S SOCIAL PROBLEMS?

CLINTON: Well, Shelly, first, thank you for having me on this series. I appreciate what you're doing and think it is very important.

I don't know quite how to answer that question, because as a child, many of the children in my neighborhood were encouraged to do things like collect money or food, work on behalf of people in nursing homes, or children in migrant labor camp. So we were always brought up with an ethos of service, and it is something that I first thought about in relation to my neighborhood and community, and then only later in relation to the entire nation.

But it has been, for me, a life-time idea of what is expected from those of us who believe, as a friend of mine, Marian Edelman, of the Children's Defense Fund, says that service is the rent we pay for living.

CRYER: HOW DID ATTENDING AN ALL-WOMAN'S COLLEGE INFLUENCE YOUR EDUCATION?

CLINTON: I think it had a profound effect in two respects. First of all, it was a totally nurturing, supportive, challenging environment in which women were encouraged to speak their minds, to assume roles and responsibilities in the classroom and in extracurricular activities, where there were no discernible restraints that were imposed on any of us.

And the other part of the experience that was so meaningful to me is that living on a campus of an all-woman's college meant that I really made some of the best friends I could have ever made in my life, because during the week, our attention was not diverted by, you know, the young men nearby, or the dating or social scene. So I think it had both an academic and a social effect for the positive.

CRYER: AND THEN WHAT THEN ATTRACTED YOU TO THE FIELD OF LAW?

CLINTON: I think that my interest in law grew out of my activism as a student while at Wellesley College. It was the time of the civil rights movement in the United States. There was a rather significant, growing protest against the Vietnam War. It was a time when there was a heightened concern about the poor in our country.

All of those issues were ones that were of significance to me personally, and I was active on campus regarding various projects that I undertook with respect to civil rights, or tutoring children, things like that. And I believed that going to law school at that time was a way of learning how our political and legal system worked, so that I could be a more effective advocate on behalf of the causes I believed in.

CRYER: YOUR FIRST JOB OUT OF LAW SCHOOL WAS WITH THE CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND. WHAT DID YOU LEARN ABOUT THE NEEDS OF CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILIES?

CLINTON: That's right. My first job, in 1973, after I graduated from Yale, was as a staff attorney, working for the Children's Defense Fund. I had previously, during the summers in law school, worked for the predecessor organization called the Washington Research Project, which was devoted to the alleviation of poverty and the political participation of the poor. But from that grew the Children's Defense Fund, and its founder, Marian Edelman, both because she had three children of her own, and because of her belief that in order to break the cycle of poverty and to provide better opportunities for our citizens, one needed to focus on children.

I had been interested in children's issues ever since I was a child, but certainly in a more concentrated way starting in college, and then going on in law school. When I went to work for the Children's Defense Fund, one of the very first projects I was assigned to concerned the numbers of children who were not attending school for various reasons. And we actually went door to door in several communities trying to determine why children were out of school.

And I learned early on that there is a very big problem in many of our communities in translating into action at the family level, at the neighborhood level, the kinds of goals that we all hold for our children here in America. We all want our children to be healthy. We all want them to be well-educated, to be safe, to have stable environments. But so often, those desires on the part of our society are not translated into action for a myriad of reasons.

And it convinced me, as I have remained convinced, that children are the products of the values of both their families and the larger society, and parents and family members as well as others within our society, whether they be police officers, or teachers, or youth workers, or clergy, or business owners all have at least indirect responsibility for the well-being of our children.

And I feel very strongly about the responsibility we all hold, and have continued to try to fulfill that in my own life, and work to help others do as well.

CRYER: MRS. CLINTON, YOU THEN MOVED ON TO ARKANSAS, WHERE YOU WERE A PROFESSOR, A PARTNER IN A PROMINENT LAW FIRM, A MOTHER, AND A WOMAN IN ACTIVE POLITICAL LIFE. WHAT INSIGHTS DID YOU GAIN ON THE PROBLEMS WOMEN FACE DURING YOUR ARKANSAS DAYS?

CLINTON: Well, I don't know that if I really gained any new insights. I think that many of the impressions I had acquired over the years in my own schooling and my various jobs, as well as my involvement in public life, were confirmed in Arkansas, that although our country has tremendous opportunities for all of its people, including all of our women, there are still obstacles, both internally and externally, to women achieving their own full potential and defining their lives according to the choices that they believe are right for them.

So, in Arkansas, I met some extraordinary women, who had overcome rather significant obstacles to achieve success both in their personal lives as well as in the world of work, or in public life, but I saw firsthand, as I see still around our country, the difficulties that women confront in being able to obtain respect for the choices they make, whether it be a choice to become a full-time wife and mother, to be a full-time career professional without family responsibilities, or whether, as with most of us, the choice is to try to have a family and to enjoy the experiences and obligations of family life, but also to participate, either by necessity or because of a particular calling, in the world of work.

So much of what I have seen, I have seen throughout my life, including during my years in Arkansas.

RYER: APART FROM YOUR OBVIOUS PUBLIC PROMINENCE, HOW HAS YOUR LIFE BEEN DIFFERENT FROM YOUR MOTHER'S LIFE?

CLINTON: Well, that's a good question, particularly for women of my generation, because many of our mothers, coming out of the experience of the Great Depression and the Second World War, sought with all their heart, mind and soul, to provide the best possible environment for their own children, and to encourage their children, as my mother did for my brothers and myself, to get the best possible education and to be able to feel and be well-equipped to make choices that were responsible in one's adult life.

My mother never graduated from any college. She is an extraordinarily bright and well-educated person, but she never had the opportunities through her own upbringing that she and my father made sure I and my brothers enjoyed.

She also was very encouraging of me to not only attend college, but to think about what I could do that would make my own life fulfilling, and to be as supportive as she could be of choices that were very different from hers. So in many respects, she equipped me to be able to make the kinds of decisions that I have made throughout my adult life, even though they were not within her own direct experience.

