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BODY:

In July 1989, about a month after Chinese troops killed hundreds of civilians in a crackdown on student-led protests in Tiananmen Square, a little-known official named Wang Zhenyao from China's Ministry of Civil Affairs traveled to a village in the northeastern province of Liaoning to oversee a democratic election.

Wang traveled with one of the vice ministers, who nervously wondered aloud whether it wasn't an inopportune time to be promoting grass-roots democracy. "The word democracy had become unmentionable," Wang recalls.

Not to worry, Wang reassured the vice minister. If the local officials were supportive, there would be no problem, he said. The balloting went off without any serious hitches.

Nearly a decade later, genuine elections have become commonplace in roughly half of China's 928,000 villages, thanks in large part to the self-effacing Wang, who has crisscrossed China's vast countryside training local officials in the most elementary principles of democracy and democratic procedures.

That may seem like an uncommon achievement for a bureaucrat in what is still a Communist state. But Wang is just part of a remarkable new elite in and outside China's government that is beginning to transform the country at the turn of a new century.

They are the most talented portion of the Cultural Revolution generation, a group comparable to the baby boomers of the West that for the most part lost its way amid the political and economic upheaval that racked China from 1966 through 1976. The few who, like Wang, managed to claw their way back into universities and get their careers back on track are self-starters who learned hard lessons about their society and its political system.

Now, they're hitting the peaks of their careers, carrying with them the indelible marks of that earlier time. Though less well-known internationally than the country's senior leaders, these people in their late thirties and forties are reshaping China's one-party politics, its booming businesses and

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its culture. Many of them believe that in the next century, they are likely to make China a more stable country with greater democracy, a more open and capitalist economy, and far greater personal freedom.

In the case of the village democracy program that Wang has championed, the changes are in some ways subtle so far. The experiment has been confined to communities averaging about 1,000 residents, and political parties other than the Communists are not allowed. In many places vote-buying and ballot-rigging are problems. Still, any resident may be a candidate for the freely elected village council, which has the power to levy taxes and manages local services and schools.

Wang estimates that he has visited about 1,000 villages, from Gansu province, the gateway to China's far west, to Shaoshan in Hunan province, where villagers gave him a small copper statue of their famous native son, the late Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Zedong, who ruled China like a latter-day emperor. The statue stands on his bookshelves at home, near an encyclopedic series on Chinese history and a Chinese translation of the 19th-century classic by Alexis de Tocqueville, "Democracy in America."

In every place he has visited, Wang has approached local officials with a disarming, "aw shucks" air about him, prodding them to adopt more open primaries and procedures to ensure voter privacy. At the same time, he has deftly worked China's bureaucracy, tapped into different personal networks, and at times called on old friends in provincial governments or in the national media to pressure recalcitrant local officials.

Building democracy, Wang said, "is like rolling snowballs. At first you have just a little bit. Then more and more."

In early 1995, the weather in Jilin province was certainly cold enough for snowballs. Wang trekked there to observe elections in Lishu, a county Wang was cultivating as a model of rural democracy. Though it seemed as though the cold would lower voter turnout, Wang had learned that during good weather peasants are too busy in the fields to vote.

In Dongbaishan, population 1,300, people braved subfreezing temperatures to listen to candidates in a decrepit schoolroom with faded pictures of Albert Einstein, Madame Curie and other scientists staring down from the walls. Smoke seeped from a coal stove and mixed with cigarette smoke billowing from peasants. Soon it was barely possible to see across the crowded room.

The three candidates delivered campaign speeches. One spoke with a folksy, unprepossessing style, and one sounded as though he was giving a Mao-era harangue. All obliquely criticized the financial expertise of the outgoing village party chief, who had frittered away \$ 1,200 on an ill-conceived pig-raising venture. It was a prodigious sum in a poor area where per capita income averages only \$ 120 a year. The incumbent party chief, the local leader for 20 years, dropped out after a disappointing showing in the primary.

"My thinking can't keep up with the current thinking," he said.

"We need to build a democratic culture," said Wang. "Our tradition is that you don't speak out loud, you wait some years, have a revolution and overthrow the government. We're saying that in three years you can throw out the

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government."

It is one of the ironies of communist China that a government that proclaimed the wisdom of peasants during the Cultural Revolution, which took refuge among the peasants during the civil war with the Nationalists, in fact places little faith in peasants and frequently cites the rural dwellers' lack of education as a reason that Western style democracy can't be introduced here. Chinese leaders fear that open elections would lead to irresponsible populism or, worse yet, chaos.

Wang, however, has never doubted the common sense of people from the countryside. He's one of them. During his life, chaos has come from above.

Born in 1954 in a village in Henan province, Wang's first political memory is hunger. Mao's economic program, the Great Leap Forward initiated in 1958, had failed spectacularly. Though Mao wouldn't admit that the economy was collapsing, in villages like the one where Wang grew up it was no secret. Fuel and cooking oil were in short supply. The cooking pots had been melted down to meet Mao's unrealistic steel production targets.

To survive, Wang ate raw tree bark. "We ate it raw, right off the tree," he said. "For my generation, the first deep impression is hunger. We were very, very hungry."

His area barely had time to recover from the Great Leap Forward when the Cultural Revolution began. In November 1966, at age 12, Wang spent two weeks in distant Beijing with his classmates to catch a glimpse of the revered Mao in Tiananmen Square. When Mao appeared in the square, he was greeted by Wang and half a million other screaming youths waving their little red books of Mao's quotations and chanting "Long live Chairman Mao."

"My generation really believed we were red," Wang recalls. "We believed in Chairman Mao and that we should devote ourselves to Chairman Mao."

Wang went back to his village. Each Sunday he would walk 15 miles to school, stay there for the week, and walk back on Saturdays. Soon classes stopped, and the students planted crops instead. He was essentially self-educated, having borrowed the few books permitted at the time, mostly classic Chinese novels or books about Marxism or Maoism.

In 1972, Wang joined the army. He stood guard in four-hour shifts at an airport near Guilin, in Guanxi province. To keep his mind alive, he studied at night and on Sundays, reading the only books available. One was an official diatribe against Confucius. In 1976, he was promoted to platoon leader and sent to work in a factory.

Mao died the same year. Youths like Wang, who worshiped him at the outset of the Cultural Revolution, had started to question Mao's godlike stature as the infighting of the Cultural Revolution dragged on and the proletarian utopia Mao promised failed to materialize.

When senior Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping was rehabilitated the next year, he reintroduced an examination system for university admissions. Wang was one of a half-dozen selected from a group of 100 soldiers. In 1978, he enrolled in the prestigious Nankai University, with its impressive Soviet-built facade, in

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Tianjin.

"The older generation remembers the 1950s when life was going well, and they can compare before and after liberation," Wang said. "But for my generation, it is very, very different. We felt emancipation in 1979," when Deng introduced his economic reform program.

After graduate school, Wang went to work for the rural policy institute of the State Council, China's cabinet, and was put to work doing rural political reform. Economically, Mao's communes were finished by the mid-1980s. Land once managed collectively was contracted to individual households. Communes were renamed townships, and production brigades rechristened villages. But politically, the old, appointed cadre structures were still in place.

The real impetus for village elections wasn't a liberal reformist impulse, but rather the desire among Chinese leaders to regain greater control of the countryside. In the 1980s, discontent was spreading like a prairie fire. Peasants were ignoring family planning guidelines, physically assaulting tax collectors and refusing to hand in to state depots the minimum quantities of grain required under government-set quotas.

"In the rural areas, democracy may have originated in a dispute about taxes," Wang said, not unlike the Boston Tea Party.

Wang researched local elections and wrote reports to rally support within the party for change. In the winter before the Tiananmen uprising, Wang studied two unruly villages in Heilongjiang province. In one village, the party appointed a leader to reimpose order. But the peasants continued to boycott tax payments, burned the village cadre's house and cut down his trees. In the other village, order was restored after a competitive election.

In a report to the party's central committee, Wang concluded that "by introducing competitive elections, we can gain the peasants' support and avoid the danger of loss of control in the countryside." A key party elder, Bo Yibo, endorsed the report.

"This was not going against the Chinese Communist Party line," Wang said. "These were the facts."

Over time, the idea of rural elections attracted an odd alliance. Peng Zhen, a conservative who was then chairman of the National People's Congress, rammed a village election law through the reluctant parliament. Wang said party elders like Peng "believed that the Chinese Communist Party would rule forever, but that they needed democracy to protect themselves." To win over waverers, Peng dubbed the law "experimental." Eleven years later, it still is.

Some election supporters were true democrats who hoped the elections would spread to the more populous townships and cities, and ultimately include national offices like the presidency. Other supporters, like Bo, were party faithful who saw the elections as techniques for ridding the party of corrupt and unpopular officials and spotting new talent. Roughly 40 percent of the candidates elected in village balloting aren't party members, Wang said. But half of those people are successfully recruited by the party within a year. Wang calls the process "mutual and spontaneous."

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Despite broad support at the top, many local officials feel threatened by elections or loathe sharing power with the electorate. Wang needed broad support because he couldn't do it alone. His 1995 visit to Lishu county was part of a calculated gamble. Wang wanted to drum up more support by getting publicity from Chinese media about the elections, but Chinese reporters balked for fear of offending Marxist ideologues.

So Wang took along three American reporters whose articles were later reprinted in a Chinese party newspaper, Reference News, devoted to reprinting foreign dispatches. The Foreign Ministry, realizing the elections could be good publicity for China overseas, then wrote a report to the party's central committee. Chinese journalists soon followed up with articles of their own.

China's Communist Party central committee now seems more committed to the process. Last Thursday, the front pages of the leading state-run newspapers led with news of a new central committee circular ordering all villages to comply with the election law, and saying that the party would "make active efforts" to introduce elections at the township level, the next highest rung of government.

No one in China believes that the world's most populous nation is on the verge of democracy as the West knows it. The most prominent democracy dissidents remain in jail, under surveillance or in exile. Asked at his maiden news conference as premier about the possibility of holding elections at higher levels of government, Zhu Rongji said that the government would study and consider it. But he didn't suggest it would happen any time soon.

Wang said that if far-reaching political change ever comes to China, it needs a foundation. "If there is no foundation, there will be no pluralism," he said.

The experience of the former Soviet Union, viewed by the Chinese as a combination of political instability and economic collapse, serves as a cautionary tale. "[Former Soviet leader Mikhail] Gorbachev's biggest problem was at the grass roots. He didn't build any political culture for pluralism at the grass roots. He tried to impose it from above," Wang said.

"This [holding elections] is worth doing whether it results in a more democratic [Communist] party or a democracy with many parties," Wang said philosophically. When, how or if multiparty democracy might come about is out of Wang's hands. "Who can predict?" he said.

China's experiment with village democracy has become a favorite cause among Americans looking for a reason to hope that China is becoming more democratic. For a time, Wang became a common name on American guest lists. On his bookshelf, he has photos of himself meeting Vice President Gore and former national security adviser Brent Scowcroft.

But last year, Wang was suddenly reassigned to a job running disaster relief. Some people who know him say it was a normal job rotation. Others say he fell victim to jealous colleagues at the civil affairs ministry. Now he does everything from coordinating aid to flood areas to building a social safety net for the poor and unemployed in the cities. On the side, he still consults with local election officials and researches local elections.

"Disasters are no problem," he said. "They're not like democracy. They're not as dangerous."

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China's Brain Trust

About one-quarter of China's population experienced the 1966-76 Cultural Revolution as children or teenagers ...

... As many of their parents were sent to the country, these young people were displaced, universities were closed and their education was derailed.

After the Cultural Revolution, the number of people who received higher education rose sharply.

SOURCE: World Bank: "China 2020," based on China Population Yearbook 1995

BACKGROUND

The Cultural Revolution in Brief

1966

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution begins. The movement was party Chairman Mao Zedong's effort to instill new radicalism into workers and students and to challenge the entrenched party bureaucracy. The movement unleashed a decade of civil strife that took the lives of millions.

May 16: The Communist Party's Politburo sets up a Cultural Revolution group, including Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, which becomes power center. Mao activates student Red Guards to attack the party bureaucracy.

June 1: People's Daily publishes article saying the people should "sweep away all demons and monsters." Beijing Mayor Peng Zhen ousted along with other leading party officials.

Aug. 1-12: Deng Xiaoping and President Liu Shaoqi, the two most prominent figures after Mao, denounced as "capitalist roaders."

Aug. 18: Mao reviews crowd of a million student Red Guards in Tiananmen Square, the first of several such rallies.

1967

January: Red Guard groups seize power in Shanghai and oust municipal party committee, setting off similar battles around the country.

1968

November: President Liu branded a "traitor" and stripped of party membership.

December: Mao calls on urban educated youth to "go to the countryside to be reeducated by the poor and middle-level peasants." More than 16 million students are sent to the countryside.

1969

Former president Liu dies after being tortured.

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September: Defense Minister Lin Biao dies in plane crash while allegedly trying to escape to the Soviet Union after an assassination plot against Mao fails.

1972

February: Nixon visits China.

March: Deng rehabilitated and renamed vice premier, but his struggles with Jiang Qing continue.

1976

January: Premier Zhou Enlai dies of cancer.

April: Deng again sidelined by Cultural Revolution group.

September: Mao dies.

October: Gang of Four arrested and Cultural Revolution ends.

1978

December: Communist Party officially adopts a policy of economic reform and opening up to the outside world.

1989

April and May: Student-led protests in Tiananmen Square attract up to a million people. Deng orders army troops to break up the demonstrations. At least several hundred people are killed the night of June 3 and the morning of June 4.

China's Villages

Number of villages:

In 1996, China had 928,000 villages, with an average of 916 people each.

Elected committees:

60 percent of these villages had held free village committee elections at least once.

More of China's 1.2 billion people live in rural areas than in urban ones.

SOURCE: People's Republic of China Yearbook, 1997/98

Children of the Cultural Revolution: Shaping the China of Tomorrow

This is a series about the people shaping tomorrow's China. Born after the Chinese Communist Party took power, the new elite is a product of the Chinese revolution -- although its members haven't turned out exactly as the late Communist Party Chairman Mao Zedong expected them to.

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The core of this generation -- men and women from their late thirties to fifty or so in age -- was in elementary or secondary school in 1966 when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution broke out. A decade of upheaval followed. The people who were children then learned chaos, fear, betrayal and disillusionment at an early age. But the best and brightest managed to get back on track.

Many won spots in universities in 1977 and 1978, the first two years universities reopened with competitive examinations. Those who managed to get in had been self-motivated and smart enough to have kept learning on their own while schools were closed. And because they felt they had lost important years of their lives, most were determined to make up for lost time.

Now that they are reaching the peak of their careers, they are the most free-thinking group of people in China. For the most part, they occupy roles well within China's mainstream. Though their names usually don't make headlines overseas, they are extremely influential. In their own way, they are making revolution, though not by taking to the streets.

This series will profile five members of this generation. Each inhabits a different part of modern Chinese society. What they have in common is that they are all changing the country in some way that goes beyond day-to-day events.

GRAPHIC: Illustration, dita smith and robert dorrell; Chart, The Washington Post; Map, robert dorrell; Photo ; Photo, upi; Photo, ap; Photo, afp; Photo, reuters; Photo, courtesy of wang zhenyao; Photo, hilary smith for The Washington Post; Photo, international republican institute, Wang Zhenyao, at right, spoke to villagers in Sichuan province as they waited to cast votes in 1995. Wang spent nearly 10 years crisscrossing China to promote democracy and encourage village elections. Mao in 1967. A Red Guard helps lead 3 million peasants from outside Shanghai in a Feb. 24, 1967, rally to celebrate Mao's leadership. The Gang of Four shown as their trial began, from left: Zhang Chunqiao; Jiang Qing, widow of Mao Zedong; Yao Wenyuan; and Wang Hongwen. Deng Xiaoping in 1985. President Nixon and his wife, Pat, share a laugh with Chinese officials during a walk atop the Great Wall in February 1972. A Tiananmen Square protester, bloodied in a clash with troops, holds aloft a helmet that fell off a soldier during the fighting on June 3, 1989. Thanks in large part to Wang Zhenyao, about half of all Chinese villages have held elections in the past decade. Fujian province villagers lined up to vote in 1997, right. Election officials in Fujian province separated ballots in 1997 as villagers and observers looked on. Holding elections "is worth doing whether it results in a more democratic [Communist] party or a democracy with many parties," Wang Zhenyao says.

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**PRESIDENT CLINTON:
BUILDING THE AMERICAN DREAM, TOGETHER**

March 18, 1998

"Now is not a time of rest... We must use this time of prosperity to make sure every single family in America has the ability to meet the challenges of the new economy. At this time of change, we cannot leave behind the working families... We must take new steps to provide health and retirement security, honor the value of work, and expand access to quality education and training for all Americans."

President Bill Clinton

March 18, 1998

Today, President Clinton speaks at an apprentice training facility in Las Vegas, Nevada, highlighting the Administration's work to keep the American Dream alive for working families. The President's remarks address the concerns families wrestle with every day: preparing for retirement, educating their children, raising families in safe neighborhoods, and having access to quality health care.

A Moment Of Great Opportunity. Our nation has never had a better chance to help more working families achieve the American Dream. Under the President's leadership: unemployment has fallen to its lowest levels in 24 years; more than 15 million new jobs have been created; welfare rolls have fallen to their lowest point in 27 years; typical family income is up \$2,169; home ownership levels are at their highest in history; housing starts are at their highest level in more than a decade; crime rates are lower than any time in 24 years; and the budget deficit is on its way to zero. The President is working to make sure all Americans share in these successes by:

- **Balancing The budget And Saving Social Security First.** By passing a balanced budget three years ahead of schedule, we will be able to eliminate the deficit and pay for every proposal in the President's budget while reserving the surplus until we strengthen Social Security.
- **Extending Medicare.** The President is working to give one of America's most vulnerable and difficult to insure populations new options for obtaining adequate, affordable health care coverage. The President's targeted Medicare proposal extends new security to millions of people by enabling Americans ages 62 to 65 and displaced workers ages 55 to 65 to purchase Medicare health coverage and enabling retired workers ages 55 to 65 to buy coverage if their former employer drops their coverage.
- **Raising The Minimum Wage.** Recognizing the value of work, the President is calling for an increase in the minimum wage to give millions of hardworking Americans a pay raise.

- **Providing A World Class Education.** Education is the surest ladder of opportunity in our society. The President's balanced budget plan reduces average class size to 18 students per classroom for grades 1-3 by helping local communities hire 100,000 new teachers with certified skills to teach basic reading and math. It also expands funding for training dislocated workers to 3 times the 1993 level.

**PRESIDENT CLINTON:
STANDING FOR PEACE, SECURITY AND FREEDOM**

February 16, 1998

"In this century, we found out through harsh experience that the only answer to aggression and outlaw behavior is firmness, determination and, if necessary, action... If we act as one, we can safeguard our immediate interests -- and send a clear message to every would-be tyrant and terrorist that the international community has the wisdom, the will and the way to protect peace and security in a new era."

President Bill Clinton
February 16, 1998

Today, President Clinton meets with Defense Secretary Bill Cohen and the Joint Chiefs to be briefed on the status of American forces in the Persian Gulf. Following the meeting, the President speaks to the American people to discuss the issues at stake in the current crisis and the steps the U.S. is taking in the region to protect peace, security and freedom.

New Security Challenges In The 21st Century. As we prepare to enter a new millennium, we must also prepare to face new threats to our peace, security and freedom; these include: the spread of weapons of mass destruction, reckless acts by outlaw states, and terrorists, international criminals and drug traffickers.

Threatening Peace And Stability. There is no more immediate example of these new threats than Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Saddam has built up an arsenal, including chemical and biological weapons and the missiles to deliver them. More important, Saddam has used these against combatants and civilians, against a foreign adversary and against his own people. His regime endangers the safety of Iraq's people, the stability of the region, and the security of the world. It also challenges much of what we are working for:

- promotion of a just and lasting peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors;
- protection of the free flow of vital resources;
- preservation of the stability and security of our friends in the region;
- prevention of terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction;
- spread of prosperity and opportunity.

A Peaceful, Diplomatic Solution To The Current Crisis. The United States has repeatedly and unambiguously made clear that its preference is for a peaceful, diplomatic solution to the current crisis. At the end of the Gulf War, as a condition for the cease-fire, the United Nations demanded -- and Saddam agreed -- to declare in 15 days his nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and missiles. The U.N. set up a special commission of highly trained international weapons experts, called UNSCOM, to monitor Iraq's commitment. Over the last several years, these inspectors have uncovered and destroyed in Iraq more weapons of mass destruction capacity than were destroyed during the entire Gulf War. Now Saddam is trying again to thwart their mission.

To reach a genuine, diplomatic outcome, Iraq must agree, very soon, to free, full and unfettered inspection of all sites, everywhere in Iraq, with no dilution or diminishment of UNSCOM.

A Coalition Strategy. The United States is not acting alone. Our force posture in the region is possible only through the support of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, the GCC states and Turkey. Many other friends and allies have agreed to provide forces, bases or logistical support, including: the United Kingdom, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Argentina, Iceland, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.

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HEADLINE: Women and the state in post-1949 rural China

BYLINE: Tsai, Kellee S

BODY:

The irony of Beijing's recent hosting of the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women was apparent to many observers, but not to the Chinese government and perhaps a few ideological holdovers in former socialist countries.³ Revolutionary regimes inspired by Marxist theory during the first half of the twentieth century recognized the liberation of women as a key component of transition to socialism.⁴ Upon the Communist political victory, women were granted full legal rights and mobilized to participate in production. Meanwhile, the authoritarian nature of the socialist state demonstrated command capacity to transform the structure of economic and social relations. Yet after several decades of Communist governance, gender gaps in political and socioeconomic indicators remain salient.

By focusing on the position of women in post-1949 rural China, this study seeks to shed light on the persistence of gender inequalities in socialist countries despite their ideological commitment to the emancipation of women. Analysis of this paradox raises two broader issues concerning the relationship between the state and women: i) state capacity to implement its developmental strategy; and ii) the sources of gender biases. Accordingly, the first section of this analysis proposes a synthesis of state-centered and women-in-development (WID) theories for explaining gender inequalities under socialism. While a state's ideology and mode of production may have a substantial impact on the definition of gender, I will argue that the endurance of gender inequalities suggests the centrality of patriarchy as a socially-constructed system; and that the institutional dynamics of patriarchy may survive changes in particular political orientations or economic modes precisely because they are deeply embedded in the very efforts themselves. The bulk of this paper therefore examines the position of women in rural China in both the Mao and post-Mao reform periods. The third part analyzes the relative impact of the state and the household in reinforcing gender biases; and the final section offers theoretical implications.

Theoretical Context

Despite their efforts to conceptualize gendered distributional asymmetries, individually, neither standard political science nor WID frameworks can explain the persistence of gender inequalities in socialist countries. Conventional theories of the state may be employed to demonstrate the limits of state



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capacity for implementing policies beneficial to women, but they are not concerned with the sources of gender biases. WID theories in the liberal tradition generally focus on the effects of capitalist development on women.⁵

Similarly, Marxist and neo-Marxist explanations of gender inequality point to the oppressive structures of capitalism.⁶ Nonetheless, valuable concepts may be extracted from them for framing the present analysis.

First, the state is a significant actor. In socialist countries, the Communist party-dominated state formulates developmental policies that affect the structure of economic and social relations. However, the Party-state's institutional capacity for policy implementation should not be assumed despite its apparent strength.⁷ As more contemporary theorists of the state point out, state autonomy is neither a zero-sum function of power relative to society nor is it an isolated determinant of capacity.⁸ To elucidate the state's relative effectiveness, the relationship between state and society may thus be analyzed as a series of linkages between policy elites, central and local authorities, local and village cadres, and cadres and households, which in turn are influenced by the interactions within each level.⁹ It is also important to consider the role of informal actors and organizational structures relative to that of formal institutions and ideology in policy implementation. The operational tasks at this level are to examine the following: i) state developmental policies relating to women; ii) the relationship between the state and societal institutions that directly involve women, particularly, the household unit and; as a result, iii) the relative impact of state policy on society in general and women in particular. Most state-society and WID theorists confine their debate to these considerations. They offer varying interpretations of the extent to which state policy reflects or shapes the interests of society, and evaluate the effectiveness of state action.

Acknowledging that the state has an impact on the household as a component of society provides a base for explaining gender inequalities. To the extent that the household or family represents the most fundamental sphere of interaction between women and men, and hence, the most fundamental unit of society," it is relevant to bridge the gap between state policies and the household. Furthermore, the liberal and Marxist feminist approaches offer insight on the specific consequences of economic development on the sexual division of labor and other gender-differentiated indicators.¹¹ They do not, however, explain the discrepancy between the relative success of socialist countries in transforming other social relations and their failure to eradicate biases against women. These theories generally assume capitalist development.¹² Still, these frameworks can be tested by the experience of socialist countries that have embarked on market-oriented reforms. With the decreased reliance on Marx-Engels ideology, are gender inequalities exacerbated as Marxists would expect? Do they take on a different character? Or does the position of women improve as a by-product of reform, thereby broadly confirming liberal hypotheses?¹³ Given that the latter situation has yet to be evidenced, additional analysis is warranted.

In order to explicate the endurance of gender inequalities, it is necessary to go beyond fundamentally state-centered perspectives. State and economic policies alone cannot account for gender differentiation. An additional structural variable, as socialist feminists point out, is the institutionalization of patriarchal norms.¹⁴ Although the state represents the most salient patriarchal institution within national boundaries, the definition



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of gender as a social construction implicates a broader range of sources in perpetuating biases. In other words, accepting that gender identities are not innate, but learned through social and cultural interactions,¹⁵ means that the household plays an equally powerful if not greater role in this context. Marx and Engels viewed the state and the household as the primary institutions that embody class antagonisms in society. The socialist feminist formulation of class and gender struggle derives from this argument. But recognizing the household as an oppressive institution and gender norms as a social construction does not require embracing the historical materialism of Marxist paradigms. Arguably, the class element of socialist feminist theory obscures its most important contribution: patriarchy as an institution. The reductionism of class analysis restricts its ability to delineate the expression of patriarchy in other terms that may be more appropriate for gender analysis. As Catharine MacKinnon, a feminist legal scholar observes, "Method shapes each theory's vision of social reality. It identifies its central problem, group and process, and creates as a consequence its distinctive conception of politics as such."¹⁶ The challenge for feminist theory, therefore, is "to demonstrate that feminism systematically converges upon a central explanation of sex inequality through an approach distinctive to its subject yet applicable to the whole of social life, including class."¹⁷ A fundamental premise is the recognition of patriarchy as a socially-determined system that exists within and beyond state, economic and societal structures. This assumption does not preclude materialist approaches. Rather, it adds depth to the analysis by identifying the sources of gender norms and exploring their interaction.

The persistence of gender inequalities in socialist countries may thus be seen as deriving from the relationship between the primary instruments of patriarchy: the state and the household. That is, gender norms are constructed and realized at both levels in a mutually reinforcing manner. Operationally, this entails examination of the state and the household as interactive, rather than parallel institutions in generating, perpetuating and actualizing gender biases. This approach seeks to expand the definitional boundaries of state and society in mainstream discourse by focusing on the structural oppression of actors whose "interests" remain unarticulated by class, civil society¹⁸ or the state. The dynamics and consequences of patriarchy in post-1949 rural China are presented in next section.