CRYER: HOW DO YOU THINK YOUR DAUGHTER'S LIFE WILL BE DIFFERENT FROM YOURS?

CLINTON: I don't have any idea, except I hope that she will feel confident enough, and well-prepared enough, that whatever she chooses to do, she will feel it is the right choice for her. I do anticipate that she will attend and graduate from college, but after that, I believe it is hard to predict. But I trust that she will feel ready to make whatever decisions she chooses.

CRYER: YOUR OWN LIFE REFLECTS THE EMERGING ROLE OF WOMEN IN AMERICAN SOCIETY OVER THE PAST FEW DECADES. IN YOUR CAREER, DO YOU FEEL YOU FACED DISCRIMINATION?

CLINTON: Well, I think that I have certainly encountered instances in which I and other women in positions comparable to mine were not treated, perhaps as they would have been had they been men attempting to achieve the same goals. I personally have seen and experienced the surprise, the shock, the disbelief, the puzzlement, on the part of people that I would want to be a lawyer, for example, want to be a trial lawyer. That I would be involved in public life. That I would take on rather daunting responsibilities, like education or health care reform.

And some of it I have not seen so much as discrimination as just a real difficulty on the part of people to expand their own horizons and get beyond their own experiences to break stereotypes about what is or is not appropriate activity on the part of a woman.

So I certainly am aware of what has occurred in the past, and which I still see, from time to time, with respect to discrimination. But I think our biggest barriers, both internally as women and externally in society is to be able to clear the field so that all women can make the choices that are right for them.

MARLOW: A REMINDER NOW THAT YOU'RE LISTENING TO "THE WORLD OF WOMEN," A SERIES OF CONVERSATIONS WITH INFLUENTIAL WOMEN FROM AROUND THE WORLD ON THEIR LIFE AND TIMES. WITH US TODAY IS MRS. HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON, FIRST LADY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. HERE AGAIN IS THE HOST OF THE PROGRAM, SHELLY CRYER.

CRYER: MRS. CLINTON, WHAT DO YOU THINK ARE THE TWO OR THREE MOST PRESSING ISSUES FACING WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES?

CLINTON: I think that the economy and the capacity of the economy to not only produce jobs, which we have proven, in the last two-and-a-half years, starting with my husband's economic policy in 1993, the economy can do; it can produce jobs -- now more than 6.7 million new jobs.

But unfortunately, income and the benefits that used to be taken for granted along with jobs have not kept pace. And trying to insure that every individual, and particularly ever family, has a decent standard of living in the face of downsizing and global economic competition is, I believe, the principal problem confronting both men and women.

It's particularly important for women, because many women are their sole support, either individually, or as mothers of children. And many other women are in the work force, not out of choice, but because it takes two incomes in today's economy to produce a decent standard of living for a family. There is so much stress that is related to the economic stress that Americans are living with, and that stress falls particularly heavily on women in America today.

So first, I would continue to argue, as my husband has, that we have to continue to work as hard as we know how to make our economy produce not only jobs, but jobs with good incomes and benefits. Secondly, the stresses that arise from family life and the economic pressures on families today is one issue that I think affects women much more disproportionately even than men, because women are still, despite their entry into the job market and the work place, primarily responsible for their families. And many women are working very long days.

It's almost as though we've turned the clock back and they're back to a kind of subsistence day, in which they rise early to prepare their children, and if they have a husband, their husband for the work day. They, themselves, go to work. They come home exhausted. They then prepare meals. They then do washing and

cleaning, and they fall into bed somewhere between 11:00 and midnight only to start the cycle over again at dawn.

So I know, from my conversations with women around our country, that these family stresses, which are related to the economy, are ones that weigh very heavily on women. And I think the final thing I would say is that, although women now have far more opportunities than certainly our mothers or our grandmothers ever dreamed of, there are still barriers to women's full participation, to women's being -- to women being respected for the choices that they make.

I would like to move beyond the stereotypes, whether they are gender related, or racially related, that would free up all of our people to live up to their God-given potential. And that's particularly important for women, because women still lag behind in confidence and in a feeling that they are going to be able to make good, responsible choices, and be self-sufficient.

So the economy, the stress level in American life, and the remaining obstacles to women's full participation, are three issues that I think are still unresolved for us.

CRYER: MRS. CLINTON, YOU'VE RECENTLY RETURNED FROM AN EXTENSIVE TRIP THROUGH SOUTH ASIA. HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN THE RELEVANCE OF WOMEN'S STRUGGLE ABROAD TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES?

CLINTON: I think that's a wonderful question, because I certainly felt that trip was a personal highlight for both me and my daughter who accompanied me. And in part it was because I saw first hand the struggles of both men and women to achieve democracy and to increase prosperity for their countries.

But I was particularly impressed by the various project I visited, which demonstrated the roles that women were assuming to take some control over their own lives. To seek out and obtain education for themselves or for, particularly, their daughters. To become borrowers from various enterprises, like SEWA in India, or the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, so that they could create income for themselves and their families. To become participants in the political process.

And what I took away from that was not only extraordinary admiration for the courage that I saw women exhibiting in all the countries that I visited, but a sense that we in the United States have both much to be grateful for because of the blessings we have here in our country, and also much work to be done in order for us to realize our potential.

It is humbling to shake the hands, as I did, of women leaders in those countries who had paid the ultimate price for democracy, whose husbands or fathers or brothers or sons -- or mothers -- had been assassinated, who themselves had been imprisoned, or exiled, or tortured. None of the women I know in this country have paid that kind of price for their political beliefs, for their commitment to democracy, and yet we take for granted so much of what we have.

Many women don't even feel connected to the electoral process in our country. They don't feel they can make a difference. And certainly, when I saw first hand some of the poorest women in the world taking their own lives in hand so that they could make a better future for themselves, it made me want to redouble my efforts to reach as many American women as I could with the challenge that they, too, can make a difference in their own lives and the lives of their communities, and their nation.