The State and Women in Post-1949 Rural China

Ideology and Post-Revolutionary Strategy

The Russian experience in implementing a communist revolution in general, and the liberation of women as a component of the process, served as a model for the Chinese Communists throughout the revolutionary period. Both the Bolsheviks and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Mobilized the most oppressed groups in society, namely peasants and women, to serve as the revolutionary base. While women were not considered a distinct class, their oppression symbolized the dynamics of class struggle. Under Lenin, the Soviet Union enacted significant legislation to liberate women from "bourgeois feudalism" and integrate them into the continuing revolutionary process. Following victory in 1949, the CCP similarly launched a number of policies and programs to promote gender equality.¹⁹

First, the CCP legally stipulated the equality of women as full citizens in



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the 1949 People's Republic of China (PRC) Constitution. The 1950 Marriage Law legalized marriage, denounced patriarchal authority in the household and granted both sexes equal rights to file for divorce.²⁰ The second and most prominent element of the strategy was integrating women into economic development. Women's employment was viewed as a prerequisite for emancipation from bourgeois structures as embodied in the patriarchal family.²¹ Furthermore, at the core of the CCP's strategy for political consolidation was economic reconstruction and rural development. The full participation of women was not only an ideological imperative but a pragmatic one. Third, the All-China Women's Federation (W.F.) was established by the CCP to mobilize women for economic development and social reform.²² The First Congress of the W.F. in 1949 highlighted the following areas for the active participation of women: land reform, marriage law campaigns, political study and agricultural development. The fourth objective -- ideological redefinition of gender relations -- quickly proved to be the area most resistant to the influence of mass campaigns. Although stories of revolutionary heroines and slogans proclaiming the equality of women were well-known, traditional Confucian beliefs about gender roles retained a stronghold, particularly in rural China.

The above strategy for achieving gender equality was pursued broadly throughout Mao's tenure, though official policy on women has varied with the direction of general political and economic priorities. In addition, initiatives that would appear to benefit women encountered obstacles in implementation; and as suggested by WID theorists, broader developmental efforts have yielded mixed results for the overall position of women. As discussed next, state policies that have had direct impact on the household include the following: i) land reform and marriage laws; ii) collectivization and communization; and iii) post-Mao reform, including the household responsibility system and family planning policies.

Early Mao: Land Reform and Marriage Laws

Women's participation was considered integral to the success of the land reform and marriage law campaigns during the early 1950s.²³ The party actively recruited rural female cadres and encouraged the proliferation of women's organizations. Both campaigns intended to destroy feudalistic institutions and practices, which included, respectively, the traditional extended family and the most blatant abuses against women (footbinding, polygamy, concubinage, child brides and dowry payments).

Land reform succeeded in eliminating the extended family's material basis and hence, its potential for posing as a political threat to the regime. Small-plots were redistributed to each family member regardless of age or sex; and land reform provisions stipulated that property would be equally divided in the case of divorce. Nonetheless, land allotted to women was effectively controlled by their husbands. Patriarchal familial relationships in the Confucian tradition seemed to remain intact.²⁴

At the same time, the new marriage laws generated much controversy. During the first five years, over 500,000 women filed for divorces annually.²⁵ Male peasants threatened female cadres attempting to enforce the divorce provisions, while mothers-in-law sought to preserve their status over daughters-in-law in the traditional, extended family structure. Some women even committed suicide to protest the refusal of their husbands and male cadres to comply with the new



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law. In 1953, the National Committee for Thorough Implementation reported that over 75,000 deaths or suicides annually could be attributed to marriage differences and unsuccessful implementation.²⁶ The difficulties encountered in enforcement revealed not only the depth of tradition,²⁷ but also the institutional deficiencies in rural China for their acceptance. The traditional family system served important functions for which the Party-state did not offer alternatives. Families ensured the provision of old-age security, child care and medical facilities.

Collectivization and Communization

After only two years of agricultural production based on small family-owned plots, the Central Committee decided that accelerated agricultural growth was necessary to fuel industrialization. The resulting nationwide collectivization drive from 1955 to 1956 aimed to abolish private land ownership. Ninety percent of rural society was restructured into cooperative farms (or collectives) where members received compensation according to the socialist principle of "each according to his labor."²⁸ Legislation relating to collectivization contained provisions emphasizing the importance of female employment in rural cooperatives.²⁹ In addition, propaganda went beyond encouragement of women's economic participation and explicitly linked their liberation with the structural implications of collectivization. Shortly after CCP approval of the shift to collectivization, Remin Ribao (People's Daily) quoted Engels' contention that the emancipation of women requires participation in social labor and "to achieve this, individual families are no longer required to be units of the social economy."³⁰ The establishment of cooperatives effectively separated production from the household and provided women with a wider range of employment opportunities.

However, the employment of women in rural cooperatives posed a strain on their provision of domestic services. To a limited degree, older women were mobilized to handle childcare and other household responsibilities. But domestic services were not fully collectivized.³¹ Continued responsibility for housework and official employment meant that women were not able to earn as many work points as their male counterparts. The resulting dual burden was not only recognized, but justified by the Remin Ribao: "Participation in agricultural production is the inherent right and duty of rural women. Giving birth to children and raising them, as well as preoccupation with household chores are also the obligations of rural women. These things set women apart from men."³² In rural China, as in other rural societies, the dual burden itself was certainly not a new phenomenon for peasant women. But the specific socialist ideology of "each according to his labor" drew attention to the gender gap in wages; and the state ultimately sanctioned traditional norms regarding the sexual division of labor in the household.

By 1958, Mao declared that China had completed the transition to socialism and was prepared to make a great leap forward in the "transition from socialism to communism." The people's commune was identified as a new form of social organization to complete the revolution. Communization proceeded rapidly: Within one year over ninety percent of peasant households -- briefly organized in cooperatives -- were amalgamated into communes.³³ At the same time, peasants, including over 300 million women, were mobilized into production brigades. The demand for full-time female labor in the agricultural sector led to the creation of communal mess halls and nurseries, which were primarily staffed by older



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women. One source estimates that by 1959 there were nearly 5 million nurseries and 3.6 million public dining rooms in rural areas.³⁴

Despite increased communization of domestic services, women continued to earn approximately one-half to one-third fewer workpoints than men. The gender gap in compensation was excused as reflecting the amount of physical energy expended. Hence, activities performed by men were considered "heavy" while women's work was "light."³⁵ As illustrated in Table 1, the "lighter" work was not necessarily less physically demanding. (Table 1 omitted)

Furthermore, in regions where non-agricultural employment opportunities were available, women performed a wider range of agricultural tasks as men pursued other forms of work.³⁶ A government document in 1958 indicated that women would be expected to compensate for the shortage of labor in agriculture caused by male employment in newer industries:

Women should shoulder agricultural production. Men's labor power is needed to open mines, expand machine building industry, power plants, cement plants. Generally speaking, these departments of industry employ mainly men laborers and provide only a few types of work that can be undertaken by women workers. Thus, up to a certain stage in the development of socialist construction, agricultural production will have to be undertaken mainly by women.³⁷

As such, the percentage of peasant women engaged in non-domestic production increased rapidly -- from 50 to nearly 90 percent during the first decade of socialist rule.³⁸ Nonetheless, large-scale employment in agricultural production did not indicate equality. It increased the demands on rural women without commensurate wage compensation. While the policy of "equal pay for equal work" was actively promoted, as shown above, the household and agricultural tasks performed by women were valued less than those performed by men. In villages where women performed the same work alongside men, or replaced the work of men, male peasants protested and prevented the equal allocation of work points.³⁹ They demanded greater compensation as a structural requirement: As heads of households they needed to contribute more than women to the family budget.⁴⁰ The relative decrease in the sexual division of labor in agriculture did not restructure the sexual division of authority or labor in the patriarchal household. Furthermore, by the 1960s, the financial cost of maintaining the communal facilities was considered too high when the services could be performed within the household by women for "free."⁴¹

As in other socialist countries,⁴² the incorporation of women into the public production was not matched by comparable levels of political participation. This asymmetry was not a calculated outcome of state policy. Numerous campaigns encouraged women to join decision-making bodies, particularly during the 1970s. Special education courses were established to train female party cadres and educate women in the Thought of Mao Zedong; and women's guidance teams were formed in each brigade, down to the smallest village unit.⁴³ While there was incremental growth in the political participation of women, they were better represented among production cadres than in higher levels of the Party-state apparatus. For example, between 1965 and 1973 the percentage of women in the Central Committee increased from eight to thirteen percent,⁴⁴ while women generally accounted for twenty to thirty percent of rural cadres during the same period, with slight provincial variations.⁴⁵ But ultimately, the dual-burden of



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women's work played a key role in limiting their incentive to participate in political activity. This was particularly evident during the Cultural Revolution when political study sessions were held each evening.⁴⁶ Most women were simply too busy with farm work, housework and two hours of Mao Zedong Thought to contemplate additional political responsibilities.

Post-Mao Reform: Household Responsibility System and Family Planning Policy

Following Mao's death in 1976, the rural sector was targeted as one of the Four Modernizations in the developmental strategy promoted by the Hua Guofeng-Deng Xiaoping coalition. By the early 1980s, the reforms had effectively transformed the political economic structure of rural China, with contradictory implications for the relationships between the party-state and villages, rural cadres and the household, and women and men. On the one hand, central bureaucracies relinquished their control over the agricultural sector. Under the household responsibility system (HRS), communal arrangements were replaced by the household as the primary unit of production to increase incentives for output.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the state asserted control over the reproductive process to ensure sustainable growth. Both of these developments have directly affected the nature of gender relations within and beyond the peasant household.

The HRS decentralized rural production by transferring decision-making power over the allocation of land and labor resources to the household. Whereas production teams formerly determined the distribution of agricultural tasks and the means to fulfill output quotas, now the head of the household possesses that authority. In rural areas with fewer men and more female-headed households, women have significantly higher rates of labor force participation than in areas with more male-headed households.⁴⁸ This is consistent with the observation that decommunization has increased the "dual burden" and reduced the visibility of women's work.⁴⁹ Instead of working in the fields with the rest of the production team, women are more likely to engage in domestic work and cultivate household plots, while men seek employment in rural industry.⁵⁰

Furthermore, just as official statements during the Great Leap Forward advocated a greater role for women in agricultural production to increase the pool of manpower for industrialization, the post-Mao regime has encouraged women's activity in domestic sideline production. Unlike small-scale commodity production, domestic sidelines "serve the public interest by using only spare household time and labor," that is, the work of women.⁵¹ Domestic sideline production includes household production of food, handicraft goods, plastic or silk flowers, embroidery and knitting. More importantly, they represent income-generating opportunities for women. Initially, the products were primarily sold in local peasant markets, but it quickly became apparent that the quality and aggregate volume of output would be suitable for exports as well.⁵² The government has thus instituted many incentives for domestic sideline production, which has increased the portion of peasant household incomes generated from such work. For example, one survey of 15,914 rural households revealed that total income from domestic sidelines in 1980 had increased by over one-third since 1979.⁵³ In some areas, nearly 75 percent of peasant women are involved in weaving, embroidery and other handicraft activities alongside farm work.⁵⁴ Of particular interest, a 1987 survey of the 34 million specialized rural households in the Sichuan province found that female-headed households had a higher annual income than male-headed households: 882 yuan as compared to 712 yuan.⁵⁵



With the increased economic contribution of women to household income through domestic sideline production, liberal and Marxist feminists would expect corresponding increases in decision-making authority. A 1990 survey conducted by the E reveals that 53 percent of the women respondents believe that household decision-making is jointly shared with their husbands.⁵⁶ But there is no basis for comparison over time since this was the first survey of its kind (not to mention the validity of official surveys in general).⁵⁷ An analytical attempt at deducing the impact of the household responsibility system and increased household income on women's relative "bargaining power" predicts adverse effects.⁵⁸ That is, women's control over household "entitlements" is expected to decline as they engage in productive activities in the private, domestic sphere. Elisabeth Croll (1983) similarly expresses skepticism about the degree to which women's increased income will affect intra-household relations of exchange.⁵⁹ It is less disputable, however, that community welfare services such as child care and primary health care have returned to the realm of individual households -- adding to the responsibilities of women.⁶⁰

Although rural reform has increased the autonomy of the household in economic production, the One-Family, One-Child policy launched in 1979 has turned reproduction into an area of direct state intervention.⁶¹ The new regime under Deng made the neo-Malthusian observation that the economic gains from reform were barely sufficient to accommodate a population of one billion, given the natural population growth rate of 1.26 percent, much less provide a base for advanced industrial development. The One-Family, One-Child campaigns have therefore targeted women to limit their childbearing as a "patriotic duty."⁶²

The family planning policy is implemented by local units of the W.F., barefoot doctors and health workers who are mainly women. Each family is visited individually by members of the local family planning committee. After the first child, women are awarded a one-child certificate that entitles them to a number of privileges. Standard regulations concerning the type of birth control method employed require IUDs after one child, sterilization after the second one and abortion for unapproved pregnancies.

The policy rests on a coercive system of sanctions and rewards. Economic sanctions include: payment of an "excess child levy" as compensation to the state for the cost of another child to the country;⁶³ reduction in the family's grain ration (or higher prices) for producing a "surplus" child; limitations on additional land for private plots and the right to collective grain in times of flood and drought; and ineligibility for promotion for four years, demotion, or reduction in wages.⁶⁴ Moreover, the offending couple has to bear all expenses for medical care and education of excess children, and "extra" children have the lowest priority in admission to kindergarten, school and medical institutions. In contrast, one-child families are entitled to many privileges including monthly or annual cash subsidies for health or welfare until the child reaches fourteen years of age; and additional private plots from the commune. Single children are entitled to free education, health services, priority in admission to nurseries, schools and hospitals. Parents receive an additional subsidy to their old age pension.⁶⁵

The most serious consequence of the family planning drive has been the rise in abortions and female infanticide. The Ministry of Public Health reported that during the five-year period ending in 1984, there were 53 million abortions



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(equivalent to the population of France).⁶⁶ The current figure estimates that one in three pregnancies are terminated by abortions. While official statistics are not available to specify the prevalence of female infanticide, the sex ratio of reported births reveals significant differences in the number of males and females.⁶⁷ In five of China's thirty provinces, the sex ratio exceeds 1.20 (120 males to 100 females) and the national average is 1.185.⁶⁸ As shown in Table 2, the "official" number of male births per 100 female births has increased since the family planning campaigns were instituted.⁶⁹ (Table 2 omitted) The distorted sex ratios are attributed to abortions, (ultrasounds are used to identify the gender of the fetus); female infanticide through drowning, poisoning or desertion; as well as underregistration of female infants since the PRC birth registration system excludes infants who die within three days of birth.

A less publicized aspect of the family planning policy is its impact on mothers. Delia Davin points out that "Women were traditionally held to be responsible for the sex of their infants and, despite attempts at scientific education, this notion persists."⁷⁰ The limited number of opportunities to conceive a son thus increases the pressure on women. There are reports that women who bear girls, or are suspected to be pregnant with girls, have been abused by their husbands and in-laws, and even murdered.⁷¹ However, short of suicide, the emotional and psychological effects of the policy on mothers and their unwanted daughters has yet to be acknowledged.

From its inception the family planning policy has faced particular resistance in the rural areas since it contradicts the economic and cultural incentives of the peasant household to have more than one child.⁷² First, under the HRS, peasant incomes rely on the number of workers in the family. Second, a growing proportion of peasant households sell their production on the free market and therefore possess the economic means to finance unauthorized births. Third, for similar motivations, rural women cadres -- the key link in enforcing family planning -- are finding it more rewarding to cultivate their private plots and increase their earnings than to antagonize neighboring peasant families.⁷³ Fourth, peasant families choose to keep bearing children until they have at least one son. Due to Confucian, patrilineal practices, sons are assigned more economic value. They remain with the family after marriage and are expected to care for their parents in old age; whereas daughters leave the family and incur dowry expenses upon marriage. Although the policy has been more relaxed in rural areas since 1984 -- by permitting peasant families to have more than one child if the first-born is a daughter -- resistance continues. Couples with one son or two daughters often bear more children; and "village leaders conspire with relatives and friends to conceal 'excess' births from higher authorities."⁷⁴ At the same time, the coercive presence of the state in regulating reproduction remains apparent as evidenced by the increasing distortion in sex ratios shown above.

While rural households have responded to pressure under the One-Family, One-Child policy by aborting, underreporting, or abandoning their female off-spring, economic reform has revived the commoditization of women and children. There has been a resurgence of abduction and trafficking of peasant women, particularly those between the ages of 16 and 25.⁷⁵ They are generally sold into marriage in destitute mountain villages where families cannot afford betrothal gifts and banquets, or kidnapped by gangs and sold into prostitution in urban areas such as the coastal cities and special economic zones where there are fewer men. If the gap in sex ratios continues to expand, or even if they



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level off at 118 males to 100 females, within one generation the demand for women will probably exacerbate such practices.

Impact and Analysis

The Impact of the State on Women

The socialist state has clearly played a significant role in defining gender roles in the economy and society in general. On the basis of standard socio-economic indicators, the gender gap has decreased substantially under communist rule. Even political representation has improved: The percentage of women deputies in the National People's Congress (NPC) has increased from 12 percent in 1954 to 21 percent in 1992, and the proportion of women members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) has grown from 7 to 13 percent during the same period.⁷⁶ This is credited to the decline in female illiteracy from over 90 percent in 1949 to 38 percent in 1990.⁷⁷ On balance, however, striking gender inequalities remain. Women constitute 70 percent of the 220 million illiterates in China.⁷⁸ And political participation at the highest levels is minimal: No women currently sit on the fourteen-member Politburo and the Central Committee is only 5.7 percent women.⁷⁹

Despite periodic exaggeration to the contrary, the central government acknowledges that the PRC still faces obstacles before gender equality as envisioned in the socialist ideal can be achieved.⁸⁰ Since the United Nations named Beijing as the site of the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women, apparent efforts to comply with international standards for improving the condition of women have increased.⁸¹ In 1992 the Fifth Session of the Seventh NPC passed the Law on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests of the PRC, which was drafted with the assistance of W.F. branches throughout the country. The new law stipulates the protection of women's rights in the areas of political representation, education, employment, property rights, personal protection and marriage.⁸² And shortly before the conference itself, Beijing announced a five-year plan to improve the status of Chinese women by increasing their access to top government positions, protection from kidnapping and elimination of female infanticide.⁸³ However, if the results of the first two decades of socialist rule are any indication, gender equality cannot simply be legislated from above.⁸⁴

The state's limited success in liberating women resonates in part with the paradoxical effects of state policy in other areas. The mass mobilization strategy for agricultural development, for example, relied on cultivating strong provincial-local and cadre village linkages. These ties have evolved into local clientelistic networks which circumscribe the central government's relative power over rural society, and reform has reinforced this decentralization.⁸⁵ Similarly, much of the continuing gender inequality may be traced to the combination of direct state intervention into the household and the contradictions embedded in state policy. But it is important to distinguish between the sources of contradictions in general developmental policies and those that target gender issues. The socialist state placed higher priority on class struggle over gender struggle during the revolutionary phase, and modernization over continued women's liberation during the post-revolutionary and reform periods. Therefore, the emergence and reinforcement of structural anomalies that inhibit gender equality also reflects the fact that it has not been a central concern. This is apparent in each of the policies that have



altered the economic organization of rural society. For comparative purposes, two policies that exemplify this dynamic are discussed from the Maoist and reform periods, respectively.

First, communization of domestic services was only partially implemented during the collective period and then abandoned. Although the sexual division of labor was maintained -- that is, the communal halls were staffed primarily by older women -- it represented public recognition of their value-added. In addition, communization enabled working age women to increase their contribution to agricultural output and participate in political activities. It is worth considering the potential long-term impact of domestic service communization if the state had pursued it as rigorously as collectivization.⁸⁶ In terms of agricultural output, the communal form of production was an undeniable failure. Peasants lacked the incentive to maximize their efforts due to ceilings on compensation (grain and work points) and unrealistic quotas imposed from above.⁸⁷ Communal domestic facilities were also deemed to be too expensive. But the methodology for calculating their cost is not clear.⁸⁸ If economic value were assigned to the "domestic" services rendered, the dual burden might have been alleviated. Perhaps male peasants would be fighting for work point-earning opportunities. The state sanctioned the sexual division of labor in the household and excluded household labor from "each according to his labor."

Second, rural reform transferred the collective's authority over production to the household. A regressive consequence of this reform is the strengthening of patriarchal relations in the household. In other words, with increased decision-making power, the household continues to define gender in traditional terms and value their roles asymmetrically. Moreover, the concentration of economic authority in the family reinforces the material basis of patrilineal culture. The communal structure had weakened practices of village exogamy whereby women are only temporary members of their natal village and upon marriage, join their husbands' villages as outsiders. This tradition limits the incentives for developing women's non-domestic production skills since they are viewed as short-term assets.⁸⁹ The payment of bride prices represents the transfer of control over a woman's economic productivity from her parents to her husband's family, with no establishment of independent rights to property in either household by the individual woman.⁹⁰

Both decommunization of domestic services and the HRS call into question the state's official commitment to liberating women through mass employment. Peasant women were ideologically mobilized to participate in social production, but then relegated to the sphere of the privatized household and informal sector. The state's actual path of development has not only reinforced traditional biases against women, but also obstructed the ability of women to influence their own fates through political participation.⁹¹

The Patriarchal State and Household

In the broadest terms, the impediments to gender equality in China may be attributed to political and economic inconsistencies and feudalistic tradition. But that diagnosis does not identify its etiology. The relationship is not conceptualized fully. It is not clear whether Chinese tradition fuels counterintuitive policies or the other way around, and indeed, whether one exists without the other. Moreover, the interaction between policy and culture requires specification. As proposed previously, the underlying structure that



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fuels the endurance of gender inequalities may be traced to patriarchy. The primary institutional expressions of patriarchy are the state and the household. Both embody a male-dominated hierarchy that exercises its authority over women through maintaining the sexual division of labor in productive and reproductive relations. In China, patriarchy has demonstrated resilience to changes in economic structure because the processes of gender norm construction and actualization at the state and the household levels are ultimately mutually reinforcing. The patriarchal family defines and values the productive roles within the household in gender-differentiated terms and reproduces members (assuming non-compliance with the one-child policy) in its likeness. The patriarchal state provides incentives for specific relations of production, including the terms of reproduction, and produces a web of party officials and cadres that reproduce the demands of dominant ideology. As in the process of human reproduction, gender is defined, produced and reproduced by both men and women. But the analogy is misleading. Gender norms are not biologically-determined, but rather socially-constructed and institutionalized through power relations between and within the state and the household.

This is not meant to imply that the state and the household are monolithic agents in an overdetermined system of patriarchy. Although male-domination persists, socialist ideology raised the consciousness of women to the existence of their subordinate social valuation. Women did not receive as many work points as men for comparable labor in the agricultural commune. Women were encouraged to contribute more to farm work so that men could pursue more important forms of production. Women were recruited for political activities but then expected to fulfill their domestic responsibilities and serve the patriarchal interests of the state. In each case there were women who attempted to challenge the privileged status of men. But then there were also women enlisted by the party-state to reorient the terms of equality under socialism. In an ironic recognition of the intersubjective synergy between the patriarchal state and household, Zhongguo Funu (Women of China) wrote the following in response to the resistance of rural women cadres to housework:

Family and state are interdependent and interrelated. For this reason, in China home work and social labor are mutually geared together, and home work is just a part of social labor and plays an important part in socialist construction....If a woman can integrate what little she can do into the great cause of socialist construction and if she has the ideal of working for the happiness of future generations, she would be a noble person, a woman of benefit to the masses, a woman of communist morality.⁹²

While the articulated interests of women were never a priority, their productive capacity was recognized and molded according to the prevailing patriarchal requirements. The succession of intraelite power struggles and consequent policy shifts have all produced ideological reverberations that affect gender norms and their institutional reproduction.⁹³

Conclusion: Theoretical Implications

Conceptually, reform marked the state's shift from a Marxist feminist to a liberal feminist approach towards women. While the preferred economic systems differ, both frameworks rest on the premise that sexual division of labor will dissipate with the integration of women into the waged labor force and supporting legislation. Under both socialism and market-oriented reform,



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however, the participation of women in economic production has not eradicated gender inequalities in rural China. As discussed above, constraints exist on the state's ability to command equality and the commitment to gender equality itself is dubitable in light of the contradictions generated by its developmental priorities. Although the theories are ideal types, China's experience suggests the presence of a deeper source of gender biases than state policies or mode of production; namely, institutionalized patriarchy.

Socialist feminists would expect reform to fortify patriarchy due to its capitalist orientation. A patriarchal sexual division of labor facilitates capital accumulation since women are responsible for domestic and subsistence-level production.⁹⁴ predicted, post-Mao reform has strengthened patriarchal relations. The peasant household has regained control over the sexual division of labor in domestic and non-domestic production. The state exercises patriarchal authority over the productive as well as reproductive capacity of women. But it is ahistorical to associate the institutionalization of patriarchal norms solely with capitalist development. Patriarchy predated socialism, endured under socialism, and reconfigured itself under reform. The socialist state's failure to liberate women reflects the inadequacy of Marx-Engels ideology as a model for feminism.⁹⁵ The "first class antagonism" may be between men and women, but the socialist solution is fundamentally class-based and women are not a distinct class. If they were, then capitalism would only be one manifestation of patriarchy instead of the justification for patriarchy. The prescription would be broader yet focused on the interests of women. Ultimately, the particular expressions of patriarchy have changed alongside changes in the relations of production, but the foundation of a male-dominated hierarchy has been preserved. The post-Deng regime may introduce yet another pattern of patriarchy.

This analysis has attempted to highlight the interdependence of the primary patriarchal institutions in society -- the state and the household -- in perpetuating gender inequalities. Further research is required to elucidate the prospects for institutional change; that is, social reconstruction or transformation of patriarchal norms. For example, patriarchy may be bounded by its contradictory effects. Within the next generation the demographic trend of distorted sex ratios and overindulged single children (sons) will have significant repercussions on political, social and economic relations. Meanwhile, a growing proportion of peasant women are engaged in profitable domestic sideline activities while their male counterparts work in urban areas.⁹⁶ These women entrepreneurs represent a new strata in rural China, and their relative autonomy has already inspired Women's Federation, and to a lesser degree, non-governmental initiatives to increase their access to credit, information and markets.⁹⁷ Such efforts undermine patriarchal authority, and have proven to be powerful means for legitimizing women's work in the informal sector.⁹⁸

A basic challenge facing women-in-development theorists is how to conceptualize the adaptability of patriarchy to different political and economic structures. In other words, additional research should build towards a theory of patriarchy. To avoid the determinism of Marxist and cultural frameworks, a comparative approach may yield more progressive insights than country-specific studies.⁹⁹ This analysis, for example, starts out by questioning the endurance of gender inequalities under socialist rule and concludes that patriarchy is not so much a function of political economic orientation as it is a system itself.



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The inquiry is driven by apparent gaps in theory, namely, the inability of either state-centered or WID theories alone to explain the persistence of gender inequalities in socialist countries. I have thus examined some of the concrete sources and manifestations of patriarchy in post-1949 rural China to demonstrate its potential for being more than yet another black-box concept. Without additional empirical corroboration, however, alternative interpretations could also be drawn. The starting point is recognizing that patriarchy remains versatile and intransigent. It is embedded in the institutions of state and society, and is constructed by their interaction.

1 This article is dedicated to the memory of Ann Dunham-Soetoro. I would also like to thank Mark Blyth, Deborah Brautigam, Laurel Kendall and Andrew J. Nathan for their comments on earlier versions of this paper; they are, of course, absolved from its inadequacies.

2 Comments On: The Law on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests," Women of China, in Women's International Network News (WIN), 19, no. 1 (Winter 1993) p. 53. Huang Qizao is a woman.

3 In this paper, "Communist" refers to the political structures, i.e. party and state, dominated by the Communist Party. "Socialist" refers to the orientation of the regime in practice since socialism is the stage prior to communism in Marxist historical materialism.

4 In 1846 Marx and Engels wrote, "The first division of labor is that between man and woman for child breeding." Engels later added that the "first class antagonism which appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage." Robert C. Tucker, ed., The Marx-Engels Reader, Second Edition (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1978) p. 739. The first quotation is from Marx and Engel's German Ideology (1846); Engels developed the argument more fully in The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (1884), (New York: International Publishers, 1972).

5 The classic articulation of liberal WID theory is Ester Boserup Woman's Role in Economic Development (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970) pp. 15-80. Boserup contends that the introduction of technology has created and exacerbated gender differences in agricultural production. Subsequent studies that support Boserup's findings include: Ruth Dixon, Rural Women at Work: Strategies for Development in South Asia (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, eds., Women and Colonialization (New York: Praeger, 1980); and Kathleen Staudt, "Agricultural Gaps: A Case Study of Male Preference in Policy Implementation." Development and Change, 9 (July 1978) pp. 439-58. Similar dynamics of female marginalization have also been evident in the process of urbanization. For more recent studies, see M.D.R. Evans and Heclio U. Saraiva, "Women's Labour Force Participation and Socioeconomic Development: Influences of Local Context and Individual Characteristics in Brazil," The British Journal of Sociology, 44, no. 1 (March 1993) pp. 25-51; Gay Young, "Gender Inequality and Industrial Development: The Household Connection," Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 24, no. 1 (Spring 1993) pp. 1-20.