So it was a very invigorating trip for me, with many, many lessons, and I hope many ideas about what we can do here, at home.

CRYER: HOW DID TRAVELING WITH YOUR DAUGHTER ALTER THE EXPERIENCE OF THE TRIP FOR YOU?

LINTON: Well, it was just the very best trip I have ever had, because having her with me enabled me to experience doubly everything we were seeing and doing. Firsthand, of course, but through her eyes. And she had so much curiosity about the places we visited, and the people we met that it kept everything fresh and so exciting -- not only for me, but I think others on the trip as well.

At one point, I said I wished I could have had every American teenager with me on that trip, because it certainly opened her eyes, and gave her a new appreciation, both of her opportunities here in this country, but also of her responsibilities because of those opportunities.

CRYER: MRS. CLINTON, YOU HAVE BEEN VERY ACTIVE IN WORKING TO DEVELOP HEALTH CARE POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES, AND HEADED THE PRESIDENT'S TASK FORCE ON NATIONAL HEALTH CARE REFORM. THROUGHOUT THE PUBLIC DEBATES, YOU SERVED AS A STRONG ADVOCATE FOR REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH. WHY DO YOU BELIEVE REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH IS SO IMPORTANT TO WOMEN?

CLINTON: Well, I think for several reasons. It is part of a woman's health. It is part of the cycle of development and life, and it is an important part of the well-being of women. It is also important that women know as much as possible about reproductive health so that they can make good decisions about their own fertility and about any problems that they might encounter.

I feel very strongly that information is power, and information about one's health, about healthy development, whether it is reproductive health or any other part of the life cycle, should be made available as broadly and deeply as possible. And one of the goals we had for health-care reform was to make available information about reproductive health more widely than it is now, so that we would have people, particularly women, making good, responsible decisions. And I still think that that is in, not only the interests of women, but in the interests of our entire society.

CRYER: MRS. CLINTON, WE ARE QUICKLY APPROACHING THE UNITED NATIONS FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN. WHAT DO YOU HOPE WILL COME OUT OF THIS CONFERENCE?

CLINTON: I would very much like to see some kind of consensus as to those steps which could be taken by women anywhere in the world that would promote a better quality of life. I would like to see the United Nations conference come down very strongly in favor of educational opportunities for women, of very broadly accessible health care services for women, of the full political participation of women, of the extension of credit -- including micro-credit and more extensive lending to women in every country.

The problems between countries with relation to their stage of development are such that different strategies have to be employed. But I think there is a fundamental need to recommit ourselves to the basic human rights of all women, to the advancement of an agenda of health, education, welfare, and political participation, as well as economic self-sufficiency that, taken in slightly different approaches, can be applied to women throughout the world.

I hope we do not see any ideological battles, any rhetorical battles between people representing their nations, or different points of view, that detract from our common commitment to advancing the cause of women's development around the world. And I'm hopeful that we will see something emerge that could be used

as an organizing tool to bring about the changes that I think the vast majority of people in the world could agree need to be undertaken.

CRYER: ONE OF THE CRITICISMS THAT IS LEVELED AGAINST WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENTS IN GENERAL, AND THE BEIJING CONFERENCE IN PARTICULAR, IS THAT WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT UNDERMINES FAMILIES. HOW DO YOU RESPOND TO THIS TYPE OF CRITICISM?

CLINTON: Well, I think the criticism is ideologically based, but not based in fact. If one looks at the quality of life in countries where women are given the tools of opportunity, there is a higher standard of living, people are healthier, indices of misery in terms of absolute poverty or infant mortality or disease are lower.

I think the evidence speaks for itself, that the best investment any nation can make is in the education and well-being of its women and girls.

Now, I know that there are different cultural attitudes with respect to the appropriate role women should play in particular societies, but I find it very hard to accept that providing decent health care, educational opportunity, some basis for self-sufficiency in the case of need could ever be considered undermining a family when we know that women do most of the work in the world, have the responsibility for raising children, and are the backbone of the vast majority of families throughout the world. Families will be better off when women are better off, and I think that should be the message of the Beijing Conference. *Women's*

CRYER: MRS. CLINTON, WE HAVE JUST ABOUT ONE MINUTE LEFT. YOU SERVE AS A ROLE MODEL FOR MILLIONS OF WOMEN AROUND THE WORLD. WHO HAVE BEEN SOME OF YOUR MOST IMPORTANT ROLE MODELS?

CLINTON: Well, I learn about new role models every day. Certainly, my own mother and the women who taught me and helped me along my own life's path are my primary role models, but I think a lot, for example, living in the White House, of Eleanor Roosevelt, who broke new ground and never let anyone forget that it is a privilege to be able to serve people, and that women have a particular opportunity to try to speak out on behalf on those amongst us who are vulnerable.

One of Mrs. Roosevelt's favorite sayings about political action was that she thought part of the role of a person in public life should be to comfort the afflicted and to afflict the comfortable, and I think that made a lot of sense in her time, and it makes sense today. All of us can do better to further the goals of a humane and just society, and that's what I hope we do.

CRYER: MRS. CLINTON, THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR JOINING US TODAY.

MARLOW: YOU HAVE BEEN LISTENING TO "THE WORLD OF WOMEN," A SERIES OF CONVERSATIONS WITH INFLUENTIAL WOMEN FROM AROUND THE WORLD ON THEIR LIFE AND TIMES. WITH US TODAY HAS BEEN MRS. HILLARY RODHMAN CLINTON, FIRST LADY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. "THE WORLD OF WOMEN" WAS BROUGHT TO YOU BY THE POPULATION REFERENCE BUREAU IN WASHINGTON, D.C. THE HOST FOR THE PROGRAM IS SHELLY CRYER. THIS IS MIKE MARLOW. THANK YOU FOR JOINING US FOR "THE WORLD OF WOMEN."