6 Marxist and dependency WID theorists view global capitalism as the structural source of women's exploitation. Examples of this perspective include: June Nash and Maria Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, eds., Women, Men and the International Division of Labor (Albany: State University of New York Press,



1983); and Heleieth Saffioti, *Women in Class Society* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978). They further develop Marx and Engel's association of male domination with the emergence of private property, and argue that gender inequalities are maintained to serve the interests of world capitalist elites.

7 During the Cold War, it was popular to depict Marxist-Leninist regimes as monolithic entities, typically led by personal dictatorship, which penetrated every aspect of social and economic life. The extensive structure of the party-state apparatus and its tyrannical means of social control was equated with command capacity.

8 Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Reuschmeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds. *"On the Road Toward a More Adequate Understanding of the State," Bringing the State Back In* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985). One of their central insights is that regardless of a state's original level of autonomy (weakness or strength), "state interventions in socioeconomic life can, over time, lead to a diminution of state autonomy and to a reduction of any capacities the state may have for coherent action," p. 354. For complementary analyses which pay more attention to societal factors in the context of the Third World, see Joel S. Migdal, Atul Kohli and Vivienne Shue, eds., *State Power and Social Forces* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

9 Vivienne Shue describes this as a "weblike" pattern of relations, as distinguished from the more rigid "honeycomb," that is, cellularized structure of the Marxist-Leninist state. Vivienne Shue, *The Reach of the State* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988) pp. 125-152.

10 In For insightful critiques of the use of the household as an unit of analysis in neoclassical developmental economics, see for example, Partha Dasgupta, *An Inquiry into Well-Being and Destitution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) pp. 135-268, pp. 305-70; Naila Kaber, *Reversed Realities* (New York: Verso, 1994) pp. 95-135; and Caroline O.N. Moser, *Gender Planning and Development* (New York: Routledge, 1993) pp. 15-36. Cf. Daisy Dwyer and Judith Bruce, eds., *A Home Divided: Women and Income in the Third World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

11 Boserup and other liberal feminists note that development reinforces the "dual burden" of women's work -- that is, waged labor and continued provision of unpaid household services -- which also increases gender wage differentials. Overall, however, liberal minists do not question the economic rationale behind development; instead, they advocate the integration of women into the development process by increasing their access to credit, technology and training. Examples include: Marguerite Berger and Mayra Buvinic, *Women's Ventures: Assistance to the Informal Sector in Latin America* (West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1989); Barbara Rogers, *The Domestication of Women: Discrimination in Developing Societies* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979); and Kate Young, *Planning Development with Women* (Hong Kong: MacMillan, 1993). Rogers' book has been particularly influential in identifying the sources of discrimination against women in development planning.

12 A notable exception is Barbara Wolfe Jancar, *Women Under Communism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978). She posits a "multi-staged evolution of equality" as a function of regime type (highly authoritarian vs. pluralistic) and stage of modernization (early vs. late); but offers a



fundamentally liberal modernization conclusion: In pluralistic modernized societies, "sex-role differentiation gradually disappears," pp. 206-13.

13 For what is considered the origin of liberal feminist theory see John Stuart Mill, *On the Subjection of Women* (Greenwich, CT: Fawcett, 1970) pp. 91-3. Essentially, legal recognition of women's equality is expected to ameliorate inequality in the household. A more recent discussion is Gay Young, pp. 8-13. The relationship between modernization and peasant family relationships in Europe is analyzed in Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1978). At the early stages of industrialization, they note that peasant families attempt to retain traditional roles, but then gradually change with increased exposure to new experiences.

14 Socialist feminists extend the Marxist position by highlighting the patriarchal norms embedded in capitalism. Gita Sen and Maria Mies have pioneered the global aspect of this approach. See Gita Sen and Caren Grown, *Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985); and Maria Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* (London: Zed Books, 1986). Other important contributions include: Lourdes Beneria, ed., *Women and Development: The Sexual Division of Labor in Rural Societies* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982); Annette Kuhn and AnnMarie Wolpe, eds., *Feminism and Materialism: Women and Modes of Production* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978); and Jane L. Parpart, ed., *Women and Development in Africa: Comparative Perspectives* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989).

15 Socialist feminists draw this notion from the work of feminist anthropologists. In particular, see Nancy Chodorow, "Family Structure and Feminine Personality," and Michelle Rosaldo, "Women, Culture and Society," in *Women, Culture and Society* eds. Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974) pp. 44-66, pp. 14-42.

16 Catharine A. MacKinnon, "Feminism, Marxism, Method, and the State: An Agenda for Theory," *Signs*, 7, no. 3 (Spring 1982) p. 527.

17 MacKinnon, p. 328. MacKinnon proposes consciousness raising as the feminist method. See Catharine A. MacKinnon, *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).

18 Although most definitions of "civil society" exclude the household, note that some would include the "intimate sphere" of the family. For example, see Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato's Habermasian formulation, *Civil Society and Political Theory* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992).

19 For discussions of women in revolutionary China, see Phyllis Andors, *The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983) pp. 12-28; Elisabeth Croll, *Chinese Women Since Mao* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1983) pp. 1-22; Delia Davin, *Women-Work, Women and the Party in Revolutionary China* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); Christina Gilmartin, "Gender in the Formation of a Communist Body Politic," *Modern China*, 19, no. 3 (July 1993) pp. 299-329; Kay Ann Johnson, *Women, the Family and Peasant Revolution in China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Marion J. Levy, *The Family Revolution in China* (New York: Octagon Press, 1971); Judith Stacey, *Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Roxane Witke and Margery Wolf, eds., *Women in Chinese Society* (Stanford:



Stanford University Press, 1975); and Marilyn Young, ed., *Women in China: Studies in Social Change and Feminism*, Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies, no. 15 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1973).

20 Mao recognized the oppression of women as a function of other oppressive systems of authority in Chinese society: "political authority, clan authority, theocratic authority, and authority of the husband represent the whole ideology and institution of feudalism and patriarchy, and are the four great cords that have bound the Chinese people and in particular the peasants." Socialist transition would destroy these authority systems. Mao Zedong, "Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan," in *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* 1, pp. 46-7, cited in Andors, p. 22.

21 Mao echoed Engels' contention that women must participate in public production to achieve gender equality. Engels wrote, "The emancipation of women will be possible when women can take part in production on a large social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time." Engels, *The Origin*, p. 46.

22 As an organization for developing and implementing party policies relating to women, the W.F. and its local branches never represented the articulated interests of women in society. Rather, its mandates were and continue to be defined from the center as a function of broader goals.

23 Mass campaigns to implement the new marriage law usually followed the land reform campaigns in the countryside.

24 In the ideal patrilineal society, Confucian mores require women to obey their husbands and sons, expect women to remain "pure and virtuous, and forbid widows from remarrying." Kam Loui, *Critiques of Confucius in Contemporary China* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980) p. 9. See also Richard W. Guisso, "Thunder Over the Lake: The Five Classics and the Perception of Woman in Early China," *Historical Reflection/Reflexions Historiques*, 8, no. 3 (Fall 1981) pp. 47-61; Albert Richard, O'Hara, *The Position of Women in Early China* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of American Press) p. 260; and Margery Woll, *Wamm and the Family in Rural Taiwan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972).

25 Marimus Johan Meijer, *Marriage Law and Policy in the Chinese People's Republic* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1971) pp. 112-4.

26 Andors, p. 35.

27 In traditional Chinese society, men were entitled to file for divorce based on the following Seven Conditions: failure to bear sons, adultery, lack of respect for parents-in-laws, excessive gossiping, stealing, jealousy or disease. Women had no right to divorce and were expected to comply with the demands of her husband and his family. In practice, divorce was rare and considered scandalous. See Ta Chen, *Zhongguo Funu Shenghuo Shi* (History of the Livelihood of Chinese Women) (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1937).

28 The translation of the singular possessive pronoun in "seine Arbeit" (his labor) from German into Mandarin was a gender neutral "ta."

29 The directives, however, did not mention the participation of urban



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women. Andors, p. 40.

30 Renmin Ribao (RMRB, People's Daily) editorial, "Mobilize Women to Join the Cooperativization Movement, 5 November 1955." pp. 14-17. Collectivization was formally launched in October 1955.

31 In 1955 W.F. Chair Liu Shaoqi led a brief campaign in urban areas that glorified housework as the proper domain of women. Davin, p. 66.

32 RMRB editorial, "Safeguard the Health of Women and Children in Rural Areas," 16 May 1956.

33 Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic* (New York: The Free Press, 1986) p. 146., p. 233.

34 Such a broad attempt at collectivizing domestic services has not occurred in other socialist countries. Croll, p. 25.

35 Davin, pp. 145-46.

36 Elisabeth Croll, "The Sexual Division of Labor in Rural China," in Beneria, pp. 228-9; hereafter Croll (1982).

37 New China News Analysis (NCNA), 1 January 1959, cited in Croll (1982) p. 230.

38 People's China 16 March 1950; NCNA, 22 September 1959; NCNA, 31 July 1958. The Great Leap represented the peak demand for women's work in agriculture. Furthermore, the reliability of these "official" statistics is questionable. They probably reflect the percentage of women engaged in part-time and full-time production.

39 In villages with strong women's federations, women were able to call mass meetings of the commune to discuss the problem. Although parity in work points was not achieved, the average wages for women's labor were raised by one or two points, e.g. from 4.5 to 6.5. RMRB, 9 April 1960. See also, Andors, pp. 57-60.

40 For example, see I. Crook and D. Crook, *The First Years of Yangi Commune* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966) pp. 126-9; cited in Croll (1982) p. 234.

41 See William L. Parish and Martin K. Whyte, *Village and Family in Contemporary China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978) p. 202.

42 An insightful collection of articles is Sharon L. Wolchik and Alfred G. Meyer, *Women, State, and Party in Eastern Europe* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985).

43 Jancar, p. 108.

44 Beijing Review (30 April 1969) pp. 41-8.

45 RMRB, 6 March 1972; Beijing Review (19-25 July 1993).

46 During the Cultural Revolution, local women's federations continued to



play an active role in mobilizing women in rural areas. However, women's issues were relatively peripheral to official ideology until the Anti-Lin Biao and Confucius Campaign in 1973. Zhongguo Funu (Women of China) limited its discussion to general development issues; and the W.F. was even disbanded for seven years (1966 to 1973) during a political struggle to purge it of "revisionist" elements. See Elisabeth Croll, "The Movement to Criticize Confucius and Lin Piao: A Comment on The Women of China" *Signs*, 2.3 (Spring 1977) pp. 721-6; and Fu Wen, "Doctrine of Confucius and Mencius -- the shackle that keeps women in bondage," *Beijing Review* (8 March 1974) pp. 16-8.

47 A variety of responsibility systems exist, ranging from those that "contract" specific production tasks to small work teams or individual laborers, to those in which output or land is contracted to households. The dominance of the latter form has undermined the collective structure.

48 For an empirical study, see Richard E. Barrett, William P. Bridges, Moshe Semyonov, and Xiaoyuan Gao, "Female Labor Force Participation in Urban and Rural China," *Rural Sociology*, 56, no. 1 (Spring 1991) pp. 1-21. The government claims that nearly one-third of the specialized households are headed by women and 42 percent of the 85 million rural work force in township enterprises are women. Committee on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), *The Status of Women in China*, 11th sess., CEDAW, Vienna, Austria, 23 January 1993, p. 26; and WIN News, Autumn 1992, p. 56. Surveys conducted in the 1920s and 1930s indicate that only one to eight percent of all rural households were headed by women. See Ta Chen and Penwen Sun, "Population," in *Chinese Economic Yearbook*, 2nd ed. (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935) pp. 8-12, cited in Parish and Whyte, nt. 9, p. 135. Based on a small sample (n=131) in the Guangdong province, Parish and Whyte estimate that in 1973 fifteen percent of rural households were headed by women.

49 Croll (1983), p. 28; and Judy Polumbaum, "China: Confucian Tradition Meets the Market Economy," *Ms.*, 3, no. 2 (Sept./Oct. 1992) pp. 12-13.

50 This is consistent with Boserup's findings. For a case of how the confinement of peasant women to small-scale agriculture may paradoxically increase their confidence and foster organization into labor gangs, see Gillian Hart, "Engendering Everyday Resistance: Gender, Patronage and Production Politics in Rural Malaysia." *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 19, no. 1 (October 1991) pp. 93-121. Hart finds that men are more subservient to their employers than women due to their exposure to political patronage relations and inability to fulfill societal standards of male household responsibilities, p. 114.

51 Croll (1983), pp. 31-2.

52 For sample success stories, see Huang Wei, "Rural Women and Reform," *Beijing Review* (6 December 1992) pp. 21-2; "Rural Women Come Into Their Own," *Beijing Review* (9 March 1987) pp. 24-6; "Rural Women Gain Economic Status," *Beijing Review* (15 October 1984) pp. 9-10; Xuan Fenghua and Chen Yao, "Jiangxi Women Contribute to Rural Economy," *Xinhua*, 13 August 1990, p. 1; "Status of Rural Women Improves With Reforms," *Xinhua*, 6 November 1987, in FBIS-CHI-87-215, p. 20. In an empirical study, Marshall Johnson, William L. Parish and Elizabeth Lin conclude that foreign market exposure had a positive effect on women's wage-earning opportunities before 1949 and does not adversely affect their position in the post-Mao era. "Chinese Women, Rural Society, and External



Markets," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 35, no. 2 (January 1987) pp. 257-78. Dependency theorists would disagree.

53 Survey of the World Broadcasts (SWB), "Sideline Production and Rural Income," 24 June 1981, p. A1, cited in Croll (1983), nt. 20.

54 SWB, 26 September 1980, *ibid.*

55 "Status of Rural Women Improves With Reforms," *Xinhua*, 6 November 1987, in FBIS-CHI-87-215, p. 20.

56 Wu Naito, "Changes in Chinese Women's Social Status," *Beijing Review*, 34, no. 52 (31 December to 5 January 1992) pp. 22-3.

57 During the collective period, Parish and Whyte note that women's work point contribution to the household did not necessarily correspond with increases in decision-making authority.

58 Nahid Aslanbeigui and Gale Summerfield, "Impact of the Responsibility System on Women in Rural China: An Application of Sen's Theory of Entitlements," *World Development*, 17, no. 3 (1989) pp. 343-50. They employ Amartya Sen's theory of entitlements to illustrate that a woman's controllable income may differ from her contribution to production inside and outside the household.

59 Croll (1983), p. 36. In their pre-reform study, Parish and Whyte found that although Hakka women never bound their feet, were traditionally more active in agriculture, and play a prominent role in cultivating income-generating private plots, they are less likely than women in non-Hakka villages to manage family finances; pp. 26, 207, 238.

60 Ann Scott Tyson and James L. Tyson, "Long Days, Hard Labor for Women Left on the Farm," *Christian Science Monitor*, 5 August 1992, p. 10.

61 Previous initiatives to limit population growth occurred in 1953, 1962 and 1971. John S. Aird, "Coercion in Family Planning: Causes, Methods and Consequences," in U.S. Congress Joint Economic Committee, *China's Economy Looks Toward the Year 2000*, 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1986) pp. 184-221; Judith Banister, "Population Policy and Trends in China, 1978-83," *The China Quarterly*, 100 (December 1984) pp. 717-22; United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), "Family Planning Policies in the People's Republic of China," unpublished manuscript, 1984; Tyrene White, "Implementing the 'One-Child-per-Couple' Population Program in Rural China: National Goals and Local Politics," in *Policy Implementation in Post-Mao China*, ed. David M. Lampton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) pp. 284-317.

62 Since China accounts for 22 percent of the world's population with only 7.3 percent of its land, and only 15 percent of the land is arable, Deng's diagnosis in 1979 was not unreasonable. But the identified solution was too narrow in focus since the regime failed to address the fact that due to environmental mismanagement, an additional third of China's farmland would become unarable over the next generation. See Vaclav Smil, *The Bad Earth: Environmental Degradation in China* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1983).

63 Total family income is reduced by five to ten percent over period of ten



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to sixteen years after birth. For the third or fourth child, the levy can be as high as fifteen to twenty percent of couple's income.

64 Andors, p. 52; Croll (1983), p. 90.

65 Croll (1983), p. 89.

66 Jeff Somer, "China Denies Reports of Forced Abortions," *Newsday*, 4 April 1985, p. 15; Sheryl WuDunn, "China, With Ever More to Feed, Pushes Anew for Small Families," *New York Times*, 16 June 1991, p. A1.

67 Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta, "Infanticide Continues in Rural China," *Washington Post*, 24 October 1991, p. B23. Nicholas Kristof, "A Mystery from China's Census: Where Have Young Girls Gone?" *New York Times*, 17 June 1991, p. A1; "The Lost Girls," *The Economist*, 328 (18 September 1993) p. 38. For a dissenting view based on a study of the minorities' fertility patterns, see Barbara A. Anderson and Brian D. Silver, "Ethnic Differences in Fertility and Sex Ratios at Birth in China: Evidence from Xinjiang," *Population Studies*, 49, no. 2 (July 1995) pp. 221-6.

68 "China: Where are the Girl Babies?" *New York Times*, 21 July 1993 in *Women's International Network News (WIN News)* (Autumn 1993) p. 57. One source estimates that sex ratios may be as high as 130 or 140 males to 100 females in rural areas. Anna Maria Gillis, "Sex Selection and Demographics," *BioScience*, 45, no. 6 (June 1995) pp. 384-5.

69 Sex ratios from the 1953, 1964 and 1982 censuses are 107.0, 106.2 and 107.1. Yi, et. al., p. 283.

70 Davin (1987), p. 118. An example of man who abused his wife after she bore a daughter, but reformed his ways after learning that he contributed to the sex of the child, is Wu Jinbo, "Wo cuo guai le ta (I mistakenly blame her)," *Zhongguo Funu* 10 October 1982, p. 42, cited in Emily Honig and Gail Hershatter, *Personal Voices: Chinese Women in the 1980s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988) pp. 204-5. Davin (1987), p. 118; Honig and Hershatter, p. 294; and Wolf (1985), p. 258.

71 Davin (1987), p. 118; Honig and Hershatter, p. 294; and Wolf (1985), p. 258.

72 While overall national birth rates have declined, they have actually increased in rural areas. For example, in 1981 over 90 percent of the 20.7 million births were from rural areas; and birth rates are generally 50 percent higher in rural than in urban areas. Burns and Rosen, p. 337 and nt. 1. For a cross-cultural study of Asian social structure, see Wen-hui Tsai, ed., "Special Issue: Women, Children and Elderly in Asia," *American Asian Review*, 11 (Fall 1993) pp. 1-151.

73 In attempting to enforce the family planning policy, some rural women cadres face threats of abuse or assault. Su Suining, "There Are Many Causes of Strained Relations Between Cadres and Masses in the Rural Areas," *Nongmin Ribao*, 26 September 1988, p. 1, cited in White, p. 61.

74 White, p. 63. One case study of Hebei finds that if the daughter-only



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stipulation for second births were lifted, only 20 percent of the couples would actually have another child. Jiali Li, "China's One-Child Policy: A Case Study of Hebei Province, 1979-88," *Population and Development Review*, 21, no. 3 (September 1995) pp. 563-85.

For general discussions of peasant moral economy and resistance, respectively, see James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976) and *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). See also, Eric Hobsbawm, "Peasants and Politics," *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 1, no. 1 (1973) p. 12, cited in Scott, "Resistance Without Protest and Without Organization: Peasant Opposition to the Islamic Zakat and the Christian Tithe," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 29, no. 3 (July 1987) p. 424. The role of culture in peasant response is given more weight in Edward Friedman, *Backward Toward Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) part 3, "Rural Revolution," pp. 115-64, as noted in Friedman, "Maoism and the Liberation of the Poor (Review Article)," *World Politics*, 39, no. 3 (April 1987) p. 417, nt. 24.

75 Along with the family planning policy, this issue has attracted much attention in the Western press. Louise Branson, "Sales of Women and Children Recurring in Chinese Provinces," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 21 August 1989, p. A14; Huang Wei, "Crackdown on Abduction of Women and Children" *Beijing Review*, 34, no. 30 (29 July to 4 August, 1991) pp. 24-7.

76 Huang Wei, "Female Participation in Government," *Beijing Review*, 36, no. 29 (19-25 July 1993) p. 26.

77 Huang notes that 70 percent of the women cadres at the national level have at least college degrees; *ibid.* See also Zhang Zhaowen, "Eliminating Female Illiteracy in Rural China," *Beijing Review*, 33, no. 33 (13-19 August 1990) p. 33; and "Women Enjoy 'Ever Higher Positions' in Politics," *Xinhua*, FBIS-CHI-93-043, 8 March 1993. For an empirical study of female education attainment during the 1952 to 1982 period, see William Lavelly, Xiao Zhenyu, Li Bohua, and Ronald Freedman, "The Rise in Female Education in China: National and Regional Patterns," *The China Quarterly*, 121 (March 1990) pp. 61-93. One of their findings is that secondary school attainment in rural areas has declined by roughly 25 percent during the post-Mao period.

78 Steven Mufson, "For Many Chinese Women Tradition Means Prejudice and Abuse," *Washington Post*, 21 August 1995, p. 1. The W.F. holds programs in the countryside to reduce female illiteracy and increase technical knowledge. See Huang Wei, "Rural Women and Reform," *Beijing Review*, 35, no. 48 (30 November to 6 December 1992) pp. 21-2; and Zhang, p.33.

79 CEDAW, p. 56.

80 Huang Qizao, Sichuan province NPC deputy, vice president and first member of the Secretariat of the W.F., notes, "China is still in its initial stage of socialism...and still has a long way to go before realizing the goal of sexual equality, the securement of women's rights and interests and giving full play to women's role in society." *WIN News* (Winter 1993), p. 53.

81 For example, as a signator of the U.N. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the PRC is required to submit



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comprehensive status reports every four years. In 1992 China finally submitted a report which was five years late. Furthermore, in September 1990, the W.F. and the State Statistical Bureau jointly surveyed over 40,000 men and women in 21 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities to determine social attitudes towards women, Washington Post, 21 June 1992, p. 1; Sheila Tefft, "Abduction of Women and Children Rises in China," Christian Science Monitor, 24 May 1994, p. 1; Sheryl WuDunn, "China Cracking Down on Sale of Women as Wives," New York Times, 3 December 1989, p. A21. Following the 1989 Tiananmen Square demonstrations, a campaign was launched against the "six evils" of prostitution, pornography, the sale of women and children, narcotics, gambling and profiteering from superstition. Nicholas D. Kristof, "Beijing Hopes to Stamp Out the 6 Evils," New York Times, 26 November 1989, p. A9. See Wu, pp. 22-3. The W.F. has also launched a farming technology training campaign. See Wang Rong, "Plan to Improve Women's Education, Living Standards," China Daily, 24 August 1991, p. 1.

82 Lisa Stearns, "The New Chinese Women's Law," Women's News Digest, (Hong Kong: Association for the Advancement of Feminism, 1993); and "The Law on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests," Zhongguo Funu ZGFN (Women of China) in WIN News (Winter 1993).

83 Jane McCartney, "As International Meeting Nears, China Unveils Plan on Women," Boston Globe, 8 August 1995, p. 2.

84 Some feminists disagree. For example, Susan Brownmiller writes, "It seems to me that a country that wiped out the tsetse fly by fiat can put an equal number of women on the Central Committee," quoted in Batya Weinbaum, *The Curious Courtship of Women's Liberation and Socialism* (Boston: South End Press, 1978) p. 7. For discussion of the conceptual and procedural issues surrounding human rights legislation in China, see R. Randle Edwards, Louis Henkin, Andrew J. Nathan, *Human Rights in Contemporary China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

85 Many China scholars have made this observation. For example, Cheng Li and David Bachman, "Localism, Elitism, and Immobilism: Elite Formation and Social Change in Post-Mao China," *World Politics*, 42, no. 1 (October 1989) pp. 64-94; David Lampton, ed. (1987); Andrew J. Nathan, "China's Path From Communism," *Journal of Democracy*, 4, no. 2 (April 1993) pp. 30-42; Jean Oi, "Fiscal Reform and the Economic Foundations of Local State Corporatism in China," *World Politics*, 45, no. 1 (October 1992) pp. 99-126; Elizabeth J. Perry and Christine Wong, eds., *The Political Economy of Reform in Post-Mao China*, (Cambridge: Harvard Contemporary China Series, No. 2, 1985), part 1.

86 Laurel Kendall has pointed out to me that attempts in other contexts (such as the Israeli kibbutz system and utopian communities) have generally been resisted. Nonetheless, I am still inclined to pose the hypothetical scenario with perhaps the overly optimistic implication that the full application of Mao-style mass mobilizational tactics might have yielded different results. For example, during the Cultural Revolution, the party-state did succeed in inverting the traditional social hierarchy whereby intellectuals and bureaucrats were relegated to the lowest tier.

87 Jean Oi, *State and Peasant in Contemporary China: The Political Economy of Village Government* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).



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88 Beneria discusses the significance of accounting for "use-value" as well as "exchange-value" production in the economy. Conventional labor force concepts only measure production for exchange instead of production that involves the satisfaction of basic human needs. In statistics, "active labor" should include all workers engaged in use-value as well as exchange-value production, which includes all activities such as household production and all types of subsistence production. See "Accounting for Women's Work," pp. 134-9. Boserup was one of the first WID theorists to point out that statistics on production and income usually omit "the subsistence activities which are largely women's work," p.165. Cf. Dasgupta, *An Inquiry*.

89 Gates traces the commoditization of women back to the Song Dynasty (960 to 1279). Under the petty capitalist mode of production, the patriarchal family became the primary unit of production, and the male head of the household sold their female kin into marriage, adoption, slavery or prostitution. Gates argues that commodization emerged with the new class of neo-Confucian bureaucrats who emphasized patrilineal family production over that of individual labor. Hill Gates, "The Commoditization of Chinese Women," *Sins*, 14 (Summer 1989) pp. 799-832.

90 Low divorce rates in rural China have been attributed to the endurance of arranged marriages and the payment of bride prices. One study reveals that men are reluctant to initiate divorce because they fear the loss of their bride price "investment." See Cailian Liao and Tim B. Heaton, "Divorce Trends and Differentials in China," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 23, no. 3 (Autumn 1992) pp. 413-29.

91 The issue of party recruitment of youths for the Communist Youth League under the HRS has been raised in general but not for women. For example, in a letter to the Zhongguo Qingnian (China Youth) paper, Wang Baochang et. al. of Sichuan writes: "With the overall contracting system being implemented, the young people are confined to the small world of a family or a household, calculating how to increase the family income and earn a greater bonus for overfulfillment of production quotas. In this way, how can we examine and determine whether a youth has a high degree of political awareness and possesses the collectivist spirit of devoting himself to the interests of the public?" See "Shixing Zerenzhijou, Zenyang Zhangwo Rutuan Biaozhun?" *Zhongguo Qingnian*, 16, 26 August 1981, p. 21, in *Chinese Education*, 18, no. 1 (Spring 1985) pp. 10-12.

92 ZGFN, 1 February 1958, in Andors, p. 46.

93 Jean Lock argues that political ideology in post-1949 China has succeeded in eliminating disparities in gender role expectations. But she relies solely on official documents and literary references to support her position. "The Effect of Ideology in Gender Role Definition: China as a Case Study," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 24, no. 3 to 4 (1989) pp. 228-38. For an analysis of PRC legislation which institutionalize discrimination against women, see Ann D. Jordan, "Women's Rights in the PRC: Patriarchal Wine Poured From a Socialist Bottle," *Journal of Chinese Law*, 8 (Spring 1994) pp. 47-104.