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From Cairo to Copenhagen and Beijing:

Themes and Emphases

The road that began in Rio and continued in Vienna wends its way to Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing in the next 18 months. Although each major world event held in these five cities is singular, common threads are evident. Each event requires independent analysis and public affairs treatment, yet the commonalities also merit emphasis in information and exchange activities, e.g.:

o Supporting Sustainable Development (highlighted at the 1992 Rio International Conference on Environment and Development, particularly in "Agenda 21.")

Centrally involves the sustainable use of natural resources and protection of the global ecology to promote the well-being of future generations. Sustainable development also involves combatting poverty, reducing wasteful consumption, improving urban conditions.

Democratic governance, education and public awareness are necessary for sustainable development, as is the full and equal participation "...of all relevant groups, including women, youth, indigenous people and their communities, non-governmental organizations, farmers, local authorities, trade unions, business and industry and the science and technology community." (Agenda 21)

o Advancing Human Rights and Democratization (Re-confirming the Vienna 1993 World Conference on Human Rights.)

The universality of basic human rights was confirmed in the Vienna document as well as recognition of the importance of democratic institutions and the importance of development.

o Building Global Consensus and a Comprehensive Plan of Action regarding Population and Development (The goal of the September 5-13 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo.)

Involves broadening family planning services, improved health care, particularly for women and children, equal education, empowerment of women and equal economic opportunity, greater involvement of men in family choices and responsibilities, and greater involvement of women in designing and carrying out sustainable development strategies and programs. As Under Secretary of State Tim Wirth said recently, "...At Cairo, we can forge the necessary consensus around the goals of human rights, gender equality, environmental protection, economic and social justice...." (March 30 speech.)

o Alleviating and Reducing Poverty, Expanding Employment and Enhancing Social Integration (Goals of the March 1995 Copenhagen World Summit for Social Development.)

These three mutually related goals rest on the convergence of economics, sustainable development strategies and social and humanitarian goals. Seeks to free the creative energy and strengths of individuals and communities, as stated in an early U.S. statement on the Summit: "... Whether in our domestic programs or in our foreign aid programs, the emphasis now is on building indigenous capacity, enhancing participation, decentralization, and the empowerment of communities and individuals."

o Fostering the Advancement of Women and Their Contribution to Global Peace, Prosperity and Human Freedom (the central concern of the Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace," in Beijing in September, 1995.)

Addressing the full range of concerns that relate to the empowerment of women in social, political and economic terms, the Beijing Conference deals directly with the unifying thread of the four preceding major global events, both retrospectively and in setting an agenda and goals for future action. "What I would like to emphasize .. is the fact that advancing the roles and rights of women is a critical common thread that must be woven through the recommendations and implementation of our goals from Rio, Vienna, Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing. Achievement of gender equality is essential in its own right. But I also believe that sustainable development cannot be realized without the full engagement and complete empowerment of women." (Tim Wirth March 30 speech.)

U.N. DECADE FOR WOMEN: EQUALITY, DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE

The General Assembly endorsed the Mexico City Plan of Action in December, 1975 and proclaimed 1976-1985 as the **U.N. Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace**. It called for a mid-decade conference in 1980 and added three sub-themes: employment, health, and education.

During the first half of the decade the **International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW)** and the **U.N. Voluntary Fund for the Decade of Women** were created. Now called **UNIFEM**, the latter has an annual budget of about \$12 million and provides direct financial and technical support to low income women's groups in developing countries.

The most widely quoted statistics to come out of the research conducted during the first half of the decade contained the ILO's sobering, yet galvanizing, revelations that:

While women represent 50% of the world population and one-third of the official labor force, they perform nearly two-thirds of all working hours, receive only one-tenth of the world income and own less than 1% of world property.

The mid-decade conference in 1980 in Copenhagen drew 1,326 delegates from 145 states. Another 8,000 women attended the NGO Forum. The Copenhagen conference adopted **A World Programme of Action**. It called for women's participation in politics and decision-making, and for the elimination of discrimination in law and policy. It encouraged governments and international institutions to conduct more research and to collect gender disaggregated data.

The Decade for Women ended with the **U.N. World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace** held in Nairobi, Kenya. The conference drew 1,400 delegates from 157 nations. The NGO Forum drew an estimated 14,000, 60% of them women from developing countries.

The conference adopted a plan of action for 1986 - 2000, the **Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women**. The Strategies validated the goals and objectives of the earlier Mexico City and Copenhagen documents, and indicated concrete measures to overcome obstacles to their achievement, especially in light of the worsening world economic situation that was slowing women's advancement as well as setting them back.

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Conference Issue Papers / Negotiation Instructions

Divider Title: _____

HUMAN RIGHTS TERMINOLOGY IN THE PLATFORM FOR ACTION

Note: The following are some terms commonly used in discussing human rights as well as some language which is bracketed in the draft Platform because it alters the commonly accepted language in a way which may undermine human rights. If you have further questions, please ask a member of the human rights team.

The Universal Nature of Human Rights

--The U.S. believes that the words "human rights" should generally not be preceded by qualifiers such as "universal," "universally recognized," "international," or "internationally recognized." In general, these terms could be used by some to limit the universality of human rights, which was re-affirmed in Vienna. For example, a reference to "all universal human rights," could be misinterpreted to imply that some human rights are NOT universal--perhaps because they are not universally respected or applied.

--Generally, if necessary to have a qualifier, the term "internationally recognized" would be preferable to "universal" because the rights referred to are, in fact, recognized in international declarations or conventions, even if not all countries uphold human rights or have signed on to a given convention.

--It is because of these kinds of problems that the US generally prefers to refer simply to "human rights" or "human rights and fundamental freedoms." That is the language of the Universal Declaration and the UN Charter.

--Our goal is to ensure that seemingly minor word changes do not open the door for those who do not uphold rights to assert that they have no obligation to do so. Keeping the language simply "human rights" is generally the best.

"Basic" Human Rights

--As with the term "universal," the U.S. prefers to avoid describing any human right as a "basic" human right, simply because it may raise the issue of which human rights are "basic" and which are not.

Human Dignity vs. the "Innate" Dignity of Women

--The concept of human dignity is elemental to the concepts of human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Charter assert "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women..."

--In the Platform for Action, however, there were proposals to discuss the "innate dignity of women." The US does not support use of this phrase because it can be seen to imply a different (and therefore unequal) kind of dignity for women. The US position is to refer always to "human dignity" or "the dignity and worth of the human person."

Equality vs. Equity

--As noted above, the concept of "equality between men and women" was included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and is one of the themes of the Fourth World Conference on women.

--However, there were efforts to introduce terminology which would undermine this concept.

--Iran proposed that the document refer in many places to the need for "equity" rather than or in addition to "equality." Iran proposed this language based on its view that men and women have defined roles which are not based on equality between the sexes. It believes that discrimination on the basis of sex is and can be "equitable." The US strongly believes that "equality" should be used alone in most cases, especially when referring to legal equality or equal opportunity.

--Another delegation sought to include terminology referring to the "fundamental" equality between men and women. Again, the US believes that this implies that women and men are only equal within their own spheres. We support use of simply the word "equality."

The Human Rights of Women vs. Women's Human Rights

--In talking about human rights, the US and all other delegations have agreed that the preferred terminology is "the human rights of women" rather than "women's human rights." This formulation makes clear that the human rights under discussion are not particular to women, but are universal in nature.

Human Rights Terminology
Drafted by: G/CS:MTCurin
SEC3 173 8/21/95 x7-3129

Cleared by: L/HRR:DStewart
DRL/MLA:THushek



304 Pennsylvania Avenue SE • Washington DC 20003
Phone (202)544-0200 • Fax (202)546-7142

September 1, 1995

The First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

No one who attends the Fourth UN World Conference on Women will have a louder or more influential voice than you will. As First Lady of the United States, you will be listened to closely by both governments and the worldwide NGO community. This means that should you fail to address several critical issues, your silence will speak volumes, as well. We beg you not to remain silent on the state of women's human rights everywhere in the world.

If you are to be a forceful advocate for the rights of women, you must be prepared to name the governments which violate women's rights or which fail to take action to prevent the full range of abuses against women. We understand that your primary task is to address women's rights issues and not China's overall human rights record. But you cannot afford to be silent on the issue of violations against Chinese and Tibetan women. The government of China could interpret your silence as condoning the brutal treatment of women such as its forced abortion and sterilization program.

Furthermore, during the preparation for the conference, the Chinese government conducted "Public Order" sweeps, which included sixteen executions and numerous detentions. One such case of detention is Ding Zilin, a university professor and her husband Jiang Peikun. They were accused of "economic irregularities". We have adopted them as Prisoners of Conscience, and are demanding their immediate and unconditional release. Please add your voice to this appeal.

When people are executed or imprisoned so that a UN conference can take place, it should not be the responsibility of Amnesty International and other human rights groups alone to protest. You must not remain mute when victims of human rights violations have paid such a price.

Amnesty International is an independent worldwide movement working impartially for the release of all prisoners of conscience, fair and prompt trials for political prisoners and an end to torture and executions. It is funded by donations from its members and supporters throughout the world.

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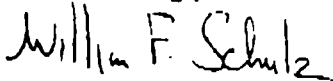
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If this conference is to be a success, it is imperative that governments leave Beijing having committed to take real and measurable action to improve the human rights of women. Specifically, we need your voice to demand that governments conclude the conference with:

- a commitment to reaffirm and build on their previous commitments to the universality and indivisibility of the human rights of women.
- a commitment to take action on state violence against women.
- a commitment to tackle human rights violations of women in armed conflict.
- a commitment to fulfill their international obligations to end human rights violations occurring in the private sphere and in communities.
- a commitment to protect women activists.

Speak, Mrs. Clinton, speak! We wish you success in these endeavors.

Sincerely,



William F. Schulz
Executive Director

April 7, 1995 11:30AM

Gender Talking Points for US Delegation

- o Gender is a commonly used sociological term that has been conventionally used in UN documents since the 1970's. The term "gender" is not defined in the current draft documents of the CSW or FWCW because it is used in its conventional usage.
- o Gender signifies that the socio-economic impacts being discussed are evaluated relative to their differing effects on men and women.
- o Within the Platform for Action, "gender" is used in analyzing socio-economic data, with gender sensitivity training for persons assisting girls who have been victims of abuse and violence, gender balance when discussing male/female representation on appointed committees, etc.
- o We have heard that some text, not connected with the CSW or the FWCW, has defined the term "gender" to include sexual orientation. We have not seen this text. Such a definition is not the way the term is used in the CSW/FWCW text. This is not the way the USG is using the term "gender" in the text.
- o We support the decision of the Chair made on April 6 that a blanket bracketing of "gender" throughout the text is not a productive way to move the document forward.
- o Our understanding is that where a working group put brackets on specific uses of gender, these brackets will remain.
- o On April 7, the Bureau decided to set up an ambassadorial-level contact group to begin work no later than May 15 in New York to address the use of "gender" in the CSW/FWCW text. The Ambassador from Namibia will chair it.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

June 6, 1995

Fourth World Conference on Women
Gender Consultations

- o The National Review article contains false information.
- o The US is not seeking to redefine gender in any way. When the issue of gender was first raised at the UN, the State Department went on record to support the conventional and traditional usage of the word.
- o No country at the UN is seeking to redefine the term gender to encompass five genders.
- o During the March/April 1995 Preparatory Conference for the UN's upcoming Fourth World Conference on Women, Honduras with support from Guatemala and Benin and later several other delegations, sought clarification of the word's meaning apparently based on false rumors circulating that this commonly-used word was somehow a cover for promoting a radical notion of "five genders."
- o The US position is that gender is a commonly used term in sociological analysis that has been conventionally used in UN documents since the 1970s. In its adjectival form, it is commonly paired with other words such as gender-disaggregated statistics, gender analysis, and gender gap. When used in this manner, it signifies that the socio-economic action or policies under discussion are being evaluated relative to their differing impacts on men and women. These are analytical constructs that enable policymakers to understand that practices or policy actions may impact differently on men and women. Common uses for such analyses include the demonstration of salary differentials between men and women or studying longevity differences.
- o The discussion of the word gender is not a North/South issue. One of the first countries to object to Honduras' intervention was Indonesia, who made a detailed objection citing its common usage within the UN system and internationally.
- o In May, there were two meetings of a UN-based contact group of interested delegate to resolve the issue.
- o Chaired by Selma Ashipala of Namibia, the group reached consensus (with the exception of Guatemala) and adopted the attached statement on May 31.