94 They reason that costs are suppressed for the "reproduction of labor power" and for marketable consumer commodities. Mies, p. 184. From an economic perspective, however, is it debatable whether the long-term interests of



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capitalist development are served by excluding domestic services from marketization. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to explore the issue in detail, a capitalist case could be made for the industrialization of domestic services which is apparent to a certain degree in advanced industrialized countries.

95 For feminist critiques of Marx-Engels theory, see Heidi I. Harmann, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union," in *Women and Revolution*, ed. Lydia Sargent (Boston: South End Press, 1981); Allison M. Jaggar, "Problems for the Marxist Conception of Human Nature," in *Feminist Politics and Human Nature* (Sussex: The Harvester Press Ltd., 1983) pp. 69-82; and MacKinnon, pp. 13-36.

96 Xinhua News Agency reports that there are over one million self-employed women in the rural areas of Shanxi Province. FBIS-CHI-93-043, 8 March 1993.

97 In September 1992, Nina Nayar (Acting Asia Regional Coordinator of Women's World Banking, WWB) and I addressed two Chinese delegations at the United Nations and WWB, respectively, regarding the prospects for establishing links between women-led microlending institutions in China and the global WWB network. Local interest in such initiatives was seen in my subsequent field research visits in 1994 and 1995, and perhaps enhanced by WWB's role in the 1995 U.N. Conference on Women and NGO Forum.

98 At the grassroots level, rural credit programs noted for their reach and impact on women include Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, Kupedes in Indonesia and SEWA (Self-Employed Women's Association) Bank in India. Such indigenous, non-governmental organizations have enabled poor, often illiterate female entrepreneurs to expand their businesses beyond subsistence levels. For an overview of leading NGOs in this area, see WWB, "Best Practice in Financial Services to Microentrepreneurs," *What Works*, 4, no. 2 (April 1994) pp. 1-27, and 1995 case studies produced jointly by the International Coalition on Women and Credit and WWB.

99 In this regard, the pairing of China and Taiwan might serve as a particularly compelling study. Their apparently similar cultural starting points and contrasting political and economic experiences would be conducive to a range of synchronic and diachronic comparisons. Moreover, ethnographies from one of the countries are often employed to shed light on the other.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 10, 1997

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY AT LUNCHEON FOR WORKING MOTHERS MAGAZINE

The East Room

12:45 P.M. EST

MRS. CLINTON: I want to welcome all of you and tell you how pleased we are to have you here. There will be a program after lunch, but for now, just enjoy the lunch and have a chance to talk with each other. And I'm so grateful for this opportunity to have you all here. (Applause.)

Well, thank you again for joining us for this luncheon.

WORKING

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I particularly want to thank those who are responsible for us being able to have this time together. Working Mothers Magazine has been a very important source of information, support, comfort for many working mothers, and you'll hear in a little while from the editor in chief, Judson Colbrath*. And I wanted to also introduce and thank Jay McDonald*, who is the CEO of McDonald Communications which owns Working Mothers and Working Women and Ms Magazine. And their deciding to honor women who work both in the home and outside the home has been a real breakthrough, and we're delighted that so many of the honorees could join us.

I also want to thank Betsy Myers, of the White House Office on Women and Women's Affairs, for helping to organize this. And I also want to thank the magazine for working so closely with Betsy and others in the administration on a number of issues that are important, we think, to working parents. Many of those initiatives have been supported by this magazine, including advocating for family friendly workplaces, and the Family and Medical Leave Act, and increased access to affordable and quality child care, and retirement equity, and breaking the glass ceiling, and issues as were discussing at our table concerning children's education and development and health and well-being.

So this is a meeting of minds of many people who have worked on issues of importance to parents, with particular attention to the challenges faced by women who work in the home and outside the home.

I have, in the last four years, had the privilege of speaking with many working mothers around the country -- in Atlanta, and Santa Fe, and Boston, and Chicago, and Pittsburgh, and Los Vegas, and Denver, and many other cities. Their names are not public, as many of you are because of your success and position in the world of work, but they often balance gracefully the challenges of their daily duties. And they have been and have become a driving force in our country, politically, socially, and economically, as we struggle to determine how we're going to promote stronger families, encourage productivity in the workplace, and achieve a greater sense of balance in our personal and collective lives.

I invited some of the women who I have met around the country to join us in this luncheon because each of them represents millions of other women -- women who won't be invited to the White House, but who I wish could be because I want all women, particularly working women who feel at the end of the day, as I often used to feel

and still do, that I just can't get anything else done. And yet, keep going and get up and do it again. And I'd like to just take a minute to introduce these women whom I've invited.

Tina Garcia is a properties management company owner in Virginia. I met her at a discussion in Silver Spring. She grew up on welfare, was a single mother for eight years. She couldn't afford child care, so she improvised by literally working around the school schedule and bringing her children to work when school was out. She also did something that I hope more and more women will be encouraged to do and that we help them do, and that is she shared duties with another single mother who didn't drive. She created a village; she created a mutually supportive network. Tina would leave her children with that woman and in return run errands and do grocery shopping for her. Despite all of the obstacles that she faced, she was determined to succeed, and she has.

And Tina, will you just stand up for a minute and let me introduce you to our audience. (Applause.)

I have thought a lot about the next woman whom I met also in Silver Spring. Pamela Kieger* is a single mother of three. She lives in Maryland. She holds two jobs, one as an administrative assistant during the day, and the second working as a caterer several nights a week. She wants her children to have the chance to go to college, but most of her salary goes to rent and child care costs. If it were not for her teenage daughter who looks after the two younger children while Pam works at night, she doesn't know what she would do.

She also regrets very much that her work schedule prevents her from attending school functions or even meeting with her children's teachers. She doesn't get time off to do tasks like that. And she, I remember, said, you know, parents should have the option of influencing their children in school, but I don't have that.

I think often about Pam. I saw her today when she came to this lunch and asked her how her children were doing, particularly that teenage daughter who does so much to help her. And she told me they were doing well and she's hoping that they'll be able to scrape the money together so that her daughter can go to college as she deserves to do.

Pamela, where are you? Will you stand up? (Applause.)

Beatrice Rudder* broke the glass ceiling when she became the first woman firefighter in the District of Columbia, and she was recently promoted to battalion chief. She's also pursuing a master's degree and she spends every minute that she can with her eight year old son. She worries, though, as many of us do, about being in the sandwich generation, and she will soon be facing the costs of college tuition for her son, as well as helping to care for her aging parents.

When we talk about working mothers it's important, I think, for all of us in our mind not just to think about the children we care for, but also about our older parents as well. And, Beatrice, will you stand, please? (Applause.)

Now, Lisa Thomas is somebody I met in Pittsburgh, and she drove all the way to be here today. She got time off from work. She's a single mother of four children, and she came up with an innovative way to care for her own children, by working as a teacher at a child care center that gives her a discount. She earns \$6 an hour, works five days a week, relies on the state of Pennsylvania to help her cover the costs of her children's health care, dental costs, and provide food stamps for them. Her health care benefits for her, personally, are provided through her employer.

And I think it's important for all of us as we change the way our government works to keep not just the abstract statistics in mind, but the real people. Lisa is working as hard as she knows how to work and is doing the best she can for her children and she needs to know that there are those of us who want her to succeed and want her children to succeed.

So, Lisa, would you stand, too? (Applause.)

You know, the concerns of Tina and Pam and Beatrice and Lisa are the same all over our country -- how do we get enough time, how do we deal with the challenges that we face in the workplace, how do we make sure that women are paid what they deserve to be paid. The statistics are still pretty daunting -- that four out of five Americans women work full-time, many out of economic necessity, and nearly 75 percent of working women earn less than \$25,000 a year. Women still earn about 72 cents to a man's dollar, and even less as they age.

Child care can cost between \$4,000 and \$5,000 a year. That means, for a single mother working on the minimum wage, nearly half of her annual income will be taken up by child care. And 10 million children still lack health insurance.

Now, these issues that are talked about in Working Mothers Magazine and talked about among all of us are real issues on people's minds and need to be part of our political debate. Some of you may recall that during the last presidential campaign some of these issues were described by commentators as the feminization of politics. Well, that's an unfortunate term, as I have said before, because after all, I think most fathers also worry about whether their children are in safe, dependable, affordable child care. Most men, as well as women, want to be able to take time off when a family member is gravely ill. And most sons want to ensure that their elderly parents have health care coverage in the later stages of their own life.

Instead of the feminization of politics, I prefer to think of this phenomenon as the humanization of politics. And what we have seen being played out in the political arena is what we have seen being played out in our own lives. The gender gap, which we

heard a lot about, is simply a measure of how women who are, after all, experts on the hazards and vicissitudes of life, vote their self-interest and their values.

So I think that we should begin to value the concerns that we bring not only to the public arena, but the marketplace as well, and start thinking about how to create the balance in our lives and in our society that will enable working mothers, such as the ones we honor today and the millions who will never be honored, to feel that they can succeed both at home and at work.

For those of you who are in politics and cover politics, we've always heard about real politic, which describes the balance of power among nations. But I think what we're hearing about now is real life politic, how do we create the right balance in our own lives and in our larger collective life. And regardless of political affiliation or economic standing, we all have a stake in making sure that balance works, so that women are able to make the choices that are right for them at the various stages of their life.

We honor some women today who have clearly shown that they know how to strike that balance, but behind every smile you will see you can imagine there's been a lot of sleepless nights, a lot of juggling, a lot of challenges that have been balanced as best as any of us could.

And also, I wanted to be sure to bring the four women who I highlighted today because those of us in this room, and

particularly those of us being honored, are very lucky, indeed. We have had supportive families, good educations, being in the right place at the right time, a lot of hard work, and can afford many of the aids that enable us to keep some sane balance in our own lives. That is not the case for millions and millions of other women.

So as we honor those who will be here today, I think if we really want to do working mothers honor we should think about ways we can help every woman be successful at home and at work.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 26, 1995

REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
AT THE WOMEN'S FOUNDATION OF COLORADO
Denver, Colorado

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you. Thank you all very much. Thank you for that warm welcome and thank you for filling this hall on behalf of yourselves and other women throughout Colorado and the United States who will be inspired and helped because there was a conference today that talked about the issues confronting women in our society. I'm pleased to be here with my friend, your governor. I appreciate greatly the introduction that your friend, the ambassador, gave me. And I want to thank all who are associated with this extraordinary foundation that is, I believe, the only statewide women's foundation in the entire country. And for that Colorado should be very proud and you should applaud yourselves. (Applause.)

I started my visit today by going to Mi Casa, an organization that the Foundation has helped in the past. One dedicated to providing women with the tools they need to become self-sufficient, self-respecting. To build a future for themselves, their families, and their communities. I was, as I often am, struck by the courage of the women I met. The women who were running the project, who every day come to work inspired by the belief that they can help others make a difference. And the women who came. Women currently on welfare who see a better future for themselves and their children, but need help and support in order to realize that. Women who are on the verge of starting their own businesses or who already have. And proudly tell you what they have accomplished and admit that they still have a long way to go.

Success stories that are being shared because women who have been successful as many in this hall are, have found time to come share their experience. I had heard about Mi Casa for a long time, but I had never had the opportunity to visit before. And I thought it was only fitting to visit a project that reflected what this Foundation and this Conference is all about before I came to speak with you this afternoon.

This summit, as it is being called, has great potential. Not only to equip individual women with the tools they need, but

to inspire all of us to reach out and provide opportunities for those who might themselves not even think to ask. I looked at the program and I've looked at what's ahead for you this afternoon. And I think there is an extraordinary opportunity for women this afternoon to participate by sharing their experiences, by asking what they can do, by asking for help.

That was one of the ideas that came out this morning. How often women are willing to say to one another if they are given the chance, I need help. How can you help me? I think in a very down-to-earth way that's what this summit is about. And I look forward to reading the report of the summit and am pleased that it will be shared with decision makers here in Denver and in Washington.

There are few issues more important than economic security. And if you are able to provide economic security for women, you are more likely to insure that families and communities will also be economically secure. That is something we have learned now all over the world. During my visit to South Asia, I saw programs that brought women together, like Mi Casa, gave them the belief they were able to do for themselves, gave them the confidence and the opportunity to go out and earn income for themselves and their families, and watched as those women brought their entire families economically along with them.

I met a women in a small dusty village in Bangladesh, who was a member of a borrowing group called the Grameen Bank, which lends money to the poorest of the poor in that poor country. The loans are maybe 10, 25, 50 dollars. But each of those loans represents a statement, a value, as to how that women who receives that loan thinks of herself and what she can do for her family. And one women whom I met said to me, she had gotten her first loan and she had bought a milk cow. She got her second loan and she bought her second milk cow. And she got her third loan and she bought a rickshaw for her husband so he too could be independent and no longer work for someone else.

It may look from so far away that those tiny steps are not related to what happens here in Denver or Colorado. But on a different scale that is what I saw at Mi Casa and that is what this foundation is doing and that is what this summit is about. It may be a milk cow in Bangladesh and it may be a computer to do desk top publishing in Denver. But each is a means to enable a women to pursue her own hopes and dreams.

Our economy is strong. Our economy is creating jobs. We have seen good, positive growth and change. And yet, despite what has occurred that we can be pleased about, we know that

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there are many men and women in America today who are working very hard and not feeling and not actually seeing the results of that hard work in increased income and a higher standard of living for themselves and their families. That is one of our biggest problems right now. How do we make sure that the energy, the entrepreneurialism, the excitement that you find in groups of women like the ones here can be replicated and spread throughout our society. How do we make sure that all women who are willing to work, willing to take responsibility, will be able to share in the results of that kind of hard work?

We began looking for answers as the foundation here has about what is happening in women's lives by commissioning a study through the labor department called Working Women Count. It was a survey of two hundred and fifty thousand working women who were asked questions about their income and what was happening at their work places and how they were trying to create a life that included home responsibilities and those outside the home. We learned as all of us in this room know firsthand about the challenges facing women who are attempting to create a better opportunity for themselves and gain a measure of economic security.

I have met with hundreds and hundreds of the women like those I met with at Mi Casa and those I met with around the country to talk about what economic security means to them. I'll never forget talking with a young woman in Santa Fe, a divorced mother of five children who has received no child support. Who did not want to be on welfare, but who could not find a traditional job that would enable her to pay for all of the services that she needed for her children. So she sought a position in an area she'd always dreamed of working. She wanted to be a fire fighter. It was a long struggle and she became one of only two women on the fire department's roster. But even with her salary there, she found it difficult to support her children, provide health insurance for them and do what is necessary to keep a family together. So she took another, full-time job. So there she was, working two full-time jobs, finding it difficult to keep her children going and wondering what else she was expected to do.

Wherever I go, I find the same concerns. I hear about the needs women have. The needs to be respected on their jobs. To be able to feel that they are taking good care of their children if they leave them in child care. The need for flexible schedules. The need for capital to start those small businesses they dream about. Women are striving for economic security but too often the tools they need are not readily available. What I hope will come out of your summit is a realistic depiction of

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both the opportunities and the challenges confronting women. What does it mean for us as a society that approximately sixty percent of women with children under six are in the workforce today. But a recently completed study about available child care deplored the conditions available in many child care centers.

What does it mean at ninety-nine percent of women in the United States will work for pay at some point in their lives. But that time may come at a different point during the life cycle. Some women may work in their twenties, and not in their thirties or forties. Some may not work until their children are grown and gone and want to enter the work force in their forties or fifties, only to be met by disbelief and discrimination because of their age.

How do we make the work world understand the full capacity and potential of women? It is not just young women who have a lot to contribute and should be given the opportunity. Women at all ages of our lives should be respected for what we can bring as well to the world of work. (Applause.) That means we have to be more respectful of the choices women make. I don't know about you, but I personally am very tired of seeing women pitted one against the other. (Applause.) Seeing women who make the choice to be full-time mothers pitted against women who have a full-time career and either do not marry or do not have children. And being pitted against women who are attempting to compose a life that consists of both family and children and work. We ought to stop pointing fingers at one another and hold out helping hands so that every responsible choice a women makes can be supported. (Applause.)

We have to be honest and realistic about the obstacles women face when they make certain choices. It is not easy in many homes in our country for a family with two working parents to make the choice that one of those parents, usually the mother, will take time off from work in order to care for young children. Given the pressures for material possessions. Given some of the social pressures that exist, that is not an easy choice. We should do more to support women and men who wish to make that choice. And we should do more to provide support through governmental regulations and business policy to support leave programs and flex time so that women do not have to make a very difficult choice between their children and their work responsibilities.

Before I came up here, I was handed a note from a women who said, I am writing this note to let you know of something very special that your husband, namely my husband, did for me. Two months ago my husband died of congestive heart failure after a

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prolonged period of several years of illness. Because your husband signed into law the Family Medical Leave Act I was able to transport my husband to doctor appointments and hospital visits and to keep my job and bring comfort to my husband at the end of his life. We should do more to enable women to be good mothers, good wives, and good caretakers if those are the responsible choices they make. (Applause.) And both business and government should be partners in that effort.

We also should do more in the work place so that women are given the opportunities they earn. One of the single biggest responses we received in the Working Women Count survey was to hear from women who knew they were still not being paid at the same level as men doing the same kind of work. They were not being given the opportunities for promotion and advancement. We should once and for all begin to treat people in the work place on the basis of what they can contribute to the business, not on what gender or what race they happen to be. But that is going to take some real effort on the part of all of us, beyond affirmative action. We should start practicing affirmative thinking and see people as individuals and treat them in accordance how they behave and how they perform on the job.

And then we come to that very difficult area of how to support all of these efforts and maintain the kind of economic security that families deserve to have. We've done a lot in this country to make sure that older people have economic security at the end of their work lives. Social security and medicare and part of a contract that enables older people, particularly older women, since women, on average, live longer than men, to have some measure of economic security.

I want to stress how important that is. Because in all of the talk about Medicare and Social Security it is easy to forget we are talking about real people. The median annual income for women sixty-five and over in our country is \$8,500. Now stop and think about that. The average median income. As you walk down the street, as you leave today and you see women who are over sixty-five, think to yourself, they are likely living on around \$8,500 a year.

I mention that because it's not only a question of their economic security. It is also one that affects their children and their grand-children. This intergenerational compact that we have entered into have enabled many families to achieve a level of economic security with the knowledge that their parents and grandparents would be given the basic needs required towards the end of their lives.

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We have to view things like health care as an investment in people that enables them to achieve economic security. As a part of what we mean when we talk about economic security. This is the kind of challenge that we are debating now in our country and there are many good ideas about how to provide the tools that women and men and girls and boys need. But I think much of what has to happen must begin inside each of us. As we assume responsibility for ourselves. It must then expand outward into the families that we are a part of. In the places where we do work. In the communities that we live in and help to lead. We should honestly discuss every one of the challenges confronting women as they attempt to achieve economic security. Not in an ideological way because I don't think there are right or left or conservative or liberal answers for a lot of the challenges we confront. I believe what is out there waiting for us to discover are down-to-earth, common-sense, pragmatic solutions to the problems people face every single day. As they work to keep body and soul together. To give their families, and particularly their children, better opportunities. As they work to achieve their own god-given potential.

All through this country many businesses, many not for profits, many families and communities have begun to solve a lot of the problems that are discussed at this summit. We need to replicate programs like Mi Casa. We need to look at businesses that have been creative in providing flex time and emergency child care. Not just to treat them like their an aberration but to figure out how we can band together to replicate what they have provided which enables more people to take advantage of the opportunities that are out there. For them to achieve economic security.

This is a movement that is happening throughout the world. Because we know that if we can only invest more in women, we will not only lift up families, we will lift up communities and even countries. I've seen it firsthand. I know that it is an issue that if we pursue, we can move the agenda forward. Part of the reason that I am excited about the upcoming Women's Conference sponsored by the United Nations is because one of its primary emphases will be on economic security.

We can come from our country and share the success stories, like the Mi Casa resource center which did receive support from this Foundation, which has reserved support from our federal Small Business Administration, has received support from the state of Colorado. It is one of the many training and counseling centers that are beginning to make a real impact on the economies of their communities. And we can learn from others around the world who are making the same steps to invest in women.

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This upcoming conference in Beijing is an important opportunity to focus attention on women. It is the chance we have to come together as you have in this summit. And to share ideas, to share our successes, to share failures, to learn what works and what does not. It is important therefore in my opinion that the United States play a very big leadership role in shaping the agenda of this conference to focus on the bread and butter issues. The issues that people get up the morning worrying about and go to bed still concerned over.

Those who would argue we should boycott the Women's Conference because the host country has a poor record on human rights may be well motivated but as Madeline Albright, the chair of our delegation has suggested, they miss the point. Human rights cannot be separated from women's rights. Women's rights to economic opportunity, to fair treatment, to political participation, should be part of the human rights agenda. Women do most of the work in the world. They have the responsibility for raising our children in the world. They are the backbone of the vast majority of families and communities. Anything we can do to provide greater economic opportunity for women is a good investment and the United States should do all that it can to make sure that barriers to women's participation are broken down and that training and credit and political involvement and health care and education are available to all women.

I hope that this summit's report will be part of what is considered in Beijing. Certainly many of the issues that are on the agenda for this summit are exactly what should be looked at and discussed there. And out of it should come what you are going to produce: a report in the words of many of the participants about what is actually going on in the lives of women today. Not an abstract discussion or an academic treatise. But what does it mean to try to start a new business. What does it mean as a woman at Mi Casa said today, when your dream for a new business dies in the parking lot of a bank. What does it mean if you are a young girl who's dreaming big dreams about your own future but get no encouragement from anyone close to you? What does it mean that you have health care needs that you cannot get met because in our country you have no insurance or in another country there is no doctor or hospital to access? What does it mean if you have the right to vote, as we do here, and are able to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of our suffrage, but so many women are too busy to exercise their vote? Too busy to become involved in the basic right of citizenship. Whereas women in other parts of the world are still denied suffrage or are so prevented from exercising it, that it's grant is a farce. What does it mean for all of us to know that

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economic security is not within reach for millions for our fellow women in America and billions of other women around our globe?

These are questions that don't belong just in the reports from summits, or just in the platforms from UN conferences. These are questions that each of us should be asking ourselves -- talking about with our friends -- discussing in our work places, our churches, everywhere we gather. Because as the Governor said, economic security is not an end in itself. We all know more people than we can count that have more economic security than you or I will see in a lifetime, but don't have a lot of what else makes life worth living. Yet it is absolutely fair to say that poverty and stress in the face of economic challenge render the lives of millions of women difficult, if not impossible.

So yes, let's work as hard as each of us knows to do what we can to make it possible for every woman in every family to have enough economic security. That she's able to feel good about her future and the future she can hold out to her children. Because it is from that point then, when people at that level of security, that they can begin worrying about quality of life in their communities. When they can begin reaching out more to help each other. And then those of us who are economic secure, let's stop and ask ourselves what more can we do to make it possible for more people to feel that they have the choices that we have taken for granted.

So although the foundation is hosting this summit on economic security, I see its agenda as going far beyond what is being discussed today. I see it as a statement about the potential and promise of women everywhere. And I see it as a challenge to each of us. That we go forth from this day determined to do what we can for ourselves. To take responsibility. To quit, as a friend of mine said, wringing our hands over our problems so that we can roll up our sleeves and get to work. And I also see it as part of a great effort to make, that they we provide those opportunities necessary for every woman willing to seize them. So that all of us can move towards economic security as a way of moving toward a juster, more hopeful society for ourselves and our children.

Thank you all very much.

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**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU
REMARKS FOR VIDEO
MAY 17, 1995**

Welcome and thank you for joining in the 75th anniversary of the Women's Bureau. I wish I could be there to celebrate with you in person. I am with you in spirit, as we come together to recognize the Bureau's long-standing commitment to America's working women.

In 1920, when the Women's Bureau was created, women did not yet have the right to vote. They would achieve that a few months later. Sex discrimination was not only pervasive, it was legal. There was no minimum wage. There was no Social Security. Many women worked, literally for pennies, in sweatshops like the infamous Triangle Shirtwaist Factory, where 146 people, most of them young girls, died in a fire. The concerns of women -- who constituted less than a fifth of the total workforce -- had no official place in the federal government.

Today, there are 60 million women in the workforce -- compared with about 8 million in 1920. Today, ninety-nine percent of women will work for pay at some point in their lives, in every part of the country and in every job imaginable -- including some jobs that did not even exist seventy-five years ago.

But some things have not changed. Last year, when this Administration and the Women's Bureau launched the groundbreaking Working Women Count! survey, more than a quarter of a million women responded. They told us that they want the opportunity and the means to lead full, productive lives. They want to be treated not as costs to be cut, but as assets to be developed. And they want to work in an environment that treats them with dignity, respects the value of their families, and invests in their skills.

We heard you. Believe me, we heard you! And we know it isn't always easy for America's working families to stay afloat in these turbulent times. We also understand that many of the issues women have shared are problems for working men as well.

Over the years, the Women's Bureau has listened to the concerns of working women and made it the business of government to make work better for them. The Bureau was instrumental in the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which sets minimum wage and maximum hours without overtime. It played an important role in the passage of the Equal Pay Act of 1963. And in the process, the Women's Bureau has made work better for all Americans.

This Administration has a great responsibility to lead through these times of change. We must continue to work together to guarantee all working Americans decent pay, support for their family responsibilities, and fair treatment on the job. Government cannot do it alone. We must each do our part to ensure that the work of women -- and of all Americans -- is valued fully and fairly. It is up to each one of us.

But as the 75th Anniversary celebration of the Women's Bureau helps remind us, America's working women have a pretty impressive track record -- and a limitless future.

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**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WORKING WOMEN COUNT!
ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
MAY 2, 1995**

TALKING POINTS

[Acknowledgements: Karen Nussbaum, Director of Women's Bureau, DoL; Sharon Campbell, wife of Atlanta mayor Bill Campbell; women attending discussion]

- Thank you. It is an honor to be here, to be able to hear, first hand, some of the insights you have as you try to balance the concerns of work and family.
- Thanks to the hard work of Secretary Reich, the Department of Labor and the hundreds of thousands of women who responded to the "Working Women Count! survey -- we know a lot more about the experiences of working women. For the first time, we heard from the real experts -- a quarter of a million women whose words and opinions about balancing work and family are being taken seriously at every level of this Administration.
- This survey told us what most of us here already knew, but others needed to be told: American women accomplish the close-to-impossible every day, whether it is caring for a family while running a Fortune 500 company, or holding down three jobs to make sure children have food on the table and warm clothes to wear.
- This Administration is making every effort to address the concerns of working women. Already, the President has appointed more women to government than any previous President. Forty-four percent of his appointments have been women, and one-third of those are in senior positions.
- This President has made an historic commitment to breast cancer research and detection, through NIH and the Department of Defense mammography program. And we are currently undertaking the largest clinical research study ever conducted on men or women to explore diseases that so often afflict older women: heart disease, breast and colon cancer, and osteoporosis.
- This Administration is addressing the problem of domestic violence on an unprecedented scale.
- Under this President, women who own small businesses have enjoyed greater access to federally guaranteed loans and technical assistance to start and expand their businesses.

■ The Working Women Count project, along with all the other efforts of this Administration on behalf of women, reflects a profound belief held by this President and this Administration that women must be viewed as full partners in the political, economic, and social life of this country.

■ Some people call issues affecting women "soft" or tangential. But the reality is that any issue that affects women also affects children, families, older Americans, communities, our entire nation.

■ I hope that we will arrive at a day when there is greater appreciation of the vital role that women play in every single facet of our society as they balance the extraordinary demands they have at home and in their workplaces.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WORKING WOMEN COUNT EVENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
APRIL 10, 1995

TRANSCRIPT

Thank you all. I want to welcome you to the White House. This is a particularly important occasion for this Administration. I am sorry that the weather did not cooperate with us staying in the Rose Garden, but the working women of the White House made a decision and moved us indoors. I am grateful for that.

This is the room where we've had two previous events about "Women Count," and I was privileged to participate in both of those. First, the announcement of the survey and introducing some of the people who were going to be involved. The second with the Vice President, receiving the survey results and today, is an especially important moment because now we're going to be looking to the future and what kind of recommendations are coming from this survey.