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT
CONSENSUS ON
REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH, REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS AND UNSAFE ABORTION

The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) was a major success, with 180 nations endorsing a comprehensive new strategy, embodied in the Program of Action, for stabilizing world population growth and promoting sustainable development. At the ICPD, held in Cairo last September, governmental and non-governmental participants worked together to craft a Program of Action which, among other things, calls for universal access to good quality reproductive health care services, including safe, effective, voluntary family planning; the empowerment of women and their full involvement in all aspects of population programs and policies; expanded access to education and health care services; increased responsibility of men in sexual and reproductive health and childrearing; and reduction of wasteful resource consumption.

The ICPD was historic for two principal reasons: the new direction of population policies, focusing on people's needs -- rather than simply demographic targets; and consensus on a broad range of difficult issues, in particular, defining reproductive health and reproductive rights and how to address the public health issue of unsafe abortions, which constitute nearly half of the 50 to 60 million abortions performed each year around the world. Reaching consensus on these issues required thorough and considered discussions to ensure that the interests and concerns of all nations were addressed.

No new rights were created at the ICPD. No country is required to change its laws. The Program of Action is a template for how to have successful programs which create the circumstances in which voluntary decisions about family size can be made.

The ICPD Program of Action contains 16 chapters addressing components of population related development policies: Preamble; Principles; Interrelationships Between Population, Sustained Economic Growth and Sustainable Development; Gender Equality, Equity and Empowerment of Women; The Family, Its Roles, Rights, Composition and Structure; Population Growth and Structure; Reproductive Rights and Reproductive Health; Health, Morbidity and Mortality; Population Distribution, Urbanization and Internal Migration; International Migration; Population, Development and Education; Technology, Research and Development; National Action; International Cooperation; Partnership with the Non-Governmental Sector; and Follow-up to the Conference.

Text from the ICPD Program of Action

Principles for Implementation

Chapter II introduction: The implementation of the recommendations contained in the Program of Action is the sovereign right of each country, consistent with national laws and development priorities, with full respect for the various religious and ethical values and cultural backgrounds of its people, and in conformity with universally recognized international human rights.

Reproductive Health

7.2: Reproductive health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, in all matters related to the reproductive system and to its functions and processes. Reproductive health therefore implies that people are able to have a satisfying and safe sex life and that they have the capability to reproduce and the freedom to decide if, when and how often to do so. Implicit in this last condition are the right of men and women to be informed and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of family planning of their choice, as well as other methods of their choice for regulation of fertility which are not against the law, and the right of access to appropriate health-care services that will enable women to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth and provide couples with the best chance of having a healthy infant. In line with the above definition of reproductive health, reproductive health care is defined as the constellation of methods, techniques and services that contribute to reproductive health and well-being by preventing and solving reproductive health problems. It also includes sexual health, the purpose of which is the enhancement of life and personal relations, and not merely counseling and care related to reproduction and sexually transmitted diseases.

Note: After achieving consensus on this language, the terms reproductive and sexual health are used where appropriate in the Program of Action.

7.3: Bearing in mind the above definition, reproductive rights embrace certain human rights that are already recognized in national laws, international human rights documents and other consensus documents. These rights rest on the recognition of the basic right of all couples and individuals to decide freely and responsibly the number, spacing and timing of their children and to have the information and means to do so, and the right to attain the highest standard of sexual and reproductive health. It also includes their right to make decisions concerning reproduction free of discrimination, coercion and violence, as expressed in human rights documents. In the exercise of this right, they should take into account the needs of their living and future children and their responsibilities towards the community. The promotion of the responsible exercise of these rights for all people should be the fundamental basis for government- and community-supported policies and programs in the area of reproductive health, including family planning. As part of their commitment, full attention should be given to the promotion of mutually respectful and equitable gender relations and particularly to meeting the educational and service needs of adolescents to enable them to deal in a positive and responsible way with their sexuality. Reproductive health eludes many of the world's people because of such factors as: inadequate levels of knowledge about human sexuality and inappropriate or poorly quality reproductive health information and services; the prevalence of high birth control rates; discrimination against women; and the prevalence of high rates of maternal and infant mortality.

Reproductive Rights

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Note: This is the only paragraph in the Program of Action which includes the term reproductive rights.

Unsafe Abortion

8.25: In no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning. All governments and relevant intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations are urged to strengthen their commitment to women's health, to deal with the health impact of unsafe abortion¹ as a major public health concern and to reduce the recourse to abortion through expanded and improved family-planning services. Prevention of unwanted pregnancies must always be given the highest priority and every attempt should be made to eliminate the need for abortion. Women who have unwanted pregnancies should have ready access to reliable information and compassionate counselling. Any measures or changes related to abortion within the health system can only be determined at the national or local level according to the national legislative process. In circumstances where abortion is not against the law, such abortion should be safe. In all cases, women should have access to quality services for the management of complications arising from abortion. Post-abortion counselling, education and family-planning services should be offered promptly, which will also help to avoid repeat abortions.

Note: After achieving consensus on this language, the terms reproductive and sexual health are used where appropriate in the Program of Action.