The survey tells us in no uncertain terms that women are working more than ever -- in the home, outside the home -- balancing two jobs, juggling all of the demands that so many of us know so well. And, that we, as individuals, as family members, as citizens, and certainly those in decision-making positions, have to recognize the challenges and stresses that women are encountering in the workplace and in the balance between work and family. It's not only important for women, it's important for men, children and the larger society.

In a few minutes the President will talk about some of the initiatives that have been put into place over the last two years on behalf of all women, but particularly on behalf of working women. But first let me just mention a few ways in which women count within this Administration.

We know women count because women have had unprecedented access to decision-making positions that are important to the larger society. Appointments of qualified women in the Cabinet and sub-Cabinet and throughout the government really speak for itself as the kind of commitment that this Administration has carried forward on behalf of women.

There has also been a historic commitment to women's health, something that had not been given the attention that it needed in the past. And through the efforts we have taken to coordinate approaches to women's health, we're seeing some breakthroughs in research that is being done in areas such as breast cancer. And we are working on a very large women's health initiative that will make a difference in our lives and in particularly the lives of our daughters.

The President recently announced the creation of an office within the Department of Justice to address the problem of domestic violence. A problem that too often is not given the attention that it needs and even when it receives attention does not lead to remedies.

Under this President also, women who own small businesses have enjoyed greater access to federally guaranteed loans and technical assistance to start and expand their businesses.

It's very important that, when this President became president, he felt absolutely committed to carrying through on putting people first. And putting people first means just that -- and it certainly means putting working women first, and paying attention to their concerns and listening to what we have to say about the challenges we face.

One last thing that I would like to mention is that the "Working Women Count" project, along with all the rest of the Administration, is really just the tip of the iceberg about what our commitment really needs to be on behalf of women and families in our society.

Some of you may know I recently returned from an extraordinary trip to South Asia, where I was privileged to meet women of all different kinds of backgrounds who were working on behalf of themselves and their families. And I recognized, whether I was talking to women academics, business leaders, and civic leaders at the American embassies I visited, or whether I was in villages talking to women there about their dreams and aspirations.

But there is a common thread that runs through the conversations I have, whether I am in Washington or Topeka or Sacramento or Bangladesh or India or Pakistan or Nepal or Sri Lanka. What women are saying in the "Working Women Count" surveys, of the more than two hundred and fifty thousand who responded, is that we are all attempting to make the best possible choices for our own lives, and the lives of those people we hold dear.

We also want to make a contribution to our larger community. It's a wonderful opportunity for us to recognize the contributions that women make every single day, and to stop for a minute, as we hear these recommendations, and recognize that we can do more to enable women to make the best possible choices for themselves and their families.

I hope we will get to a point where we no longer have to do surveys, or we no longer have to talk about women's issues as a separate kind of emphasis. That instead we just look at the huge array of possibilities that human life presents to us and women, and their role will be accepted as being part of that great effort that all of us are engaged in to define ourselves, to make identities for ourselves, to contribute to the next generation.

It's very exciting for us to have a Secretary of Labor that

cares so deeply about working people, and is so intent upon putting people first. And anyone who follows the work that Bob Reich does day in and day out knows that he cares deeply about what happens in the homes and workplaces of America. And that he is absolutely committed to doing what he can to make sure working people, and particularly working women, get the respect they deserve to have for the contributions they make.

And so it is my pleasure to introduce Secretary of Labor, Bob Reich.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 30, 1994

NEW YORK WOMENS AGENDA STAR BREAKFAST
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you and let me add my word of thanks and appreciation to Ellie who has been an inspiration, a mentor, a role model, and a friend for a number of years. And I also want to thank her and Randy for taking me in. I spent the night in that apartment which is command central for every good cause that crosses the Hudson. And the two of them together are such a wonderful partnership and I am so grateful for their friendship and leadership.

I want to thank Gloria Steinem for many things, but particularly for her fiftieth birthday when she said "this is what fifty looks like." Although if you were as close to her as I am you would be wondering "why doesn't forty-seven look like that." And I am delighted to be here with Matilda and Donna two women whom I respect greatly who are giving voice and leadership to important issues. And to Susan and the other leaders from New York in the business community, this is a remarkable event. And all of the individual women who both have presented and who have been the recipients of the Star Award, I want to thank you. Thank you for what you exemplify. But more than that, you are here both because of your accomplishments, but also because of your continuing commitment to other people. And I think that is one of the real lessons of this agenda and this morning. We need always to take the time to remember where we came from, where we are going, and how we will help others along the way. And Ellie is absolutely right to have spent so many years proving that women don't bond - another one of those absurd misconceptions that I think were probably dreamed up in order to prevent us from bonding, and prevent us from helping each other, and prevent us from giving hands that will enable others to come along. So I'm grateful for all of you who have already shown that we not only bond, but we have the opportunity through that kind of networking to help other women as well.

I want to say just very briefly, because I know most of you have to get to work - and being a full time volunteer my schedule is more flexible than it use to be. I want to say a few words about the agenda that you are undertaking through this remarkable coalition. Because after all it is important to recognize individual women, but it is critical to the futures of all of us,

no matter how successful we might be at this moment in time, to remember the millions and millions of women and men and children who will benefit from the results of your coalescing work around the issues you have identified.

And I say that in a way to urge you on, and to challenge you to continue through your own individual efforts, through your own community and corporate efforts, but through this very exciting coalition above all.

We recently completed in the administration a remarkable study that some of you may know about and even have helped with called "Working Women Count." And what we did was to ask women what was going on in their lives and what they wanted to see happen for them and for their futures. We received over two hundred and fifty thousand questionnaires filled in by women all over the country. There were very few surprises - but much good information and reinforcement for what a womens agenda for our country could truly be.

Women talked about their work lives, their family lives, what they hoped to see accomplished. They talked in very specific and almost personal terms about what it was like trying to get a job, keep a job, go back to work, raise a family. At the event where we unveiled the final results, three women spoke. And I sat there listening to them because in a way they represented all of us at one point or another in our own lives. The first woman who spoke, spoke about having gone to work mid-way through her life because her husband had become disabled. And she needed to go to work in order to get a job that had health care benefits. And what it meant to her to have her first job for pay outside the home in many years - and the challenges she confronted.

The second woman who spoke was in her small company, a rising star. Anxious to do well, anxious to impress her superiors, anxious to continue her own pattern of success, but also beset by guilt about the time away from her family particularly her child. She talked about what it was like to come home at the end of a long day knowing that her son needed her attention for homework, and all of the things that children require. And having to summon up that extra energy in order to give to him and her husband what she wanted share with them.

And the third woman who spoke had made her way into a non-traditional kind of profession. The sort that we still marvel at when we see women doing. She had been a single parent. She had raised three daughters alone. And she talked about how all she really wanted on the job was the respect that she thought she had earned.

As I sat there listening to these three women I thought, there go all of us at one point or another. And I remembered my own years of wondering what I would do, wondering how I could do it, wondering how I could balance. And the words of those women have stayed with me. And the agenda that you have identified for 1995 is one that is truly an every womans agenda. But it is one that will take perhaps some redoubled efforts for us to pursue.

The first item, womens health, I cannot say often enough how important it is that we both recognize the special health needs of women, which we are finally, finally beginning to do. And that we assure, we assure means for meeting those needs.

When I first started working on health care reform and was immersed in reading all that I could, I was stunned to read that the first clinical trials for breast cancer were carried out on men. I thought I had misread and I kept reading it thinking, you know, I'm really loosing it. Finally I picked up the phone and called some of the people at NIH to find out, yes, indeed it was true. And that wasn't so very long ago. Well now we do have a federal commitment to women's health needs and we are pursuing an aggressive agenda on behalf of those needs. But we also have to recognize that many women will still go without the care they deserve to have until we recognize every person should be entitled to quality health care benefits and that's something that we should continue to work for.

The second item on the agenda, jobs and the economy, we need not only to continue as we have done for the last twenty months to see an increase in jobs, but also to recognize the quality of jobs, the income that goes with those jobs, the benefits that those jobs carry -- are particularly important for women because many women have the responsibility of being the sole breadwinner. And for many women they are still not able to fulfill their economic responsibilities to their family because their job opportunities are either not as available as they need to be or do not carry the income and benefits that are required. So we have to continue to think about ways to grow our economy and provide more incentives for the kind of expansion we have been experiencing.

And as part of jobs and the economy we need in these next months to come up with a decent welfare reform proposal that will move people from welfare to work, but will also recognize that there are some skills and some training and some child care and health needs that will also have to be met. Unless we want to see literally thousand and thousands of people on our streets and face the unbelievable and absurd idea of putting children into orphanages because their mothers cannot get a job.

The third item on the agenda that you have adopted is the media. And there are many representatives of the media here - many in positions of power and importance. And I know how difficult this issue is to address. I just hope that we begin to appreciate what we have done to ourselves and what we are doing to our children with a steady diet of the kind of media images and information that too often distorts reality - that too often gives children the idea that their futures are beset by violence and limitation and dysfunctional images. It is time for those of us who are adults to go ahead and recognize that television has become in many ways the most pervasive influence on our families. And unless we have the personal courage to turn it off and monitor it - and unless we have some collective will to change the messages as well as the medium that delivers it, we cannot ever expect our children to have the kind of understanding of the world that can come through a more balanced presentation. And I hope that you will work also for ways of improving the way women are presented in the media.

The fourth item on the agenda which Susan mentioned is domestic violence, which we made great progress on with the passage of the crime bill. Because for the very first time the federal government recognized domestic violence as a significant issue that affects women. And there are new ways through the crime bill, through funding in the crime bill for cities like New York - and your mayor who has made domestic violence a priority - to begin to have the tools to address domestic violence. But this is an issue that we all have to recognize. It goes very deeply into our culture and our society. And I hope that the work that you are doing here in New York will serve as an example so that the rest of the country will organize around this issue and do what it can to try to address it. And address it in ways that both men and women can respond positively to. Because it really is talking about the quality of our relationships together. It is not merely stopping violence, it is creating a more open, responsive, respectful, environment in which our most intimate relationships are played out. And I think this is a critical issue to continue to address.

Your next issue - city issues. For someone who did not grow up in New York, who cannot claim all of the wonderful anecdotes that so many of your speakers who receive Stars can - I love New York. And I hope that you will take the issues of this city on and do what you can to work with the administration here and the private sector here. And I also hope that you will do a little bit of the kind of missionary work that is needed. We do not need a split in our country between our urban areas and our suburban areas. I think that is one of the important problems that we are going to be facing. Suburbs could not exist without cities. To often those of us who grew up in suburbs forget that.

And I hope those of you who care about and cherish this city will make it clear to your neighbors that the synergy between the great centers of culture and business and politics that cities like New York are, working with the suburbs around it is really the way to create the kind of opportunity and growth that we need generally. And that is an issue that I anticipate will become one that we will have to address. And for those of us who love your city, I hope you take it on with a great amount of vigor.

And finally, the work you are doing on corporate and non-profit boards. It is important in both the private and non-profit sector to have more voices represented and to listen to those voices. I think that you heard from so many remarkable women this morning. And knowing that the roles they are playing will continue to be enhanced in the future but particularly if we can expand the decision making roles that they and others will be able to achieve.

These issues on your agenda all for me are related to the women whom I heard when we heard about the Working Women Count report. We all are looking for an opportunity to give voice to the needs and the desires and the aspirations of women. That voice can be both the individual voice of someone who has already achieved. But it also needs to be the voice that sometimes isn't heard, from the women who have the problems and the challenges that we have either, never faced or we have left behind. And as we listen to those voices, those voices will begin to make clear what the choices women have are and what choices they want to make for themselves. One of the great challenges we still face is to overcome the stereotypes that still grip us. And to know that choices for women today are such a broad array of possibilities. And none of us should be stereotyped. None of us should be put in the position of being told that our choices are illegitimate. Whether we are full time homemakers, full time career women, or engaged in the juggling act that so many of us do, our choices should be respected for what they are. And knowing that they may very well change in the course of our lives.

So giving voice to ourselves, giving voice to other women respecting and enhancing the choices that we all have, and then finally having a vision for our own lives and the lives of our friends, our neighbors, and the life of our community. That's what this great gathering for me is about. Voices, choices, and vision. And I hope that each one of us will leave here this morning energized and recommitted with, as someone said, the passion and purpose of an Ellie Gugenheimer(phonetic), knowing that we can make a difference. Maybe a difference in the life of a child, maybe the difference in the life of a co-worker, maybe the difference in the life of a corporation or a city. But we

have such opportunity now. Let's use it and let's make the agenda for the future one that we all are committed to achieving.

End

**PRESIDENT CLINTON:
U.S. - CHINA RELATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY**

June 11, 1998

"China will choose its own destiny. But we can influence its choice by making the right choice ourselves -- working with China where we can and dealing directly with our differences where we must. Bringing China into the community of nations rather than trying to shut it out is the best way to advance our own interests."

President Bill Clinton
June 11, 1998

Today, President Clinton speaks about U.S.-China relations and the goals and objectives of his upcoming trip to China. The President addresses areas of mutual national interest, including stability in Asia, the prevention of weapons proliferation, and environmental protection. The President also discusses areas of disagreement between the two nations, and why continued United States engagement on these issues is crucial.

Building Ties To Strengthen America In The 21st Century. China, already the world's most populous nation, is also a growing economic giant and a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. A stable, open, and prosperous China that assumes its duty for building a more peaceful world is profoundly in America's interest. The best way to encourage the emergence of China in this way is to work cooperatively where possible while dealing forthrightly about differences. The United States and China are working together in key areas, including:

Promoting Stability in Asia. China has played an important stabilizing role in Asia:

- Nuclear Testing In India and Pakistan. After India and Pakistan conducted nuclear tests, China chaired a meeting of the permanent members of the UN Security Council to forge a common strategy for moving these two countries back from the threat of an arms race. China has joined the United States in condemning these tests, calling on both countries to sign the Comprehensive Test ban Treaty, and encouraging peaceful dialogue to resolve their differences.
- The Korean Peninsula. China has also become a force for peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula. The Chinese government has helped us convince North Korea to freeze its dangerous nuclear program and played a constructive role in the Four Party Peace Talks.

Working To Stop The Spread Of Weapons Of Mass Destruction. In the past decade, China has joined the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Biological Weapons Convention and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, each of which contains clear reporting requirements and inspection systems. China has also agreed to stop assistance to Iran and Pakistan on their nuclear programs. The President will continue to press China for assistance on non-proliferation, and seek stronger controls on the sale of missiles, missile technology, dual-use products, and chemical and biological weapons.

Partnership In Combating International Drug Trafficking And Organized Crime. Last month, a special liaison group that President Clinton created with President Jiang of China brought together leading American and Chinese law enforcement officials to set up cooperative efforts against organized crime, counterfeiting, and alien smuggling. Next month, the Drug Enforcement Agency will open its first office in China.

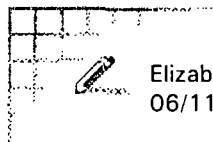
Helping China Develop Environmental Strategies. China faces daunting environmental problems that could spread beyond its borders -- all of its major bodies of water are polluted, and respiratory illness is the number one health problem for Chinese citizens. One year ago, Vice President Gore launched a dialogue with the China to help them pursue growth and protection of the environment. The President will explore with President Jiang how American technology can help improve air quality and bring electricity to more of China's rural residents.

Encouraging Open Global markets. China is one of the fastest growing markets in the world and the United States exports \$13 billion in goods to China. We must continue to press the Chinese governments to open goods,

services, and agricultural markets, work toward Chinese inclusion in the World Trade Organization, and renew normal trade treatment for China.

Engagement Of China In Areas Of Disagreement Serves America's Interests. By integrating China into the community of nations and global economy, helping its leadership understand that greater freedom profoundly serves China's interests, and standing up for our principles, we can most effectively serve the cause of democracy and human rights in China. Our message remains strong and constant. Do not arrest people for their political beliefs -- release those who are in jail for that reason; resume your dialogue with the Dalai Lama; allow people to worship when, where and how they choose; recognize that our relationship will not reach its full potential as long as the Chinese people are denied fundamental human rights. Engagement, not isolation, is the best way to make a difference on human rights and religious persecution.

Shaping A More Prosperous And Peaceful Future. The more we share our ideas with the world, the more the world comes to share America's ideals. By continuing to work with China in areas of agreement, and dealing directly with our differences we help ensure Chinese inclusion in the community of nations.



Elizabeth R. Newman
06/11/98 11:42:28 AM

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 11, 1998

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT ON U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

National Geographic Society
Washington, D.C.

10:32 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, President Fahey. I don't know what to say about starting the day with this apparition. (Laughter.) But it's probably good practice for our line of work. (Laughter.) I try to read every issue of the National Geographic, and I will certainly look forward to that one.

Chairman Grosvenor, members of Congress, members of the administration, and members of previous administrations who are here and others who care about the national security and national interests of the United States. First let me, once again, thank the National Geographic Society for its hospitality, and for the very important work that has done for so long now.

As all of you know, I will go to China in two weeks time. It will be the first state visit by an American President this decade. I'm going because I think it's the right thing to do for our country. Today I want to talk with you about our relationship with China and how it fits into our broader concerns for the world of the 21st century and our concerns, in particular, for developments in Asia. That relationship will in large measure help to determine whether the new century is one of security, peace, and prosperity for the American people.

Let me say that, all of you know the dimensions, but I think it is worth repeating a few of the facts about China. It is already the world's most populous nation; it will increase by the size of America's current population every 20 years. It's vast territory borders 15 countries. It has one of the fastest growing economies on Earth. It holds a permanent seat on the National Security Council of the United Nations. Over the past 25 years, it has entered a period of profound change, emerging from isolation, turning a closed economy into an engine for growth, increasing cooperation with the rest of the world, raising the standard of living for hundreds of millions

of its citizens.

The role China chooses to play in preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction are encouraging it in combatting or ignoring international crime and drug trafficking; in protecting or degrading the environment; in tearing down or building up trade barriers; in respecting or abusing human rights; in resolving difficult situations in Asia from the Indian subcontinent to the Korean Peninsula or aggravating them. The role China chooses to play will powerfully shape the next century.

A stable, open, prosperous China that assumes its responsibilities for building a more peaceful world is clearly and profoundly in our interests. On that point all Americans agree. But as we all know, there is serious disagreement over how best to encourage the emergence of that kind of China, and how to handle our differences, especially over human rights, in the meantime.

Some Americans believe we should try to isolate and contain China because of its undemocratic system and human rights violation, and in order to retard its capacity to become America's next great enemy. Some believe increased commercial dealings alone will inevitably lead to a more open, more democratic China.

We have chosen a different course that I believe to be both principled and pragmatic: expanding our areas of cooperation with China while dealing forthrightly with our differences. This policy is supported by our key democratic allies in Asia, Japan, South Korea, Australia, Thailand, the Philippines. It has recently been publicly endorsed by a number of distinguished religious leaders, including Reverend Billy Graham and the Dalai Lama. My trip has been recently supported by political opponents of the current Chinese government, including most recently, Wang Dan.

There is a reason for this. Seeking to isolate China is clearly unworkable. Even our friends and allies around the world do not support us -- or would not support us in that. We would succeed instead in isolating ourselves and our own policy.

Most important, choosing isolation over engagement would not make the world safer. It would make it more dangerous. It would undermine rather than strengthen our efforts to foster stability in Asia. It would eliminate, not facilitate cooperation on issues relating to mass destruction. It would hinder, not help the cause of democracy and human rights in China. It would set back, not step up worldwide efforts to protect the environment. It would cut off, not open up one of the world's most important markets. It would encourage the Chinese to turn inward and to act in opposition to our interests and values.

Consider the areas that matter most to America's peace, prosperity and security, and ask yourselves, would our interests and ideals be better served by advancing our work with, or isolating ourselves from China.

First, think about our interests in a stable Asia, an interest that China shares. The nuclear threats -- excuse me -- the nuclear tests by India and Pakistan are a threat to the stability we seek. They risk a terrible outcome. A miscalculation between two adversaries with large armies would be bad. A miscalculation between two adversaries with nuclear weapons could be catastrophic. These tests were all the more unfortunate because they divert precious resources from countries with unlimited potential.

India is a very great nation, soon to be not only the world's most populous democracy, but its most populous country. It is home to the world's largest middle class already and a remarkable culture that taught the modern world the power of nonviolence. For 50 years Pakistan has been a vibrant Islamic state, and is today a robust democracy. It is important for the world to recognize the remarkable contributions both these countries have made and will continue to make to the community of nations if they can proceed along the path of peace.

It is important for the world to recognize that both India and Pakistan have security concerns that are legitimate. But it is equally important for India and Pakistan to recognize that developing weapons of mass destruction is the wrong way to define their greatness, to protect their security, or to advance their concerns.

I believe that we now have a self-defeating, dangerous, and costly course underway. I believe that this course, if continued, not moderated and ultimately changed, will make both the people of India and the people of Pakistan poorer, not richer, and less, not more, secure. Resolving this requires us to cooperate with China.

Last week, China chaired a meeting of the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council to forge a common strategy for moving India and Pakistan back from the nuclear arms race edge. It has condemned both countries for conducting nuclear tests. It has joined us in urging them to conduct no more tests, to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, to avoid deploying or testing missiles, to tone down the rhetoric, to work to resolve their differences including over Kashmir through dialogue. Because of its history with both countries, China must be a part of any ultimate resolution of this matter.

On the Korean Peninsula, China has become a force for peace and stability, helping us to convince North Korea to freeze its dangerous nuclear program, playing a constructive role in the four-party peace talks. And China has been a helpful partner in international efforts to stabilize the Asian financial crisis. In resisting the temptation to devalue its currency, China has seen that its own interests lie in preventing another round of competitive devaluations that would have severely damaged prospects for regional recovery. It has also contributed to the rescue packages for affected economies.

Now, for each of these problems we should ask ourselves, are we better off working with China or without it? When I travel to China this month, I will work with President Jiang to advance our Asian security agenda, keeping the pressure on India and Pakistan to curb their nuclear arms race and to commence a dialogue; using the strength of our economies and our influence to bolster Asian economies battered by the economic crisis; and discussing steps we can take to advance peace and security on the Korean Peninsula. I will encourage President Jiang to pursue the cross-strait discussion the PRC recently resumed with Taiwan, and where we have already seen a reduction in tensions.

Second, stopping the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons is clearly one of our most urgent security challenges. As a nuclear power with increasingly sophisticated industrial and technological capabilities, China can choose either to be a part of the problem or a part of the solution.

For years, China stood outside the international arms control regime. In the last decade it has joined the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Biological Weapons Convention, and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, each with clear rules, reporting requirements and inspection systems. In the past, China has been a major exporter of sophisticated weapons-related technologies. That is why in virtually all our high-level contacts with China's leadership, and in my summit meeting with President Jiang last October, nonproliferation has been high on the agenda.

Had we been trying to isolate China rather than work with it, would China have agreed to stop assistance to Iran for its nuclear program, to terminate its assistance to unsafeguarded nuclear facilities such as those in Pakistan? To tighten its export control system, to sell no more anti-ship cruise missiles to Iran? These vital decisions were all in our interest, and they clearly were the fruit of our engagement.

I will continue to press China on proliferation. I will seek stronger controls on the sale of missiles, missile technology, dual-use products, and chemical and biological weapons. I will argue that it is in China's interest, because the spread of weapons and technologies would increasingly destabilize areas near China's own borders.

Third, the United States has a profound stake in combatting international organized crime and drug trafficking. International criminal syndicates threaten to undermine confidence in new but fragile market democracies. They bilk people out of billions of dollars and bring violence and despair to our schools and neighborhoods. These are problems from which none of us are isolated and which, as I said at the United Nations a few days ago, no nation is so big it can fight alone.

With a land mass spanning from Russia in the north to Vietnam and Thailand in the south, from India and

Pakistan in the west to Korea and Japan in the east, China has become a transshipment point for drugs and the proceeds of illegal activities. Last month a special liaison group that President Jiang and I established brought together leading Chinese and American law enforcement officials to step up our cooperation against organized crime, alien smuggling, and counterfeiting.

Next month the Drug Enforcement Agency of the United States will open an office in Beijing. Here, too, pursuing practical cooperation with China is making a difference for America's future.

Fourth, China and the United States share the same global environment, an interest in preserving it for this and future generations. China is experiencing an environmental crisis perhaps greater than any other nation in history at a comparable stage of its development. Every substantial body of water in China is polluted. In many places, water is in short supply. Respiratory illness is the number one health problem for China's people because of air pollution.

Early in the next century, China will surpass the United States as the world's largest emitter of greenhouse gases, which are dangerously warming our planet. This matters profoundly to the American people, because what comes out of a smokestack or goes into a river in China can do grievous harm beyond its borders. It is a fool's errand to believe that we can deal with our present and future global environmental challenges without strong cooperation with China.

A year ago, the Vice President launched a dialogue with the Chinese on the environment to help them pursue growth and protect the environment at the same time. I have to tell you that this is one of the central challenges we face -- convincing all developing nations, but especially China, and other very large ones, that it is actually possible to grow their economies in the 21st century without following the pattern of energy use and environmental damages that characterize economic growth in this century. And we need all the help we can to make that case.

In Beijing, I will explore with President Jiang how American clean energy technology can help to improve air quality and bring electricity to more of China's rural residents. We will discuss innovative tools for financing clean energy development that were established under the Kyoto climate change agreement.

Fifth, America clearly benefits from an increasingly free, fair and open global trading system. Over the past six years, trade has generated more than one-third of the remarkable economic growth we have enjoyed. If we are to continue generating 20 percent of the world's wealth with just four percent of its population, we must continue to trade with the other 96 percent of the people with whom we share this small planet.

One in every four people is Chinese. And China boasts a growth rate that has averaged 10 percent for the past 20 years. Over the next 20 years, it is projected that the developing economies will grow at three times the rate of the already developed economies. It is manifestly, therefore, in our interest to bring the Chinese people more and more fully into the global trading system to get the benefits and share the responsibilities of emerging economic prosperity.

Already China is one of the fastest growing markets for our goods and services. As we look into the next century, it will clearly support hundreds of thousands of jobs all across our country. But access to China's markets also remains restricted for many of our companies and products. What is the best way to level the playing field? We could erect trade barriers. We could deny China the normal trading status we give to so many other countries with whom we have significant disagreements. But that would only penalize our consumers, invite retaliation from China on \$13 billion in United States exports, and create a self-defeating cycle of protectionism that the world has seen before.

Or we can continue to press China to open its markets -- its goods markets, its services markets, its agricultural markets -- as it engages in sweeping economic reform. We can work toward China's admission to the WTO on commercially meaningful terms, where it will be subject to international rules of free and fair trade. And we can renew normal trade treatment for China, as every President has done since 1980, strengthening

instead of undermining our economic relationship.

In each of these crucial areas, working with China is the best way to advance our interests. But we also know that how China evolves inside its borders will influence how it acts beyond them. We, therefore, have a profound interest in encouraging China to embrace the ideals upon which our nation was founded and which have now been universally embraced -- the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; to debate, dissent, associate and worship without state interference. These ideas are now the birthright of people everywhere, a part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They are part of the fabric of all truly free societies.

We have a fundamental difference with China's leadership over this. The question we Americans must answer is not whether we support human rights in China -- surely, all of us do -- but, rather, what is the best way to advance them. By integrating China into the community of nations and the global economy, helping its leadership understand that greater freedom profoundly serves China's interests, and standing up for our principles, we can most effectively serve the cause of democracy and human rights within China.

Over time, the more we bring China into the world the more the world will bring freedom to China. China's remarkable economic growth is making China more and more dependent on other nations for investment, for markets, for energy, for ideas. These ties increase the need for the stronger rule of law, openness, and accountability. And they carry with them powerful agents of change -- fax machines and photocopiers, computers and the Internet. Over the past decade the number of mobile phones has jumped from 50,000 to more than 13 million in China, and China is heading from about 400,000 Internet accounts last year to more than 20 million early in the next century. Already, one in five residents in Beijing has access to satellite transmissions. Some of the American satellites China sends into space beam CNN and other independent sources of news and ideas into China.

The licensing of American commercial satellite launches on Chinese rockets was approved by President Reagan, begun by President Bush, continued under my administration, for the simple reason that the demand for American satellites far out-strips America's launch capacity, and because others, including Russian and European nations, can do this job at much less cost.