Note: The only other references to abortion in the ICPD Program of Action are:

7.44a: To address adolescent sexual and reproductive health issues, including unwanted pregnancy, unsafe abortion, and sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS, through the promotion of responsible and healthy reproductive and sexual behavior, including voluntary abstinence, and the provision of appropriate services and counselling specifically suitable for that age group;

8.19: ...However, a significant proportion of the abortions carried out are self-induced or otherwise unsafe, leading to a large fraction of maternal deaths or to permanent injury to the women involved...

8.20a: To promote women's health and safe motherhood; to achieve a rapid and substantial reduction in maternal morbidity and mortality and reduce the differences observed between developing and developed countries and within countries. On the basis of a commitment to women's health and well-being, to reduce greatly the number of deaths and morbidity from unsafe abortion¹.

12.17: Since unsafe abortion¹ is a major threat to the health and lives of women, research to understand and better address the determinants and consequences of induced abortion, including its effects on subsequent fertility, reproductive and mental health and contraceptive practice, should be promoted, as well as research on treatment of complications of abortion and post-abortion care.

13.14b: In the basic reproductive health services component – information and routine services for prenatal, normal and safe delivery and post-natal care; abortion (as specified in paragraph 8.25); information, education and communication about reproductive health, including sexually transmitted diseases, human sexuality and responsible parenthood, and against harmful practices; adequate counselling; diagnosis and treatment for sexually transmitted diseases and other reproductive tract infections, as feasible; prevention of infertility and appropriate treatment, where feasible; and referrals, education and counselling services for sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS, and for pregnancy and delivery complications.

¹ unsafe abortion is defined as a procedure for terminating an unwanted pregnancy either by persons lacking the necessary skills or in an environment lacking the minimal medical standards or both (based on World Health Organization, The Prevention and Management of Unsafe Abortion, Report of a Technical Working Group, Geneva, April 1992 (WHO/MSM/92.5).

CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN (CEDAW)

"VIOLENCE AND DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN DON'T JUST VICTIMIZE INDIVIDUALS; THEY HOLD BACK WHOLE SOCIETIES ... GUARANTEEING HUMAN RIGHTS IS A MORAL IMPERATIVE WITH RESPECT TO BOTH WOMEN AND MEN. IT IS ALSO AN INVESTMENT IN MAKING WHOLE NATIONS STRONGER, FAIRER, AND BETTER."

U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher
from an address to the World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, Austria, 1993.

BACKGROUND

On December 18, 1979, the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The Convention was the culmination of more than thirty years of work by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, a body established in 1946 to monitor the situation of women world wide and to promote women's rights.

Until 1979, when the General Assembly adopted CEDAW, there was no legally binding convention that took an international view of a woman's rights within the family and within the political, economic and social life of her country.

CURRENT STATUS

As of January 1994, 131 countries had ratified the Convention.

The United States was active in the drafting of the Convention and signed it July 17, 1980. It was transmitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in November of 1980. In the summer of 1990, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held hearings on the Convention. At that time, the State Department testified it was not prepared with a legal analysis of the Convention to determine how it comports with U.S. law.

In the spring of 1993, a letter signed by sixty-eight members of the Senate was sent to President Bill Clinton asking him to take the necessary steps to ratify CEDAW. In June of 1993, Secretary of State Warren Christopher announced at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna that the Administration would move on CEDAW and other human rights treaties.

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION, CONTACT THE WORKING GROUP ON RATIFICATION OF CEDAW, C/O AILEEN COOPER, B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN, 1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036. TELEPHONE: (202) 857-1370

Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has made public his desire to move CEDAW to the floor of the Senate for a vote as soon as is feasible after receiving the State Department report.

Sixty-seven "yes" votes are required for the Senate to consent to ratification. Action by the House of Representatives is not required for international treaty ratification.

IMPORTANCE OF U.S. RATIFICATION

The Convention reinforces the definition of discrimination against women so that those who would discriminate on the basis of sex can no longer claim that no clear definition exists.

Many women in other parts of the world lack basic legal rights or protection of their rights under the law. The cry that women's rights are human rights originates from consideration of the plight of these women. As a leading advocate for human rights, the United States has an interest in helping improve conditions for these women. Yet, as one of the few nations that has failed to ratify the Women's Convention, the United States compromises its credibility and persuasiveness as a force for human rights for women. The fact that the United States was heavily involved in the drafting of CEDAW also lends weight to its obligation to ratify.

Ratification of the Convention is called for in the concluding documents of the Vienna/Helsinki agreements of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The United States was a signatory of CSCE and should comply with its provisions.

U.S. ratification means that the United States can join the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination (CEDAW), which monitors reports of progress in treatment of women from the countries that have ratified CEDAW.

TREATY SYNTHESIS

ARTICLE 1 defines discrimination against women as any distinction or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise of human rights.

ARTICLE 2 mandates States Parties to condemn discrimination in all its forms and to ensure that national legal frameworks embody the principles of equality between men and women.

ARTICLE 3 mandates ratifying countries to guarantee women their basic human rights.

ARTICLE 4 directs ratifying countries to initiate special measures to accelerate women's equality.

ARTICLE 5 states that family education should include a proper understanding of maternity and that both men and women play a role in the upbringing of children.

ARTICLE 6 mandates ratifying countries to initiate measures that will suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of women through prostitution.

ARTICLE 7 outlines the rights of women in political and public life, including the right to vote in elections, to participate in the formulation of government policy, to hold office and to participate in non-governmental organizations concerned with the political life of the country.

ARTICLE 8 requires that women have the opportunity to represent their governments at the international level.

ARTICLE 9 mandates that women will have equal rights to acquire, change or retain their nationality and that of their children.

ARTICLE 10 outlines equal rights in career and vocational guidance, choice of curricula, scholarships and study grants, and continuing education.

ARTICLE 11 outlines equal rights in employment including equal opportunities, free choice of employment and professional training, equal remuneration, health benefits, and evaluation of work.

ARTICLE 12 mandates equal access to health care services.

ARTICLE 13 states that women shall have, on an equal basis with men, the following rights: bank loans, mortgages and other forms of financial credit and participation in recreational activities, sports and all aspects of cultural life.