It is important for every American to understand that there are strict safeguards, including a Department of Defense plan for each launch, to prevent any assistance to China's missile programs. Licensing these launches allows us to meet the demand for American satellites and helps people on every continent share ideas, information, and images, through television, cell phones, and pagers. In the case of China, the policy also furthers our efforts to stop the spread of missile technology by providing China incentives to observe nonproliferation agreements. This policy clearly has served our national interests.

Over time, I believe China's leaders must accept freedom's progress because China can only reach its full potential if its people are free to reach theirs.

In the Information Age, the wealth of any nation, including China, lies in its people -- in their capacity to create, to communicate, to innovate. The Chinese people must have the freedom to speak, to publish, to associate, to worship without fear of reprisal. Only then will China reach its full potential for growth and greatness.

I have told President Jiang that when it comes to human rights and religious freedom, China remains on the wrong side of history. Unlike some, I do not believe increased commercial dealings alone will inevitably lead to greater openness and freedom. We must work to speed history's course. Complacency or silence would run counter to everything we stand for as Americans. It would deny those fighting for human rights and religious freedom inside China the outside support that is a source of strength and comfort. Indeed, one of the most important benefits of our engagement with China is that it gives us an effective means to urge China's leaders publicly and privately to change course.

Our message remains strong and constant: Do not arrest people for their political beliefs. Release those

who are in jail for that reason. Renounce coercive population control practices. Resume your dialogue with the Dalai Lama. Allow people to worship when, where, and how they choose. And recognize that our relationship simply cannot reach its full potential so long as Chinese people are denied fundamental human rights.

In support of that message, we are strengthening Radio Free Asia. We are working with China to expand the rule of law and civil society programs in China so that rights already on the books there can become rights in reality.

This principled, pragmatic approach has produced significant results, although still far from enough. Over the past year, China has released from jail two prominent dissidents -- Wei Jingsheng and Wang Dan -- and Catholic Bishop Zeng. It announced its intention to sign the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which will subject China's human rights practices to regular scrutiny by independent international observers. President Jiang received a delegation of prominent American religious leaders and invited them to visit Tibet.

Seeking to isolate China will not free one more political dissident, will not open one more church to those who wish to worship, will do nothing to encourage China to live by the laws it has written. Instead, it will limit our ability to advance human rights and religious and political freedom.

When I travel to China I will take part in an official greeting ceremony in front of the Great Hall of the People, across from Tiananmen Square. I will do so because that is where the Chinese government receives visiting heads of state and government, including President Chirac of France and, most recently, Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel. Some have suggested I should refuse to take part in this traditional ceremony, that somehow going there would absolve the Chinese government of its responsibility for the terrible killings at Tiananmen Square nine years ago, or indicate that America is no longer concerned about such conduct. They are wrong.

Protocol and honoring a nation's traditional practices should not be confused with principle. China's leaders, as I have repeatedly said, can only move beyond the events of June 1989, when they recognize the reality that what the government did was wrong. Sooner or later they must do that. And, perhaps even more important, they must change course on this fundamentally important issue.

In my meetings with President Jiang and other Chinese leaders, and in my discussions with the Chinese people I will press ahead on human rights and religious freedom, urging that China follow through on its intention to sign the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, that it release more individuals in prison for expressing their opinions, that it take concrete steps to preserve Tibet's cultural, linguistic, and religious heritage.

We do not ignore the value of symbols. But, in the end, if the choice is between making a symbolic point and making a real difference, I choose to make the difference. And when it comes to advancing human rights and religious freedom, dealing directly and speaking honestly to the Chinese is clearly the best way to make a difference.

China has known more millennia than the United States has known centuries. But for more than 220 years, we have been conducting a great experiment in democracy. We must never lose confidence in the power of American experience or the strength of our example. The more we share our ideas with the world, the more the world will come to share the ideals that animate America. And they will become the aspirations of people everywhere.

I should also say we should never lose sight of the fact that we have never succeeded in perfectly realizing our ideals here at home. That calls for a little bit of humility and continued efforts on our part on the home front.

China will choose its own destiny, but we can influence that choice by making the right choice ourselves -- working with China where we can, dealing directly with our differences where we must. Bringing China into the community of nations rather than trying to shut it out is plainly the best way to advance both our interests and our values. It is the best way to encourage China to follow the path of stability, openness, nonaggression; to

embrace free markets, political pluralism, the rule of law; to join us in building a stable international order where free people can make the most of their lives and give vent to their children's dreams.

That kind of China, rather than one turned inward and confrontational, is profoundly in our interests. That kind of China can help to shape a 21st century that is the most peaceful and prosperous era the world has ever known.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END 11:00 A.M. EDT

Message Sent To: _____

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton**Remarks to the United Nations
Fourth World Conference on Women**

*Beijing, China
September 5, 1995*

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much Gertrude Mongella, for your dedicated work that has brought us to this point.

Distinguished delegates and guests, I would like to thank the Secretary General of the United Nations for inviting me to be part of this important United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. This is truly a celebration -- a celebration of the contributions women make in every aspect of life: in the home, on the job, in the community, as mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, learners, workers, citizens and leaders.

It is also a coming together, much the way women come together every day in every country.

We come together in fields and in factories. In village markets and supermarkets. In living rooms and board rooms.

Whether it is while playing with our children in the park, or washing clothes in a river, or taking a break at the office water cooler, we come together and talk about our aspirations and concerns. And time and again, our talk turns to our children and our families.

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

By gathering in Beijing, we are focusing world attention on issues that matter most in the lives of women and their families: access to education, health care, jobs, and credit, the chance to enjoy basic legal and human rights and to participate fully in the political life of their countries.

There are some who question the reason for this conference. Let them listen to the voices of women in their homes, neighborhoods, and workplaces.

There are some who wonder whether the lives of women and girls matter to economic and political progress around the globe. ... Let them look at the women gathered here and at Hairou.... the homemakers, nurses, teachers, lawyers, policymakers, and women who run their own businesses.

It is conferences like this that compel governments and peoples everywhere to listen, look and face the world's most pressing problems.

Wasn't it after the women's conference in Nairobi ten years ago that the world focused for the first time on the crisis of domestic violence?

Earlier today, I participated in a World Health Organization forum. In that

forum we talked about ways that where government officials, NGOs, and individual citizens are working on ways to address the health problems of women and girls.

Tomorrow, I will attend a gathering of the United Nations Development Fund for Women. There, the discussion will focus on local -- and highly successful -- programs that give hard-working women access to credit so they can improve their own lives and the lives of their families.

What we are learning around the world is that, if women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. If women are free from violence, their families will flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish.

And when families flourish, communities and nations will flourish.

That is why every woman, every man, every child, every family, and every nation on our planet does have a stake in the discussion that takes place here.

Over the past 25 years, I have worked persistently on issues relating to women, children and families. Over the past two-and-a-half years, I have had the opportunity to learn more about the challenges facing women in my own country and around the world.

I have met new mothers in Indonesia, who come together regularly in their village to discuss nutrition, family planning, and baby care.

I have met working parents in Denmark who talk about the comfort they feel in knowing that their children can be cared for in creative, safe, and nurturing after-school centers.

I have met women in South Africa who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid and are now helping build a new democracy.

I have met with the leading women of my own hemisphere who are working every day to promote literacy and better health care for the children in their countries.

I have met women in India and Bangladesh who are taking out small loans to buy milk cows, rickshaws, thread and other materials to create a livelihood for themselves and their families.

I have met doctors and nurses in Belarus and Ukraine who are trying to keep children alive in the aftermath of Chernobyl.

The great challenge of this conference is to give voice to women everywhere whose experiences go unnoticed, whose words go unheard.

Women comprise more than half the world's population. Women are 70% percent of the world's poor, and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write.

Women are the primary caretakers for most of the world's children and elderly. Yet much of the work we do is not valued -- not by economists, not by historians, not by popular culture, not by government leaders.

At this very moment, as we sit here, women around the world are giving birth, raising children, cooking meals, washing clothes, cleaning houses, planting

crops, working on assembly lines, running companies, and running countries.

Women also are dying from diseases that should have been prevented or treated; they are watching their children succumb to malnutrition caused by poverty and economic deprivation; they are being denied the right to go to school by their own fathers and brothers; they are being forced into prostitution, and they are being barred from the bank lending office and banned from the ballot box.

Those of us who have the opportunity to be here have the responsibility to speak for those who could not.

As an American, I want to speak up for women in my own country -- women who are raising children on the minimum wage, women who can't afford health care or child care, women whose lives are threatened by violence, including violence in their own homes.

I want to speak up for mothers who are fighting for good schools, safe neighborhoods, clean air and clean airwaves...

...for older women, some of them widows, who have raised their families and now find that their skills and life experiences are not valued in the workplace... for women who are working all night as nurses, hotel clerks, and fast food chefs so that they can be at home during the day with their kids... and for women everywhere who simply don't have time to do everything they are called upon to do each day.

Speaking to you today, I speak for them, just as each of us speaks for women around the world who are denied the chance to go to school, or see a doctor, or own property, or have a say about the direction of their lives, simply because they are women.

The truth is that most women around the world work both inside and outside the home, usually by necessity.

We need to understand that there is no one formula for how women should lead their lives.

That is why we must respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family. Every woman deserves the chance to realize her God-given potential.

We also must recognize that women will never gain full dignity until their human rights are respected and protected.

Our goals for this conference, to strengthen families and societies by empowering women to take greater control over their own destinies, cannot be fully achieved unless all governments -- here and around the world -- accept their responsibility to protect and promote internationally recognized human rights.

The international community has long acknowledged -- and recently affirmed at Vienna -- that both women and men are entitled to a range of protections and personal freedoms, from the right of personal security to the right to determine freely the number and spacing of the children they bear.

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

Tragically, women are most often the ones whose human rights are violated.

Even in the late 20th century, the rape of women continues to be used as an instrument of armed conflict. Women and children make up a large majority of the world's refugees. And when women are excluded from the political process, they become even more vulnerable to abuse.

I believe that, on the eve of a new millennium, it is time to break our silence. It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights.

These abuses have continued because, for too long, the history of women has been a history of silence. Even today, there are those who are trying to silence our words.

The voices of this conference and of the women at Hairou must be heard loud and clear:

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

It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution.

It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small.

It is a violation of human rights when individual women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war.

It is a violation of human rights when a leading cause of death worldwide among women ages 14 to 44 is the violence they are subjected to in their own homes by their own relatives.

It is a violation of human rights when young girls are brutalized by the painful and degrading practice of genital mutilation.

It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will.

If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, let it be that human rights are women's rights.... And women's rights are human rights, once and for all.

Let us not forget that among those rights are the right to speak freely. And the right to be heard.

Women must enjoy the right to participate fully in the social and political lives of their countries if we want freedom and democracy to thrive and endure.

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

Let me be clear. Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize, and

debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments.

United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women

LEVEL 1 - 3 OF 3 STORIES

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HEADLINE: Women as Chattel: In China, Slavery Rises

BYLINE: By SETH FAISON

DATELINE: XIAN, China

BODY:

In the shadow of the ancient wall that still surrounds this city, several hundred people gather each day along a muddy street to offer themselves to employers at an unofficial labor market.

Many are young women from the countryside, and for them the market holds a special danger: it may be the first stop on a journey that begins with the promise of a job, sees rape and violent beatings along the way and ends in a life of domestic slavery.

Countless women have been kidnapped from this market in Xian, from similar markets in other cities and from bus stops and train stations in towns all over China. Typically, a woman is lured into the custody of one or more criminal middlemen, beaten into submission and delivered to a stranger who will call her his wife.

The Chinese call it "the abducting and selling of women." The practice, mixing an age-old disregard for the rights of women with a modern passion for profit, seems to be rising at an alarming rate, Chinese advocates of women's rights and official Chinese newspapers say.

The causes are many. Young women are more and more eager to venture outside the safety of a home village; unmarried farmers can increasingly afford the \$250 to \$500 that it costs to buy them; middlemen more easily roam from city to country to conduct their business.

At the Fourth World Conference on Women, Chinese officials are expected to join a chorus of calls for better protection of the rights of women. Yet when it comes to the selling of women, the authorities show a tragic indifference to what women's rights advocates now consider the most pernicious violation of human rights in their nation.

"This is the most horrific problem facing women in China today," said Wang Xingjuan, president of the Women's Research Institute at the Chinese Academy of Management Science in Beijing. "We have to do more to stop it."

Although statistics are incomplete and many cases go unreported, women's



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advocates say that at least tens of thousands of women are now sold into slavery in China each year.

Many escape, but many more, ashamed to return to their families, are believed to eventually accept their predicament.

"I know it's dangerous, but I don't have any other choice," said Fu Litong, 20, a ruddy-faced woman in a dull, peach-colored dress who traveled about 200 miles from her rural village to come to the labor market here. "I'm not going back to the village. Life is too hard there."

Ms. Fu and several other women standing around at the market one recent afternoon said they had heard about cases in which a woman was approached at the market by a man saying he would pay her well for an office job, only to drive her away, rape her and sell her.

"Every week you hear about another one," Ms. Fu said. "It's unavoidable. But I don't think it will happen to me."

The police have little incentive to stop the trade, for when they are not bribed to look the other way, they often meet resistance from local villagers who, intent on protecting a neighbor, often argue that he has paid a fair price for a woman and thus has a right to own her.

Chinese newspaper reports on the selling of women are generally limited to success stories in which the police have rescued a woman and caught her abductors, cases that the advocates say are statistically rare.

In a notable exception, The Legal Daily reported a particularly shocking case and in telling it could only conclude: "Each attempt to fight the crime of abducting and selling of women seems to end in failure."

In that case, Zhao Meimei, 32, a married woman, was abducted in a labor market like the one in Xian, then kidnapped and delivered to a farmer named Wang in Tianzhuang village about 400 miles north of here.

Mr. Wang kept her in a cave and frequently beat and raped her. After more than a year of living in the cave, Ms. Zhao showed signs of mental illness, which grew worse after she gave birth to a daughter, who was taken from her while she was left in the cave.

No neighbors seem to have complained; a police chief in the county seat of Yulin heard about the case only after a town official's wife visiting a relative in the village learned of it.

The police went to the village and freed Ms. Zhao from the cave. But when they tracked down her home village in neighboring Sichuan Province, officials there informed them that her husband, after hearing about her baby daughter and her mental illness, did not want her back.

The police were unable to find a home for Ms. Zhao, who was by that time unable to care for herself. No effort was made to prosecute Mr. Wang, who never legally married her, or to try to find the man who sold Ms. Zhao to him.

"With no other alternative, the police had no choice but to contact Wang of



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Tianzhuang village and entrust him to take responsibility, provided he could guarantee that from now on he would no longer mistreat Zhao," the Legal Daily reported. "Then they handed her over to him."

The selling of women is primarily a rural phenomenon. While many women are abducted in cities, they overwhelmingly come from, and are delivered to, small villages and towns in the countryside. Since the victims of these crimes are rural women, advocates argue, they rank low on most police priority lists.

Local women's organizations, set up in most city, town and county governments, often speak out against the trade. But their calls are frequently muffled by the Communist Party officials who supervise them.

In some cases a relative trying to find a missing woman runs into gross indifference, or even opposition, from the authorities.

China Women's News, in another unusual report, told the story of a man whose wife had been abducted in Anhui Province in 1991. A provincial official said he was unable to help the husband and became irritated by the man's persistence, finally blurting out: "Your wife has already been abducted. You don't really want her back, do you?"

Pursuing the case to the county level, the same man was told by a local official: "There are more than 10,000 abducted women in this county. Some are teen-agers who have been sold to middle-aged men. Their problems are more serious than yours, so it will be difficult to solve your problem."

A later report in the same newspaper argued that a contributing factor to the spread of selling women was indifference by local officials and, in some cases, participation by officials in getting the "marriages" sanctioned.

"Not only do they not stop the villagers from abducting and selling or buying women, but they also act as go-betweens, put themselves forward as witnesses, provide relevant paperwork and go to the house to celebrate the 'wedding,' " the newspaper reported.

In recurring cycles of poverty and famine throughout Chinese history, women and children have been sold by families that are starving, and in ordinary times, marriages in the countryside usually involved a business transaction between families.

Even after involuntary marriage was legally banned by the Communists, who came to power in 1949, a strong emphasis on parental authority meant that few rural women had any real choice of a mate.

Yet only in recent years has the trade in women grown to include networks of middlemen, operating without the consent of families, and these middlemen seem to have relatively little fear of prosecution.

"The Chinese Government did not take sufficiently serious measures against the trade, and now the sophisticated and organized nature of this modern slave trade makes combating it very difficult," wrote Human Rights in China, a New York-based advocacy group, in a report issued in August.

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The New York Times, September 6, 1995

Although the demand for buying women has surged in recent years as ordinary farmers make more money, it is usually those of middling affluence who want to purchase a "wife," because they cannot afford a wedding, which with a dowry and necessary wedding banquets typically costs more than \$1,000.

GRAPHIC: Photo: Changes in Chinese society have led to unofficial labor markets like this in Xian. But young women sometimes find danger, not jobs. (Seth Faison/The New York Times) (pg. A1)

Map of China showing location of Xian. (pg. A10)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 6, 1995



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November 28, 1997

SECTION: Business

LENGTH: 1972 words

HEADLINE: Trade in children thrives in subregion

BODY:

The mighty Mekong meanders through six key countries in the Southeast Asian region: China, Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. It is a river of life and hope for the millions of inhabitants who border its fertile banks.

It is also a river of paradoxes. While the economic growth around the Mekong has grown exponentially in recent years bringing wealth and prosperity to the riparian countries, the river is also a focal point for one of the most heinous crimes against humanity: the trafficking in women and children. This contemporary form of slavery has increased markedly in the past few years and is growing alarmingly.

Internationally, there is no consensus on the term "trafficking". In 1994, the United Nations General Assembly came near to a comprehensive definition in its stipulation that "trafficking" is the "illicit and clandestine movement of persons across national and international borders, largely from developing countries and some countries with economies in transition, with the end goal of forcing women and girl children into sexually or economically oppressive and exploitative situations for the profit of recruiters, traffickers, crime syndicates, as well as other illegal activities related to trafficking, such as forced domestic labour, false marriages, clandestine employment and false adoption".

Yet, the definition is incomplete. It does not include boys and men who are also at times victims of trafficking. Moreover, the list of situations should not be seen as exhaustive. Trafficking arises in a variety of situations beyond the list given, including trafficking for begging and use as agents of crime. A key element behind the trafficking is coercion. However, it is possible that there are other situations where there is no coercion at the time of the trafficking, but where the person arrives later in a circumstance tantamount to slavery, such as being forced to work in appalling labour conditions. There is often a linkage with debt bondage whereby the services of the victims are pledged by parents and others in payment of the latter's debts. One should thus be concerned with countering not only trafficking but also forced labour and slavery-like practises.

All the countries of the sub-region are faced with an increasingly challenging phenomenon in regard to the trafficking in women and children. There is both internal and cross-border trafficking to neighbouring countries. The countries are often concurrently source countries, transit countries and receiving countries. There is not only trafficking within the region but across continents. Countries which were previously less affected by the problem are now seeing the emergence of a more extensive and pervasive problem. Given the

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current economic downturn in many countries of the region, there is a fear of more opportunities for exploitation via the sex trade.

The growing problem facing Cambodia has been highlighted by a number of studies in recent years. A 1995 report by the Cambodia National Council for Children noted that "at least one third of all commercial sex workers are 17 years and younger, with the youngest reported being forced into the sex business by being abducted, raped, deceived or sold by people familiar to them, family, relatives and neighbours". In a sample taken by the study, 53 per cent of the interviewees had been sold once, 17 per cent had been sold twice, 5.5 per cent had been sold three times, one person had been sold five times, and 23 per cent were "not yet sold".

In the 1995 Unicef-backed publication, "The Trafficking and Prostitution of Children in Cambodia," the alarm was sounded on boys as a new vulnerable group. The Two Reports on the Situation of Woman and Children Trafficked from Cambodia and Vietnam to Thailand (1997) convey some recent startling revelations:

"Cambodian and Vietnamese sex workers who do arrive in Aranyaprathet continue their journey towards Bangkok or Pattaya. Unlike Aranyaprathet, Chanthaburi and Trat, where prostitution is carried out under cover of karaoke bars and hotels, prostitution in Klong Yai is organised by three big high-class brothels and five hotels which partly function as brothels.

"In Klong Yai, there are no Thai sex workers. The majority of the sex workers in this place are Vietnamese, together with a smaller number of Cambodians ... The brothels in Klong Yai are either controlled by police officers or directly owned by relatives of police officers."

There is not only a question of violations of women's rights and children's rights, but also of racism, as implied by the following:

"According to the investigators ... Cambodian girls are considered to be less precious, partly because of their darker skin. In general, Vietnamese girls are considered to be classier, which explains why they work in the expensive and high standard brothels."

While some may have come into the trade initially without coercion, many tend to land up in coercive situations at one time or another. The network for exploiting women and children is systematic and reaches down to the grassroots level, as shown by the most recent study supported by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM).

The trafficking varies from small-scale operations to more extensive networks.

Similar situations are found in other countries of the Mekong sub-region.

With regard to China, the phenomenon of trafficking is a growing concern. In a Unicef-backed situation analysis of children and women in China in 1992, it was noted that "occasional abduction of women and children has been reported to still occur in some rural areas, prompting widespread education against the practice and special legislation with severe punishment of individuals who abduct or kidnap women or children."

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In China's 1995 report under the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the problem is implied by the recognition that in 1991, government authorities made a decision "on the severe punishment of criminals abducting or kidnapping girls and children".

The United Nations special rapporteur on violence against women said in her 1997 Report:

"In China, the incidence of kidnapping and selling women in rural areas has been increasing since the mid-1980s so that in some countries and villages, between 30 and 90 per cent of marriages result from trafficking. Also in China; public security officials in Shandong province, report that 13,958 women were bought and sold in the province in 1990; of those, 3,966 women were freed and 1,690 individuals were arrested on charges of slave-trading. In Jiangsu province between 1968 and 1988, 48,100 women from all regions of China were sold. The shortage of women in rural areas, traditional views on maintaining the family line which require all sons to marry, the high expenses associated with weddings and betrothal gifts of non-forced marriages all contribute to the demand for women trafficked for forced marriages in China."

More strict law enforcement has resulted in some startling developments. In 1996, in regard to the prostitution trade, a recent study said that "209,600 cases have been cleared in which 411,700 offenders were pursued".

In addition to trafficking for marriage internally, cross-border trafficking into other regions, such as Thailand, Burma and Macau for the sex trade and between China and Vietnam for the marriage and sex trade, has become more insidious. As noted by a recent study:

"Recent years even saw offenders in and outside China operate in collusion to traffick women abroad in the name of tourism and business. They trafficked girls from Yunnan borders into Thailand via Burma to local syndicates for prostitution.

"In 1995 and 1996, Thai police and charity institutions repatriated up to 100 girls back to China. In August 1997, Shanghai and Macau police jointly cleared a case in which the offenders trafficked and forced six girls to prostitute in a hotel in Macau. The victims were delivered safe and sound back home, and the trafficking criminal suspects were arrested."

One should not forget also that Hong Kong is affected by various forms of trafficking, including for sexual exploitation and domestic service. This is also a stepping stone for transcontinental trafficking.

The situation in Laos is closely linked with trafficking into Thailand. In one study carried out in 1995, the impact on children was witnessed not only in regard to the plight of the victims in the trafficking process but also the likelihood that they would be treated as illegal immigrants and kept in immigration jails in the country to which they had been trafficked if they were caught by police.

In a 1996 situation analysis backed by Unicef in Laos, there was a warning that trafficking through Thailand to other countries might be on the increase. The close ties with Thailand were noted, as follows:

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"The emerging issue of trafficking is a consequence of changing economic and social values, opening borders, and having an unaware society. Here, the cross-border situation is as important to examine as that inside the country. Savannakhet officials report that more than 15,000 of its youth sought work in Thailand in 1995. Most left the country illegally, and an increasing number appeared to be girls under 15. Of those repatriated by Thailand to Savannakhet, about 50 per cent were under 18 years old. With limited vocational skills, few job opportunities and growing demand for consumer goods, girls especially can be lured into prostitution."

In the 1997 Lao government report submitted under the CRC, there seemed to be limited recognition of the problem of trafficking into neighbouring countries in its statement that "Illegal emigration of children occurred before and in the early days of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. No such problems are noticed at the present time. The only legal migration is with full authorisation," and "Child trade and abduction is not a significant problem." However, there was some acknowledgment of the problem of child prostitution in its admission that "prostitution occurs mainly in urban areas such as in Vientiane municipality. Most of the young female prostitutes work as hostesses in bars, and some have been sent for re-education several times. The causes of prostitution are a lack of employment and a poor level of education, knowledge and skills".

On another front, the trafficking of women and children in regard to Burma concerns Burma as a source country and as a transit country. The main receiving country is Thailand, while many victims from the province of Yunnan in China transit through Burma and then proceed to Thailand. It is also linked with the rampancy of debt bondage whereby the services of the victim are used to pay off the debt incurred by the victim or another party such as the parents. The 1997 report of the United Nations special rapporteur on violence against women notes as follows: "Debt bondage is widely used by traffickers to control trafficked women, particularly women trafficked for prostitution. Often women are forcibly detained in apartments, factories, homes or brothels to foreclose escape prior to paying back their debts. Women and girls from Burma typically serve' six to eight men per day, 25 days a month, and earn US\$ 600 to US\$ 2,500 per month for the brothel owner, of which they receive US\$ 1/day, or US\$ 25/month."

The invidious nature of some law enforcers on both sides of the border is self-evident.

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LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: February 20, 1998



FAX COVER SHEET

TO: Mike O'MARY

FROM: Bill Woodward
Office of Speechwriting
Department of State
Washington, DC 20520
Fax: 202 736 7687

RE: This is the pre-trip version of
Albright's speech. In Beijing

MESSAGE: we added the China poem —
which is on the last page of
what I'm sending.

If this fax is incomplete or illegible, please call us at 202 647 9943

7 pages with cover

SEPTEMBER 1 -- 3 P.M. DRAFT

(prepared for delivery)

"REMARKS TO THE FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN"

**AMBASSADOR MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT
U.S. PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS
BEIJING, CHINA
SEPTEMBER 6, 1995**

Madam President, honored guests, fellow delegates and observers, I am pleased and proud to address this historic conference on behalf of the United States of America.

My government congratulates the many thousands who have helped to organize the conference, to draft the Platform for Action, to inform the world about the issues under discussion here and to encourage the broadest possible participation both of governments and NGO's. I especially want to thank Gertrude Mongella for the fairness and skill with which she has managed this conference.

We have come to this historic gathering to carry forward a struggle as old as civilization itself: the pursuit of economic and social progress for all people, based on respect for the dignity and value of each.

We are here to promote and protect human rights and to underline that women's rights are human rights, neither separable nor different from those of men.

We are here to stop violence against women; and to end the despicable notion that rape is just another tactic of war.

We are here to find ways to expand women's participation in political and economic decisionmaking, because no country can develop if half its human resources are marginalized, de-valued or repressed.

We are here because we want to strengthen families, the fundamental building blocks of any society. We want to see girls valued to the same degree as boys. We want to confront the societal attitudes that contribute to the phenomenon of "missing girls."

We believe, with Pope John Paul II, in the "equality of spouses with respect to family rights". We want women and men to be able to make informed judgments as they plan their families. And we want to see the forces that weaken families--including pornography, domestic violence and the sexual exploitation of children--condemned and curtailed.

- 2 -

We are here because we want to assure for women equal access to education and health care; because we want to help women protect against infection by HIV; because we care about the special needs and value the special strengths of women with disabilities; and because we are determined to attack the root causes of poverty, in which so many women and children are entrapped.

This conference is a means to make further progress towards those goals. But real progress depends not on what we say here, but on our actions after we leave here. This is a conference not of conversation, but of commitments.

For decades, my nation has led efforts to promote equal rights for women. My government is based on principles that provide the very foundation for women's rights. Our laws forbid discrimination on the basis of sex and we work hard to enforce those laws. A rich network of nongovernmental organizations has blossomed within our borders, reaching out to women and girls from all segments of society, educating, counseling and working for change.

The United States is a leader, but leaders cannot stand still. Obstacles that exist elsewhere to the full and equal participation of women in society persist in my country. The Clinton Administration is determined to bring those obstacles down.

Today, in the spirit of this conference, and in the knowledge that concrete steps to advance the status of women are everywhere required, I am pleased to announce the new commitments my government will undertake:

First, President Clinton will establish a White House Council on Women to plan for the effective implementation within the United States of the Platform for Action.

Second, in accordance with recently-approved law, we are launching a six-year, \$1.6 billion initiative to fight domestic violence and other crimes against women. Funds will be used for specialized police and prosecution units for sexual and domestic violence and to enhance training of police, prosecutors and judicial personnel.

Third, our Department of Labor will conduct a grassroots campaign to improve conditions for women in the workplace. This campaign will seek to help at least 1,000,000 Americans by working with employers to develop more equitable pay and promotion policies, improve access to training, and foster new ideas for reconciling the twin responsibilities of family and work.

Fourth, our Department of Health and Human Services will lead a comprehensive assault on threats to the health and security of women--warning of the risks of teen pregnancy, discouraging the use of cigarettes and illegal drugs, increasing awareness about HIV/AIDS, promoting healthy behavior and applying new technologies to the early detection and--we pray--the ultimate eradication of breast cancer.

Fifth, our Department of the Treasury will take new steps to promote access to financial credit for women. Outstanding U.S. microenterprise lending organizations will be honored through special Presidential awards; and we will improve coordination of federal efforts to encourage growth in this field of central importance to the economic empowerment of women.

Sixth, the Agency for International Development will continue its leadership in promoting and recognizing the vital role of women in development. Today, we announce important initiatives to increase women's participation in political processes and promote the enforcement of women's legal rights.

Madam President, there is a seventh and final commitment my country is making today. We, the people and government of the United States of America, will continue to speak out openly and without hesitation on behalf of internationally recognized human rights.

My country is proud that, nearly a half century ago, a former First Lady of the United States, Eleanor Roosevelt, was instrumental in drafting and gaining approval for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We are proud that, yesterday afternoon, in this very hall, the current First Lady reiterated our national commitment to that Declaration in clear and forceful terms.

The Universal Declaration reflects spiritual and moral roots which are central to all cultures, respecting both the wondrous diversity that defines us and the common humanity that binds us. It obliges each government to strive in law and practice to protect the rights of those under its jurisdiction. Whether a government fulfills that obligation is a matter not simply of domestic, but of universal, concern. For it is one of the founding principles of the United Nations that no government can be allowed to shield its human rights record from the world.

At the heart of the Universal Declaration is a fundamental distinction between coercion and choice.

No woman anywhere, whether in Boston, Bombay, Beirut or Beijing, should be forced to have an abortion.

No mother should feel compelled to abandon her daughter because of a societal preference for males.

No woman should be forced to undergo genital mutilation, or to become a prostitute, or to enter into marriage or to have sex.

No woman should be forced to remain silent for fear of political prosecution, detention, abuse or torture.

All women should be able to exercise control over the course of their own lives and to help shape the destiny of their communities and countries.

Let us be clear. Freedom to participate openly and without fear in the political decisionmaking process of your country is an inalienable and indispensable right of every woman and man; deny that right, and you deny everything.

It is deeply troublesome, therefore, that the right to free expression has been called into question here, at a conference whose very purpose is the free and open discussion of women's rights.

It is shameful that many organizations that should have been allowed to participate in this conference were denied that right.

And it is a challenge to us all that so many countries in so many parts of the world fall far short of the noble objectives outlined in the Platform for Action.

Every nation must do better and do more--to make equality of rights a fundamental principle of law; and to identify and remove barriers that prevent the free exercise of those rights.

That is why President Clinton has made favorable action on the Convention to Eliminate Discrimination Against Women a top priority. The United States should be a party to that Convention.

And it is why we will continue to seek dialogues with governments--including China's--that deny internationally-recognized rights to their citizens.

Madam President, fellow delegates, let us make this conference a turning point. Let us leave here determined to reject outright the forces of repression and ignorance that have held us back; and to celebrate and use the strength our unity provides.

Let us breathe new life into the dream that has animated the heroines, famous and unknown, who have struggled through the centuries to build the platform upon which we now stand.

Let us strive for the day when every young girl, from the largest metropolis to the most remote village, can look ahead with confidence that their lives will be valued, their individuality respected, their rights protected and their futures determined by their own abilities and character.

Let us heed the instruction of our own lives. Look around this hall, and you will see women who have reached the pinnacle of power and authority. Go to Huairou, and you will see an explosion of energy and intelligence devoted to every phase of our common struggle. Enter any community in any country, and you will find women insisting--often at great risk--on their right to an equal voice and equal power.

"It is time" said Aung San Suu Kyi, last week, "to apply in the arena of the world the wisdom and experience" women have gained.

It is time to unleash the untapped capacity for production, accomplishment and fullness of life that are inherent in us--the women of the world.

Thank you very much.

of the work; but they don't own the land, they are not taught to read, they can't obtain personal or business loans and they have little or no voice in government.

It is no accident that most of those in the world who are abjectly poor are women. Often, they are left to care for children without the help of the children's father. Many are trapped at a young age in a web of ignorance, powerlessness and abuse.

Consider that more than half the murders of women in countries as diverse as Bangladesh, Brazil, Kenya and Papua New Guinea are committed by present or former spouses or partners.

In Thailand, child prostitution is growing because clients believe older prostitutes are more likely to be infected by HIV.

In many rural societies, women perform much of the farming and all of the child rearing, but are denied a role in financial decisions.

And almost everywhere, women are hurt by discrimination and by social and economic structures that are unjust.

The Women's Conference will not solve these problems, but it will call attention to them and it will outline a course for further progress on issues that relate directly to the wellbeing of more than half the people on earth.

In preparing for the conference, I happened to come across an old Chinese poem which struck me as relevant to much of what we are discussing here today. In the poem, a father says to his young daughter:

We keep a dog to watch the house;
A pig is useful, too;
We keep a cat to catch a mouse;
But what can we do
With a girl like you?

For me, the Women's Conference will be a success if it brings us even a little closer to the day when girls all over the world will be able to look ahead with confidence that their lives will be valued, their individuality respected, their rights protected and their futures determined by their own abilities and character.

We still call this the post-Cold War era. But that tells us only where we have been, not where we are going. We must reject the temptation of isolation and chart, instead, a new path. Across the globe, there are remarkable forces at work bringing us together and

Voices



12:01:36 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Christine N. Macy/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Chinese Proverb

In several locations, I have found Eleanor Roosevelt's Quotes "Better to light a candle than to curse the darkness," attributed to a chinese proverb. This could be a perfect quote to use, since it is ER and Chinese at the same time.

Five feet are
no long hand -

Agold
Secondary Stating
daughters -

continuing discrimination
to death

1981 - "Same on baby
girls" -
female infanticide
on our side.
baby girls drawn

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Vital Voices Speech
July 11, 1997
Austria Center, Vienna

Mrs. Clinton: I want to start by thanking Ambassador Hunt for her service to the United States, but more than that for her leadership and commitment to human rights and the work that she has done here in Europe on behalf of raising the voices of women so that all can hear them. I would like to thank the other conference sponsors for supporting this very important meeting. And I would also like to thank the Austrian people and their government for their willingness to serve the cause of peace and democracy. Home to the United Nations and other critical international organizations, host to important summits of the Cold War, haven for refugees, Austria has given the people of Europe and the world a safe place to come to [line missing from her reading] challenge, hear out and understand one another so that together we may shape a common future.

This conference is held in that same spirit. We are here to advance the cause of women and to advance the cause of democracy and to make it absolutely clear that the two are inseparable. There cannot be true democracy unless women's voices are heard. There cannot be true democracy unless women are given the opportunity to take responsibility for their own lives. There cannot be true democracy unless all citizens are able to participate fully in the lives of their country. We have seen great progress in this region of the world. Our previous speakers this morning, from Bulgaria, Lithuania and the Czech Republic shared with us some of the progress they have seen in their own lives. How those walls did come tumbling down. How they were able to take advantage of new opportunities. To seek new responsibilities on behalf of themselves and to further the cause of democracy in their countries. We come at a point in time when the architecture of revolution is nearly complete in Europe. The old order is being replaced by democratic institutions and open markets, of free press, functioning parliaments, political parties. Basic rights of assembly and association are becoming facts of life. Last month Russia joined the community of creditor nations. This week the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland were invited to join NATO, and at the time the announcement was made it was clear that those were the first invitations, not the last invitations. Today my husband is in Poland and Romania to reiterate America's support for democracy's progress. And I think it is also significant that you are gathered here in Vienna to recognize both the crucial role that women have played and will play in continuing that democratic progress. But also in talking and working together to devise strategies and learn from one another about how we can continue to overcome the obstacles that still lie ahead. It is clear, I think, to all of us, to someone like me who comes from a democracy that has been working at perfecting its union for more than 220 years, and to those of you who come from much newer democracies, that democracy is very hard work. You cannot flip a switch and expect to have a democracy as we dream of. In my own country we struggle every year with the challenges that are posed to democracy. We have to work very hard to make sure all of our people are given the opportunity to participate fully in the life of our democracy. We meet new challenges every day. So the work of democracy is never finished and all of us who are here today are committed to continuing that work.

...to continuing and work no matter what the obstacles we
face. Because even though you may have a free press or a functioning parliament, even
though you may have elections that are fair and are repeated successfully, democracy depends

on more than that. It depends on more than just a written constitution. It depends upon more than even economic progress. Democracy depends ultimately on whether democratic values are rooted in the hearts of men and women. Whether all citizens believe that all people are entitled to be accorded the respect to which each of us as human beings should be able to demand. As a Croatian writer once said, "for everyday life revolution consists much more of the small things, of sounds, of looks and images." So even though we may look and see the institutions of democracy functioning, even though we may see the image reflected of our open markets and the progress we are making economically, we still and we always will have work to do, to make sure what Alexis de Tocqueville called "the habits of the heart" that really are at the center of a democratic institution or a democratic country are cultivated and passed on from generation to generation.

If we look at where we are in the world today, we see that one of the sounds that is most important to ensuring that democracies take root is the sound of women's voices, those vital voices that we celebrate here. On my visits to Central and Eastern Europe, I have heard the sounds of those voices. I have heard women from many countries articulating their dreams for the world and their lives after communism. Despite the differences between them, everyone seemed to speak the same mother tongue. The language of freedom and hope. I heard women's voices in Estonia when I visited a clinic that is the first in that country to offer a broad range of health services for women. I heard them in Romania when I met with teachers who are developing a new pedagogy that emphasizes civic participation and democratic values. I heard them in Ukraine when I met with nurses who had just started their own professional organization. I heard them in Hungary when I visited a center that is helping the minority Roma community overcome barriers to education, employment and full participation in Hungarian society. I heard them in the Czech Republic when I met with leaders of non-governmental organizations who are involved in local projects to protect the rights of children and to safeguard the environment. I heard them in Belarus when I spoke with women health professionals struggling to bring quality health care to the critically ill children of Chernobyl. I heard them in Russia when I talked over the radio with listeners throughout the country on a women-owned radio station. I heard the voices of women asking "what do we do now? We are educated; how do we use that education to be part of democracy?" And I heard them in Poland when I sat around a table with women representing different political points of view and participated in one of the most important of democratic acts, disagreeing with one another respectfully, as we debated the issues that were important to us. And I heard women's vital voices in Bosnia where I was told by a teacher how she kept trying to keep her students learning despite a horrific war. How I was told by health professionals the struggles that they faced treating the wounded and how they were all committed to rebuilding their lives. You bring these voices here, these voices that I have heard, and now we must determine what we do with those voices.

Do we merely use our voice for our own personal advantage? Do we take our educations, do we take whatever fortunate advances we have been given at this point in history, and only work for ourselves? That is a perfectly legitimate choice. To be a successful politician, to have power for oneself, to be a lawyer or a judge, to be a business leader, to have economic gain for oneself in a democracy — that is our choice. But I hope that the vital voices represented here will do something else as well. To use our experience, our voices, to speak on behalf of all people, to give voice to the voiceless. Because we know very well in my country and in each country represented here that there are many women who do not have the education we have. There are many women who are held down by cultural and historical

traditions, prevented from exercising the choices they might want to make. We know there are poor people who can only dream of coming to Vienna or sitting in a hotel room looking down at Manhattan. And we know, or we should know, that we ignore the needs of all our people at our peril, that part of the great challenge we face in our democracies is to be sure we create conditions for all men and women to make the choices that are right for their lives. And women particularly have an opportunity at this point in history to express that commitment of conscience, to make clear that, yes, we want to be successful on our own, we want to be held accountable and responsible for the choices we make because we want to be seen as full human beings. But that is not all we want, we do want to help create societies and a world where the opportunities for all children, young boys and young girls, are available to them in ways we could not have even dreamed a few years ago.

When we met, many of us in this room, together in Beijing we came to declare in clear and unequivocal terms that women's voices must be heard and we offered a clear proposition: that a nation's progress depends on the progress of women, that the strength of a political system depends on the inclusion of women. That the vibrancy of an economy depends on the full contribution of women. That the richness of civil society depends on the participation of women. That human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights. And I have been asked what did I mean when I said that. And I have always been amazed that I would be asked such a question. I was on a Voice of America call-in program one day and I received a call from Iran, and the speaker on the other end, a man, said that he had heard that I said that. What could I have meant? And I said, "Well, I meant what I said and if you will just shut your eyes and imagine the rights that men have, those are the rights women should have as well." And the reason we want those rights is not merely to make a statement, not to be part of a political movement, but because we want our dignity to be respected as human beings and we want to be part of building a democratic world.

We have seen changes since Beijing. Here in Central and Eastern Europe, we have seen in Albania the birth of a parliamentary caucus devoted solely to issues affecting women. In Bulgaria, a non-governmental organization is teaching judges and lawyers and citizen jurors about the legal rights of women. In Ukraine, there has been a new government ministry devoted to women's affairs. In Lithuania, new services are being given to support the needs of elderly women. In Poland, we have seen created one of the largest micro-enterprise networks in the world, a new agency sponsored by the Polish and American governments and the World Bank whose sole mission is to teach women important new job skills and to help them find well-paying jobs.

And yet, despite the progress, since the fall of the Berlin wall, since the conference in Beijing, we have a lot of work to do. Because the transition from communism to free markets and democracy has created new obstacles to women's realization of their God-given potential. We have seen new stresses and sacrifices imposed on women. Throughout the region, cuts in pension and childcare, kindergartens and health care has meant that women are shouldering a double burden that was heavy enough to begin with. The oppressive structures of Communism may have been torn down but the new structures and standards necessary to advocate for women's rights and to protect women from exploitation are not yet fully constructed. The hard work of building these political, legal, and economic standards and structures must include women and it is what you have been speaking about here. That is why this conference comes at such an important time, for it is enabling us to share practical ideas and methods to advance the presence of women in the political, legal and business

spheres.

Exchanging ideas and strategies enables us to learn from one another and take these ideas home. But that is too rare in our own world. When I am privileged to travel as I do, I always meet with groups of women for informal discussions. Whether I am in Bangladesh, Romania, Poland, Nicaragua or Chile, I find that women have much more in common than might appear on the surface. And yet I also find that even in those cities where I am meeting with women who represent the academia or the professions or business or politics, they often do not speak to one another. They sometimes do not even know one another. They are surprised to learn what the woman down the street is doing to assist them in their work. We cannot build strong civil societies without working together and creating associations that enable us to make progress on the issues we care about. That is why this conference has the potential for creating new networks and associations of support, within countries and between countries.

X
The United States government, largely through the Agency for International Development, will continue to support a broad range of programs that provide grants, training, and technical assistance to citizens to strengthen democracy at the grass roots. We want to be part of building democracy and we especially want to be part of enabling women to participate in that process. Today we build on the commitment we have made, a commitment to local groups that are working to protect the environment, or improve health services, or spark economic development, teaching children basic democratic values. Working to create that area between the market and the government which is crucial to the continuation and progress of democracy. We call that 'civil society.' And it is only civil society that can inculcate the values of democracy, those habits of the heart. It is only through our families, our religious organizations, our associations at the civic and the neighborhood level, our trade unions, our other groups where we come together voluntarily joining in forums to create better opportunities that we will really create democracy. The market place can do better than any other institution the work of creating wealth. But the market place, which knows the price of everything, knows the value of nothing. That is not the market place's job. The government has to preserve order, has to provide the basic services but it cannot reach the heart. It can stir the emotions. It can, as we all know, create demagoguery, but it cannot in those very small sacred places of the heart do the work that can only be done voluntarily through the civil society. And so the United States Agency for International Development knows that, and that is why so much of its work has been aimed at this middle, this important part of every democratic society. And today I have the honor of announcing that the United States will commit three million dollars next year to projects that will directly support the objectives of this conference. These funds, which are entirely new funds, will be reserved solely for efforts that help women enter and ascend the realms of politics, law and business. Moreover, we will continue to see to it that women have full and complete access to the entire range of democracy and business programs that we support. These efforts will supplement the work of this conference and the work that you do everyday. We know what the symptoms of inequality and oppression look like in real life. We see them when women are beaten or sold or denied credit or refused a job because of gender or passed over for promotions or treated with disrespect and not listened to. But we have to do what we can to alleviate those systems, those symptoms of injustice. And yet we cannot lose sight of their root cause — disrespect for women's spirit as human beings and citizens.

Here in Vienna in 1993, leaders from around the world gathered to craft the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women. This is what they called for: the

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Cultural
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lesson?

universal application to women of the rights and principles with regard to equality, security, liberty, integrity and dignity of all human persons. That word dignity is essentially the premise on which our democratic efforts in our respective countries will stand or fall. It is time for us as a global community to understand once and for all, we have run out of excuses. Here we are at the end of the twentieth century, at the heart of a continent that has been scorched by war time and time again. If the history of this century teaches us anything, it is that whenever the dignity of any group is compromised by a derogation of who they are, of some essential attribute that they possess, then we leave ourselves open to having our own dignity questioned. Where we do not respect the dignity of others, we do not make the dignity of any of us safe from attack. If this century has a lesson that is redeeming, it is that by extending the circle of citizenship and human dignity to include everyone without exception, we have the hope that can come to those of us who believe that by working together we can create a better life for ourselves and our children. If we take seriously what you are talking about here at this conference, and you go home and bring the message of excitement and solidarity that you have achieved here, you will not change anything overnight. But your voice and your work, added to the inexorable, incremental steps that are necessary for change in a democracy will create the conditions for change. And then we will have a glimpse of seeing what a newsroom and a courtroom will look like with women fully participating. What the corporate board room and the political back room will consist of when women take their rightful places. We will see more clearly what can happen in the home when women are given the respect and dignity they deserve.

I am very much in awe of the stories of many of you. I can only imagine the strength that it took to have done what you have done in this audience, to join Charter 77, to march for Solidarity, to expose human rights abuses, to make freedom's voice carry over the heads of those who would silence you. I think of all this and I ask myself how you kept your focus, through those years of totalitarian oppression, on what was most important in the human heart. Perhaps the answer lies in a speech that was given in Austria seven years ago, just after the fall of Communism. Part of it goes as follows:

"Many of us who in recent years strove to speak the truth in spite of everything, were able to maintain an inner perspective, a willingness to endure, a sense of proportion, an ability to understand and forgive others and a light heart, only because we were speaking the truth, otherwise we might have perished from despair."

Many of you will recognize the words of President Havel, talking about the totalitarian lies that recently prevailed in this part of the world and of the heroic individuals like so many of you who struggled against them. Those words are just as true today, even though the burdens and obstacles are nowhere near what oppressed Europe for so many years. But we know that it takes strength to keep your voice heard. We know that it takes courage to stand up for those without voices. All of you who tore down communism did so because you believed in democracy and freedom and the human heart and spirit. Now you fight for women's rights because you believe in the same values. One barrier is rubble, the other is crumbling. With the strength of our commitment and the power of our voices that barrier too will surely fall. If we keep faith with those values that brought you to this day, if we work with one another, if we enable all of the voices of men and women who believe in freedom and hope to be heard, then the dreams that brought us here will be realized and we will be able to look back at this conference and say to ourselves "Women's vital voices played a role in creating the kind of world I am proud to call my own." Thank you very much.

Q & A Session
after the
First Lady's Speech at the Vital Voices Conference
July 11, 1997

[First portion of this section inaudible due to central audio feed problem]

Mrs. Clinton:

Anything we can do to create good opportunities for girls and women, I think, will benefit many, many women. But I also believe that in many different societies for different reasons, an individual woman's chances for pursuing her own dreams will be enhanced if other women work together to change social, historical, and cultural conditions that hold women back. There are many women who have attained a good education and then are told that they cannot succeed in the area they wish to work in for artificial reasons. So the individual woman has to do what she can to prepare herself, but then as part of our vital voices we have to make it possible for every woman to be able to pursue whatever her ambitions or dreams might be. I also think there is another element, and that is the sort of psychological barriers that are the internal barriers to many women's success. Women who feel that they are not entitled to pursue their own dreams. Women who feel that, if they make a choice to pursue an education or to pursue a job, they are making a choice not to pursue family or relationships. So I think we have to enable women to feel that they can attain that balance between work and family that is so difficult in all societies, which many of us have worked on for many years, and support young women so that they feel comfortable making these choices.

Question:

There's a lot of violence on TV in America, which also influences our cultures. What can you do to stop it?

Mrs. Clinton:

Well, I agree with that. I deplore the violence that is depicted on American television and in American movies, and we -- my husband and the Vice-President and Mrs. Gore and I -- have worked very hard over the last several years within the system that we have, which is a not only a free and open-market place of ideas, but with our first amendment to the Constitution, we have very broad protections for anything that is characterized as speech, which most television programs and movies are. And you may have heard that just two weeks ago, our United States Supreme Court struck down a law that the Congress had passed and the President had signed, trying to limit pornography on the Internet in the United States. So they take a very broad view of what is protected under our Constitution. So, within a limit, we have tried to do several things. The President has advocated that a computer chip be built into new televisions so that programs can be blocked out by parents exercising authority over their television set, so that the television set can be programmed in such a way that certain stations and programs cannot be seen. So, that will work for younger children, but then we know older children will spend their time figuring out how to break the system, but at least, you know, for a few years parents will have the illusion of control over their children again, and even an illusion in these circumstances is comforting to some extent. And we've also worked with the television to create labels for television programs, so that parents can make better decisions about what they permit their

children to watch. And finally, we have encouraged the entertainment industry to create different kinds of programs. Now, I think having said all that, I am not hopeful about being able to limit the violence on American television or in American movies. We have too much freedom that is given for good reason to be able to prevent that. And it sells, unfortunately. People watch it. It's like driving by an automobile accident. You know you shouldn't, but you slow down and you look and are interested and stimulated by such programs. So we are doing what we can from the governmental level. In my book It Takes A Village, I urged parents and other citizens to boycott certain programs, not to buy the products that are advertised on programs, to use citizen action to make a statement about what programs should or should not be seen on our television. But I think that many of you in countries with different legal systems will have to be working very hard to try to create a situation in which you are not flooded by the most violent television programming from our culture, and I continue to try in the United States both to limit it and to get citizens and especially parents to exercise more authority with children and to try to limit the effect of it. I think it is one of our most serious problems because it is part of the conflict that is developing between 'are we creating in our society citizens or consumers' and it is a very difficult problem.

Question:

Speaking of your book, I liked your book about raising children. Do you agree that women should emphasize our central role in the family even as we advocate our rights?

Mrs. Clinton:

I do, because I am very committed to family and to my particular obligations as wife and mother, but I don't think every woman has to become a wife and a mother. If we are talking about democracy, it is very important to make clear that women should have a range of choices. There are women who wish to be full-time mothers and commit themselves to that task. That should be a respected choice. There are women who do not choose to marry, or if they marry, do not choose to have children. That should be a respected choice. So, the vast majority of women in our countries will try to do both, as I have and as most of you have, to have a family and to have work that is important and meaningful to me. That balancing act that we're all engaged in must also be respected and more support must be given to women who are attempting to do that. But the larger point I would make beyond individual women's choices and being respected for these choices, is that whether or not we make any of these choices, every one of us has an obligation to do what we can to make sure our children are well raised, and that our children have the health care, the education, the safety, stability, and all the conditions that will enable them to grow to their own potential. So, whether or not a person is a parent, or however many children a person has, every one of us will be affected in the quality of our life by how our children and the next generation are treated. So, I think that goes beyond the individual choice, and keeping the importance of raising children central to our political and economic and social consideration is not just a family's responsibility, it is the entire society's responsibility.

Amb. Hunt:

Before I ask you the last question and ask you to close your remarks with that question, I want to thank you personally for coming and I want to tell you that this conference, which has been hugely successful, would not have happened without some very generous help from organizations like Bank Austria, Austrian Airlines which flew about 160 people here, Nestle Corporation, the US Government, the European Union, the Soros Foundation, and a host of others. And I know that you are as impressed as I am with their generosity, too. If you could just say two sentences about the key question of this conference: What can Americans learn from our experience as Eastern and Central Europeans? What can Americans learn from Central and Eastern Europeans?

Mrs. Clinton:

Thank you, whoever asked that question. Because I think there is a great deal that Americans can learn from your experiences. I think, first, that it takes courage and perseverance to both win and keep a democracy, that the building of a democracy is an ongoing challenge and struggle, and that we can never take it for granted. And that many of you in this room and in the countries from which you come, have a much clearer idea of the importance of the values that underlie democracy than many people in my country do today. Because we have many people who have gotten very complacent in the United States. They don't take the trouble to vote. They don't defend the freedoms that we have fought for, and people in previous generations have died for. So, maybe it is a good thing that a society gets to the point of the United States and many of the European countries, where freedom is so ingrained in the fabric of life that we don't have to worry about it or fight over it any more. I think there's always a danger when people become complacent, because there's always the risk that demagogues and authoritarians will assert themselves and influence the minds of people and take over the political and economic structures again. So that is one important thing. The second point I would make is this struggle that I referred to earlier, in the new global economy, in the Information Age in which we are living, how do we live as human beings? How do we ensure that we are able to deal with the enormous number of choices that we have? Many of you came from countries where under communism you had no choices. Now in many countries we have so many choices that people are often bewildered about what is the right choice that they should be making. How do we create the right conditions, the balance between government and the marketplace, a balance of power that will create jobs and good incomes and economic opportunities, but will also provide support for people in a social safety net and will create an environment in which the marketplace does not determine everything. So, as you are struggling to make those choices, we in the United States will be watching you and supporting you, and together I hope that we will enter into the twenty-first century with a much clearer understanding of and commitment to those basic democratic values that we have worked on for so many years, but that you now hold as a trust for the rest of us. Because how you deal with democracy's new challenges will affect the United States and the entire world.

SCENESETTER: WOMEN'S ROUNDTABLE IN CHINA

The First Lady will meet with Chinese women who have experiences to share regarding women's issues in China. The proposed participants include women mayors and representatives from the All-China Women's Federation, China Women's College and "Rural Women Knowing All" magazine.

Talking Points

- Thank you all for coming today. I have been impressed by the changes that are taking place in China. The pace of transformation is truly astonishing. The China of today is vastly different from the China that I visited just three years ago.
- China has made great strides in the advancement of women since 1949, especially in the areas of literacy and economic development. Economic and social reforms of the past two decades have brought about even greater changes, creating both opportunities and new challenges for women. I would like to hear your assessment of women's advancements in China and the problems that still remain or have emerged.
- In my travels around the world, I have often found that women's rights do not necessarily advance with economic development. This is certainly true in our own history. American women had to fight hard to win the right to vote and fair treatment at the work place and in society. The effort to achieve our ideals continues; we continue to strive for these objectives in the U.S. and throughout the world.
- As China modernizes, Chinese women are encountering many problems reminiscent of America's experience. Job discrimination against women, employers' reluctance to pay for maternity leave and child care, a predominance of female laid-off workers from state owned enterprises, and increasing reported cases of spouse abuse are all concerns. Women of all countries can and must work together to overcome such challenges. I would like to hear your views regarding how.
- The problems of women are not very different from country to country. They may differ in intensity. One of the debates that is prominent in the U.S. centers on family planning practices. As the world's most populous country, family planning is an even more important issue

in China. It is directly linked to economic development and people's living standards.