ARTICLE 14 focuses on the particular problems faced by rural women including access to health care, access to training and education, and access to credit and loans.

ARTICLE 15 requires that women have equal treatment before the law including the right to make contracts and be free to choose their residence and domicile.

ARTICLE 16 mandates that women have equal rights with men in matters relating to family and marriage including the right to choose a spouse, and the right to ownership of property.

ARTICLE 17 calls for the establishment of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) which will evaluate progress made in implementation of the Convention.

ARTICLE 18 establishes a schedule of reporting on progress by ratifying countries.

ARTICLE 19 establishes a term of two years for officers of CEDAW.

ARTICLE 20 establishes a cycle of meetings to review reports of ratifying countries.

ARTICLE 21 directs CEDAW to make general recommendations based on reports.

ARTICLE 22 allows for specialized agencies to submit reports that fall within the scope of their activities.

ARTICLES 23 - 30 detail administration of the Convention.

ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE ENDORSED THE CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

American Association of Retired Persons
American Association of University Women
American Bar Association
Americans for Democratic Action
American Federation of Teachers
American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Medical Women's Association
American Nurses Association
American Psychiatric Association
American Veterans Committee
Amit Women
Amnesty International
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Association for Women in Psychology
Association for Women in Science
Black Women's Agenda
B'nai B'rith International
B'nai B'rith Women
Center for Policy Alternatives
(Women's Economic Justice Center)
Church Women United
Committee For International
Human Rights Inquiry
Episcopal Church, USA
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
Emunah Women
Federally Employed Women
Gray Panthers
Hadassah
Lawyers Committee for Human Rights
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
League of Women Voters of the USA
Na'amat USA
National Assembly of Religious Women
National Association of Commissions
for Women
National Association of Social Workers
National Association of Women Judges
National Association of Women Lawyers
National Black Women's Health Project
National Board of the YWCA of the USA
National Coalition of 100 Black Women
National Conference of Christians and Jews
National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the USA
National Council of Jewish Women
National Education Association
National Federation of Business and
Professional Women's Clubs
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
National Hook-up of Black Women, Inc.
National Ladies Auxiliary, Jewish War Veterans
National Jewish Community Relations
Advisory Council
National Lawyers Guild
National Organization For Women (NOW)
NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund
National Spiritual Assembly of Baha'is
of the United States
National Women's Conference Committee
National Women's Political Caucus
National Women's Studies Association
Organisation of Pan-Asian American Women
Planned Parenthood Federation of America
United Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)
Society for the Advancement of Women's
Health Research
Soroptimist International
St. Joan's Alliance
Unitarian Universalist Service Committee
Unitarian Universalist Association
of Congregations
United Church of Christ
United Methodist Church
United Nations Association of the United States
United States Conference of Mayors
Wider Opportunities for Women
The Women Activist Fund, Inc.
Women for International Peace and Arbitration
Women's Action Alliance, Inc.
Women's American ORT
Women's Branch, Union of Orthodox Jewish
Congregations of America
Women's International League for
Peace and Freedom
Women's International Public Health Network
Women's League for Conservative Judaism
Women's Legal Defense Fund
Women's Action for New Directions
World Federalist Association
Zonta International

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1994

Dear Mr. Chairman:

On behalf of the President, I am writing to convey the Administration's strong support for prompt ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

As you are aware, this important human rights treaty has been pending before the Senate since 1980, when the United States signed it. Despite the expression of strong support for ratification by a wide spectrum of the non-governmental community at several Congressional hearings, prior Administrations did not embrace the Convention. Consequently the process of ratification has languished. Over 130 States are now parties to the Convention; the United States is not. It is time to remedy this situation.

The Clinton Administration has placed particular emphasis on the protection and advancement of women's rights in the international community. We strongly supported inclusion of provisions on women's rights in the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action adopted at the Second World Conference on Human Rights last summer. We have taken steps to incorporate women's concerns into U.S. assistance programs, refugee programs, and population policy. We are funding projects around the world to assist women's groups and promote women's rights, ranging from expanding literacy (including literacy in legal matters) and promoting health care to protecting refugee women. Working closely with the United Nations, we are promoting the systematic integration of women's issues into UN programs, the training of UN personnel to ensure sensitivity and competence in addressing gender-based abuses, and the appointment of more women to positions of responsibility in the UN. We strongly supported the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women at the last session of the

The Honorable
Claiborne Pell,
Chairman,
Committee on Foreign Relations,
United States Senate.

UN Human Rights Commission. Another top priority is to ensure that the War Crimes Tribunal investigating the former Yugoslavia addresses the systematic rape of women as an instrument of ethnic cleansing.

Ratification of the Convention at this time would serve both to underscore our commitment to women's rights and to enhance our ability to protect and promote those rights internationally. With the Fourth World Conference on Women impending, it is in the U.S. interest to ratify this treaty promptly, since we are the only country in the Western Hemisphere which has not. In particular, participation by the United States in the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, which oversees implementation of the treaty by States Parties, would provide an opportunity for the United States to play an even more active and effective role in the articulation and advancement of the principles of non-discrimination and equality for women around the world.

These principles find clear expression, of course, in our own domestic law. At both the federal and state levels, current U.S. law provides strong guarantees of equal protection, as well as effective protections against discriminatory conduct. As a result, our law largely complies with the requirements of the Convention. Ratification can therefore be premised on a relatively small number of reservations, understandings and declarations. They are set forth in the enclosed list.

To assist the Committee in its consideration of these proposals, I am enclosing a detailed memorandum analyzing the requirements of the Convention in relation to the relevant provisions of current U.S. law and explaining the reasoning behind each of the proposed reservations, understandings and declarations.

On behalf of the President, I urge the Senate to give its advice and consent to ratification of this important human rights treaty.

Sincerely,

Warren.

Warren Christopher

Enclosures:

1. Proposed Reservations, Understandings and Declarations
2. Analysis of the Convention