- Three years ago in Beijing at the Fourth World Conference on Women, members of the United Nations reaffirmed in the Platform for Action the Cairo principle that all couples and individuals have the basic right 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."
- I am glad to see that China is working in conjunction with the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) to start a new population program that reflects the principles of voluntarism and non-coercion. I am convinced that Chinese birth rates can be stabilized without coercion, through voluntary family planning and reproductive health services, maternal and child health services, basic education for girls, ending discrimination against women and generally respecting human rights. Forced abortions and sterilization, where-ever they happen, are violations of women's rights and human rights. We must work together to prevent such abuses.
- I know many of you here have devoted yourselves to ending discrimination against women and to promoting family planning education. I would like to hear about your experiences and your insights on family planning issues in China.
- In particular, I would like to hear your ideas about how to deal with the traditional cultural preference for male offspring. This raises issues such as sex-selective abortion, female infanticide, the abandonment of female babies, and the abduction and sale of women from gender-balanced regions to male-dominant areas.
- China has had an impressive record of strengthening women's participation in the political process. Several of you here, as representatives of the over 500 women who are serving as mayors in China, are testimony to that fact. Of course, still more can be done, as is the case in my own country. I would like to hear your thoughts on how to increase women's political participation.
- I am grateful to have the honor to share your views. Your dedication to women's issues is inspirational. I will take your ideas back with me to share with women in

the U.S. so that we can all work together to advance
women's rights.

Tuesday, June 30, 1998

9:15 am- "Shaping China for the 21st Century" Discussion & Tour of Library w/POTUS
11:00 am Shanghai Library

11:45 am- Tour/Remarks at Project Hope Hospital w/ American Corporate Sponsors
12:45 pm and Sesame Street [GE primary funder/co-production CTW & Shanghai
TV]
[POTUS will be doing Talk Radio from 12:00 - 1:00]

1:15 pm- OTR/Lunch with POTUS
2:45 pm

3:00 pm- Visit to Shanghai Girls School (OTR for POTUS)
4:00 pm with participation of girl high school students throughout Shanghai

4:30 pm- Down Time
6:00 pm

6:30 pm- Reception Hosted by Mayor/Tour of Major Exhibition w/POTUS
7:45 pm Shanghai Museum

8:00 pm- Casual Dinner w/Mayor of Shanghai w/POTUS
9:30 pm

RON Ritz-Carlton Hotel
Shanghai

Wednesday, July 1, 1998

10:45 am- Visit to Shanghai Women's Federation Job Retraining Ctr for Laid-off
11:15 am Women Workers [Center also runs the first Women's Hotline created in
China]
[POTUS has possible OTR at Internet Cafe]

11:35 am- Speech prep/Lunch
1:30 pm

2:00 pm- Speech
2:30 pm Shanghai Library

3:00 pm- Visit to Shanghai Synagogue(Harbor for Jews fleeing Nazis)
3:25 pm (w/Secretary Albright)
[POTUS has Home Ownership Event (Open Press) from 2:15 - 3:45]

3:45 pm- DOWN FOR EVENING w/POTUS
tbd

RON Ritz-Carlton Hotel
Shanghai

Thursday, July 2, 1998

7:00 am Depart Ritz Carlton
En Route Airport

7:50 am Depart Shanghai
En Route Guilin

10:00 am Arrive Guilin

11:00 am- Briefing with Environmental Experts
11:35 am

11:45 am- Statement on the Environment
12:15 pm

12:45 pm- Boat Tour w/POTUS
3:45 pm (visit village along boat tour)

4:00 pm Depart en route airport

5:10 pm Depart Guilin
En route Hong Kong

6:15 pm Arrive Hong Kong

6:45 pm- Down Time
7:45 pm

8:45 pm- Meeting with Mrs. Betty Tung
9:15 pm [POTUS will be meeting with Chief Executive C.H. Tung]

9:20 pm- Reception or Dinner hosted by the Chief Executive w/POTUS

10:30 pm Government House

DOWN FOR EVENING

RON Grand Hyatt Hotel
 Hong Kong

Friday, July 3, 1998

8:30 am- Roundtable Discussion with Hong Kong Women Leaders and Sec. Albright
10:00 am Convention Center
 [POTUS will have briefing time and meeting with Martin Lee and Hong Kong
 political leaders from 11:00 - 11:55]

10:15 am- POTUS Asian Regional Themes Speech
11:15 am Convention Center

11:30 am- Down Time
12:30 pm

12:30 pm- OTR/Lunch w/POTUS
2:45 pm

3:00 pm- Walk/Meeting with Anson Chan [T]
tbd

tbd pm- FLOTUS Down Time
6:00 pm [POTUS Press Conference]

6:15 pm- Down Time/OTRs w/POTUS
tbd

tbd Ride Star Ferry to Kowloon w/POTUS

12:00 am Depart Hong Kong
 En route Washington

RON The White House

SCENESETTER: TIANANMEN SQUARE

Tiananmen Square is located in the heart of Beijing. It is named after the Tiananmen Gate (Gate of Heavenly Peace) that fronts the Forbidden City. The square was built in 1958 and is one of the largest in the world. It measures 500 meters from east to west and 880 meters from north to south, occupying approximately 50 hectares. During the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), government offices were located on what is now Tiananmen Square; a wide road ran south from Tiananmen Gate. The Gate itself was used for grand ceremonies during the Ming and Qing dynasties.

Tiananmen Gate now serves as a symbol of ruling power in China. Mao Zedong proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China from the tower of the gate. On national days, the tower is used as a rostrum for reviewing parades. It also is where Mao received the millions of young Red Guards who gathered in Tiananmen Square during the Cultural Revolution. Today, a large portrait of Mao Zedong hangs on the front of Tiananmen Gate. To the left of the portrait is the slogan "Long Live the People's Republic of China" and to the right "Long Live the Unity of the Peoples of the World."

Tiananmen Square is a busy tourist attraction by day, and a popular place for after-dinner strolls in the evening. Bordering Tiananmen Square is the Great Hall of the People, the museums of Chinese History and the Chinese Revolution, the Mao Zedong Mausoleum and Qianmen (Front Gate). Standing in the center of the square is a monument honoring "the people's heroes," i.e. those who sacrificed their lives for "national independence and in wars against foreign aggression."

In contrast to Tiananmen Gate's association with state power, Tiananmen Square on a number of occasions has been a center for large-scale demonstrations against the government. In April 1976, Beijing citizens, mourning the death of popular Premier Zhou Enlai, staged a spontaneous demonstration against leftist radicals in power and in support of more pragmatic officials led by Deng Xiaoping. In 1986, students from a number of Beijing universities gathered in the square to protest against the slow pace of reforms.

In April of 1989, the most recent large-scale protest to occur in Tiananmen Square took place after the death of former Party Secretary Hu Yaobang. University students then occupied the square in May, protesting against government corruption and demanding political freedom. In June 1989, the government used armed troops to clear the square and nearby Beijing city streets, killing and injuring many.

SCENESETTER: THE GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE

The Great Hall of the People is located on the west side of Tiananmen Square. It was built in 1959 to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

The assembly room inside the Great Hall is the largest in China, seating 10,000 persons. The ceiling is decorated with a red star embedded in a galaxy of lights. The Great Hall has on display many art objects donated by China's provinces. It also has a series of smaller halls decorated in the local styles of each of China's provinces, including two new displays for Hong Kong and Macao.

The Great Hall of the People is the seat of China's parliament, the National People's Congress (NPC). Each year, the NPC, the highest organ of state power under the Chinese constitution, meets for two weeks to review and approve new policy directions, laws, the budget, and major personnel changes. The State Council presents these initiatives to the NPC for consideration after previous endorsement by the Communist Party's Central Committee. Although the NPC generally approves State Council policy and personnel recommendations, various NPC committees can discuss possible changes in closed sessions.

The Great Hall of the People will be the site of the summit talks and the state banquet. A 15-minute welcoming ceremony will take place outside the east entrance of the hall, facing Tiananmen Square. The summit talks will be held in the Eastern Hall and have two sessions -- an expanded bilateral lasting perhaps 30 minutes, followed by a restricted bilateral meeting in an adjoining room.

The state dinner will be held in the second floor banquet hall. It is used to entertain visiting heads of state and can accommodate 5,000 guests. Presidents Nixon, Reagan, and Bush have all dined there. Cocktails in the Beijing and Shanghai rooms (also on the second floor) will precede dinner.

SCENESETTER: DIAOYUTAI STATE GUESTHOUSE

The Diaoyutai (DYOW-yoo-tie) State Guesthouse is located in the western section of Beijing in a scenic area known as Old Diaoyutai (Angling Terrace). This former imperial dwelling was built over 800 years ago in one of Beijing's most famous gardens. In the Jin Dynasty (1115-1234), Emperor Zhang Zong had a terrace built for fishing; hence the name "Angling Terrace." In the early years of the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), Prime Minister Lian Xixian built a villa -- Wan Liu Hall -- and for a time the garden area became a favorite tourist spot. During the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), the villa was used to house eunuchs and imperial kinsmen.

Emperor Qian Long had Diaoyutai restored as an imperial garden in 1774. During the reign of Xuan Tong (1909-1911), Emperor Pu Yi gave the garden to his tutor who in turn opened it to visitors. The People's Republic of China converted the Diaoyutai complex in 1959 into a state guesthouse for heads of state and government and other distinguished foreign visitors. The former imperial dwelling is essentially the same today as it was during the reign of Emperor Qian Long.

The Chinese government has built a number of villas on the Diaoyutai grounds since 1959. They are furnished with art treasures from different periods of Chinese history. You will stay in Villa 18 where Presidents Nixon and Bush have stayed. Villa 18 has recently undergone extensive renovations. Other members of the delegation will stay in other villas on the compound.

SCENESETTER: TERRA-COTTA WARRIORS NEAR XI'AN

In March, 1974, farmers digging a well 22 miles east of the city of Xi'an discovered the first of what would be an army of terra-cotta warriors buried 14 feet underground. Although there is no historical record of the creation of this army, it is believed it was intended to serve as a bodyguard for the spirit of unified China's first emperor, Qin Shihuangdi (reigned 221-210 BC). Encased in a pounded earth vault with a wooden roof, the figures were probably never meant to be seen after they were interred. Nevertheless, in 206 BC, the vault was opened by a rebel general who set fire to the roof, collapsing it and damaging the figures below.

The terra-cotta warriors are taller than their sculptors would have been, each standing about 5 feet 11 inches, with officers taller than common soldiers. Each warrior has a unique face, an individuality of expression not seen before in Chinese art. The faces are so carefully molded that young recruits can be distinguished from seasoned commanders, and individual strands of hair are visible in the warriors' elaborate braids. One theory suggests the terra-cotta warriors are replicas of actual soldiers in Qin's army, and that the entire force may have sat for the artists in lieu of being buried alive with the Emperor.

The terra-cotta army occupies a complex of four separate underground chambers. The first, believed to hold an infantry division, covers nearly four acres and contains nearly 6000 terra-cotta soldiers, bowmen, archers, and chariots with horses and charioteers. The second chamber, the cavalry unit, is estimated to contain 80 chariot units and a proportionate number of cavalry, plus supporting troops. The third chamber is thought to be the Emperor's command headquarters, with the warriors facing inward in a defensive position. The final chamber is empty, and historians suggest work here was abandoned when the Emperor died in 210 BC. One account states workers at the site were pardoned by the second emperor, armed, and forced to fight advancing rebel troops.

Although the warriors were discovered in 1974, years passed before foreigners were allowed to visit the site. At first only scientists, political leaders and art historians were permitted to view the army. In 1981, the site was opened to tourists.

SCENESETTER: THE GREAT WALL AT MUTIANYU (MOO-tyen-you)

The Great Wall stretches 3,000 miles from China's border with North Korea on the Yalu River in the east to the foot of the Qilian and Tianshan mountains in China's westernmost Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.

Rival kingdoms in China built protective walls around their territories as early as the 7th century BC. When China's first emperor, Qin Shihuang, unified the country in 221 BC, he ordered the walls of the defeated states to be linked and built additional fortifications. Nearly one million men were employed in this massive project; about one-fifth of the country's entire work force.

The Great Wall at Mutianyu is located about 40 miles northeast of Beijing; it only recently has been opened to tourists. Originally constructed in the mid-6th century, it was rebuilt in the 14th century by the Ming emperors.

The masonry at Mutianyu consists of rectangular granite covered by gray bricks. The main castle has three connecting watch towers -- a large tower in the center with two smaller ones on either side. The outer and inner parapets are crenellated with merlons, so the defenders could shoot at invaders from both sides of the wall; this feature is unique to the Mutianyu fortification.

The Great Wall at Mutianyu is much steeper than other parts of the wall, and is considered one of the Wall's most scenic sections. There is a cable car for tourists, which takes about 5 minutes to reach the top; a nearby path takes about 45 minutes.

SCENESETTER: FORBIDDEN CITY

Located in the center of Beijing, the Forbidden City is the largest and best-preserved palace complex in China. Once the imperial palace of the Ming and Qing emperors, it is now open to the public, receiving over 10,000 visitors a day.

Construction of the Forbidden City began in 1406 during the reign of Ming Dynasty Emperor Yongle. The initial structure took 14 years to complete. China's emperors governed from the Forbidden City, rarely venturing outside the palace grounds. Twenty-four emperors lived in the City over a span of 505 years. The last emperor, Pu Yi, stayed in the Forbidden City until 1925, fourteen years after the 1911 revolution that ended the Qing Dynasty.

The Forbidden City is divided into three parts: the outer court, where the emperor received senior officials and conducted affairs of state; the inner court, where the emperor lived with his empresses and concubines; and the Imperial Garden, where the family spent their leisure time. The walls of the palace are more than thirty feet high; surrounding the walls is a moat. The Forbidden City occupies approximately 150 acres and has 9,999 buildings (one less than 10,000, the number used exclusively to wish the emperor long life). The buildings are symmetrically arranged, with main halls on a meridian line and the less important halls and houses on the east and west sides of the line.

The Forbidden City has been looted twice in this century -- by the Japanese during World War II and by the Chinese Nationalists who, on the eve of the Communist takeover in 1949, removed thousands of artifacts to Taiwan. They are currently on display in Taipei's National Palace Museum. The Forbidden City nearly suffered more damage during the Cultural Revolution, but Premier Zhou Enlai ordered the gates locked to prevent Red Guards from entering the palace complex.

You will enter the Forbidden City at Wumen, the Meridian Gate, on the south side, and walk north along the north-south axis through the city's main buildings, finishing your tour at the inner court.

SCENESETTER: BEIJING CHONGWENMEN CHRISTIAN CHURCH

The first American Methodist-Episcopal church built in northern China, Chongwenmen Christian Church was established in 1870. It is the largest Protestant church in Beijing. One of its pastors, Wu Wei, will visit the United States this summer under a USIA International Visitor Program (IVP) grant. Reverend Billy Graham preached at Chongwenmen twice and former President George Bush attended services there.

Chongwenmen Church was burned down in 1900 during the Boxer Rebellion. The existing structure was completed in 1904. Chongwenmen Church is constructed in a fan-shaped design entirely of wood. It covers 8,245 square meters. The church seats 800 people in the main hall and 400-500 in the side chapel. Rooms downstairs can accommodate an additional one thousand worshippers, who can watch worship services on closed-circuit television. In 1990, the Beijing municipal government designated Chongwenmen Church a protected, historical landmark.

Before the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Chongwenmen's congregation established several hospitals and schools, including the Tongren Hospital and Muzhen Women's Middle School. In 1949, the Chinese government seized control of the hospitals and schools. After all religious activities were suspended in 1958, the authorities gave Chongwenmen Church to the Muzhen Women's Middle School which used it as an assembly hall. During the Cultural Revolution, the church's interior was nearly destroyed.

In 1982, the church was renamed Chongwenmen Church of the Beijing Christian Council and underwent extensive renovations. Religious activities and worship services resumed on Christmas Day the same year. Services today are all well-attended, and sophisticated interpretation equipment caters to the needs of non-Chinese speakers.

SCENESETTER: XIAHE (SHA-heuh) VILLAGE

Xiahe (SHA-heuh) village, only two minutes' drive from the Terracotta Warriors Exhibit, is nonetheless a typical Northern Chinese village. Generations-old, Xiahe has a population of 376 people from 92 households. Eighty percent of the households have the same family name, "He."

Before 1982, Xiahe was a traditional agricultural village, producing wheat, corn, cotton, sweet potatoes, beans, and some fruit. In the era of collectivized agriculture, villagers had to rely on government assistance or to purchase additional food. Income was very low: about \$22 a year per capita.

Though 40 percent of Xiahe's land has been requisitioned for the terracotta digs since the warriors' discovery in 1994, its economic situation began to improve in 1982 when land was given to each household to plant -- of course farmers can only use the land, not own it. The village committee set up a few village projects, including construction crews, a building materials factory and a brick factory, giving the village an additional source of revenue. Finally, almost every household in the village began to make handicrafts to sell to tourists.

Living standards have improved markedly. In 1997 the average income for each person in the village had risen to \$395. Now, the five main income sources for the villagers are tourism, construction (migrant work in cities), small scale manufacturing, transportation and agriculture. Agriculture generates only about 20 percent of total income today, but villagers consume most of the wheat they grow, preserving farming as the staple activity. Of the 92 households in the village, 95 percent have second incomes in addition to agriculture.

The five-member village committee, which is elected from three villages including Xiahe, is located in Xiahe village. The committee chief is from Xiahe village. The deputy chief and the committee's three other members are from the other two villages. Today the committee owns 12 enterprises including two gas stations, one medicine factory, one terracotta warriors reproduction factory, a construction crew and a public bathhouse. Income from these pursuits has been used to install cable TV for all the households for free, pave village roads, and maintain the village school.

There are about 22 private enterprises, among them a vinegar factory, some shops, two private medical clinics, and a few restaurants.

The village's primary school has about three hundred students, 15 teachers, and a principal who has been in charge for nearly twenty years. Village children attend the county middle school a 15-minute walk from the village.

SCENESETTER: XI'AN

Xi'an was the capital of the Chinese Empire at various times for 1,100 years and a symbol of China's ancient history and past glories. It is situated in the fertile valleys of the Wei and Yellow Rivers, traditionally known as the "cradle of Chinese civilization." The earliest evidence of human habitation dates back more than 6,000 years to the villages of primitive Chinese tribes.

Xi'an was China's capital during several dynasties. Emperor Qin Shi Huang (221 BC to 207 BC), the first ruler to unify China, built his capital of Xi'anyang just east of modern day Xi'an. The Han Dynasty that followed (lasting 400 years) also established its capital near Xi'an, calling it Chang'an (Eternal Peace). During this period, Chang'an was the starting point for the great trade caravans of the Silk Road. In 5th century AD, the Sui Dynasty rebuilt Chang'an on the plain where modern Xi'an now stands. By the 7th century AD, the Tang Dynasty reigned over the Golden Age of China, and Chang'an had become the largest and most cosmopolitan city in the world, attracting foreigners from all parts of Asia and beyond. In 1368, the ruler of the Ming Dynasty renamed the city Xi'an, meaning "Western Peace."

A number of important landmarks remain from Xi'an's rich history. The city wall is one of the few in China that has survived from ancient times. You will be welcomed Thursday night in a ceremony at the South Gate, one of four in the wall's almost 14-kilometer length. Other reminders of Xi'an's past include the Big Goose and Little Goose Pagodas, built as Buddhist temples in the 7th century AD, and Qing Zhen Si, a mosque founded in 742 AD that still serves as the place of worship for 30,000 Chinese Muslims.

The most famous attraction in Xi'an is the Terra-cotta Soldiers. Peasants digging a well first discovered these pottery soldiers in 1974. They are regarded as one of the most spectacular archaeological finds of the 20th century. The soldiers, representing Emperor Qin Shi Huang's imperial guards, are located 1500 meters from the emperor's Imperial Tomb. The warriors have unique facial features and an array of weapons, poses, and heights. Over three thousand soldiers, 96 horses, and 11 chariots have been unearthed so far. Experts believe thousands more will be discovered.

Xi'an and the surrounding area have a population of 6.5 million. The region has been a site of intensive industrialization in recent decades; manufactures include machinery, textiles and light industrial products.

National Action Plans (*Following 4TH UN CONF ON WOMEN*)

* The following are summaries of what specified countries planned to do in regard to the status of women. Unless specified, it is not known how these plans have been implemented (e.g., it is known that the Canadian Government has allocated CAD 72 million for child care facilities, but it is not known how they plan to reform their health system).

* Information of a factual or statistical nature is marked with a * (with the exception of the US and China where the information is indented)

United States

* see attached

- Plan Title: America's Commitment: Federal Programs Benefiting Women and New Initiatives as Follow-up to the UN Fourth World Conference on Women (by President's Interagency Council on Women)

- Some actions taken by the US:

- \$14 billion in child care for next 6 years; \$4 billion for low income families; \$490 million for employment, education, housing for poor; \$27.3 million for urban and rural development; \$250,000 from Department of Housing and Urban Development for education and counselling program for female home buyers
- passage of the Violence against Women Act. Additional \$10 million pledged to help governments abroad fight violence against women.
- Partnership with the Ukraine to fight trafficking of women
- The Administration is committed to getting the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) ratified
- \$2.5 million to help support the women of Afghanistan, who have been brutalized by the Taliban
- The US has implemented numerous programs and held several conferences (e.g., "Healthy Women 2000 Initiative", "Bridging the Gap: Enhancing Partnerships to Improve Minority Women's Health", "America's Commitment: The UN Women's Conference One Year Later")

- Organizations: President's Interagency Council on Women (a policy making body containing representatives from NGOs and 16 federal departments. First Lady is Honorary Chair); The White House Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach (a liaison office to women's organizations)

China

* see attached

- Plan Title: The Programm for the Development of Chinese Women (1995-2000)

- Goals of the program include:

Government:

- Enhance the degree of women's participation in decision-making and management of state and social affairs. Place women in leading government posts at all levels.

Labor:

- Guarantee women's right to labor, prohibiting the refusal to employ women on account of their gender
- Equal pay for equal work
- To alleviate 200,000 households from poverty
- To develop 20,000 women-headed poverty alleviating economic entities that will provide jobs for 800,000 poor women
- To train 10 million women in poverty-stricken areas, giving them at least one applied skill
- To ban the employment of girls under the age of 16
- Actively carry out labor supervision and crack down on enterprises discriminating against women or treating them unjustly

Education:

- Increase the percentage of women receiving education at all levels and actively recruit women to technical and scientific fields
- To wipe out illiteracy among 3 million women each year and strive to eliminate illiteracy by the end of this century among young and middle-aged women all over the country
- To develop vocational education for women and increase their job hunting skills

Health:

- To improve the health of women and guarantee their access to family planning
- To provide health care--including good reproductive health care--to all women
- To increase the number of midwives in the countryside
- To raise the rate of rural women's hospitalization for child delivery and decrease maternal mortality by 50%
- To inoculate 85% of the pregnant and child-bearing age women against spasmotoxin in areas with high incidence of tetanus and eliminate the infection of tetanus by new-born babies

Violence:

- To ban violence against women, trafficking women, and illegal prostitution. Use legislation and strict enforcement
- Protect the rights of women to sue and appeal

Culture

- To expand friendly exchanges between Chinese women and women of other countries
- publicize the important role women have played and continue to play in China
- The National Working Committee for Children and Women under the State Council is responsible for implementation of the program
- In addition, corresponding mechanisms have been set up in every province, autonomous regions and municipalities under control of the central government

Argentina

- Plan Title: Plan de Igualdad de Oportunidades 1995-1999 (Equal Opportunity Plan for Women)
- Argentina has pledged to enhance women's participation in employment and politics and to better attend to the health needs of women.
- To accomplish this, the Executive Office of the government has created the National Women's Council, which is responsible for the coordination, integration, and implementation of women's policy.
- * The government will make more financing available for women and for projects to enhance women's professional training through the National Employment Fund
- * The Cupos Law requires political parties to include a minimum of 30% women on their lists of candidates for election positions

Belarus

- Plan Title: National Plan of Action for the Improvement of the Status of Women, 1996-2000
- Plan approved by Decree of Cabinet of Minister of the Republic of Belarus, 6/6/96
- *Legislation*: Belarus plans to revise family law and criminal codes and laws on violence. They plan to conduct a gender analysis of legislation.
- *Economics*: Belarus plans to promote women entrepreneurs, train unemployed women, research the working conditions of women, and establish a Women's Enterprise Support Centre
- *Health*: They plan to promote family planning and establish health centers
- *Education*: Belarus plans to provide family life education for young people, and vocational training
- Belarus hopes to achieve a gender balance in administrative bodies
- Belarus plans to use the mass media to conduct publicity campaigns on human rights, violence, media stereotyping, breast feeding, substance abuse, and reproductive behaviour
- Belarus plans to promote a comprehensive human rights program to make women aware of their rights
- Various proposals to enact these plans are being drafted and submitted for consideration by the Cabinet of Ministers
- Reports analyzing the status of women are to be submitted regularly to the President of the Republic and the Cabinet of Ministers. Belarus plans to put together a statistical compilation of "The Family, Women and Children in the Republic of Belarus" biennially.

Canada

- Plan Title: Setting the Stage for the Next Century: The Federal Plan for Gender Equality
- Plan was written by 24 federal departments and agencies. They examined their policies, identified actions that would improve gender equality, and devised implementation strategies. The government plans to institutionalize gender based analysis of government.
- * The Government has allotted: CAD 6 million for child care; CAD 72 million for new child care spaces to ensure women's economic autonomy; CAD 10 million annually to support women's participation in the arts
- Women's *economic autonomy*: federal actions to promote women's autonomy; unemployment insurance reform; child care and tax benefits; education and training for women; improving access to paid labor market; providing support for women entrepreneurs
- *Health*: reform and renew health system; breast cancer research initiative; action against HIV/AIDS

- Reduce *Violence*: provide shelters; reform criminal justice system; protect women refugees; pass legislation on firearms and weapons; institute community policing
- The Government also plans to combat gender stereotyping and make efforts to promote women's historical and contemporary roles

Czech Republic

- Plan Title: "Letter from the Permanent Mission of the Czech Republic to the United Nations"
- *Legislation*: Government plans to ensure equal treatment for women in terms of pay, working conditions, social security, and the fulfilment of family responsibilities; prepare legislation that embodies principles of equal opportunity, such as the laws on employment and remuneration
- *Economics*: Government plans to eliminate government segregation in the labor market and promote entrepreneurial activities for women
- *Violence*: Government plans to combat violence against women and the trafficking of women and "sexual tourism."
- The Government will submit a detailed report of proposals and implementation strategies

Japan

- Plan Title: Plan for Gender Equality 2000: The National Plan of Action for Action for Promotion of a Gender-Equal Society by the Year 2000
- Japan has particularly focused on the elderly and disabled. Plan to build a system of family care, nursing care, income guarantees, and a social structure.
- *Equal Opportunity*: Japan plans to get more women participating in policy, on advisory councils and committees, and in civil services. Japan plans to train women leaders.
- *Workplace*: provide equal opportunity and treatment; protection during pregnancy and after childbirth; promote women's entrepreneurship; harmonize work with family life and child care
- *Human Rights*: eliminate all forms of violence against women; enhance recuperative measures for women victims; create protection and relief measures
- *Health*: create awareness of reproductive health and rights, HIV/AIDS, drug abuse
- *Education*: enhance elementary and secondary education; provide career guidance

Panama

- Plan Title: Plan Nacional Mujer y Desarrollo: Operativizacion 1996-2001 (The Women and Development Plan)
- * The Government and NGOs have developed 65 projects. Estimated cost is B/.25,604,472. B/.7,291,992 is to be raised domestically, and Government has made an effort to invest money in women's compensation through the Social Emergency fund. B/.18,312,480 is to be raised externally. UNICEF will provide some funds and the European Union will contribute B/.13.1 million. (Government of Panama has committed to provide B/.5.4 million).
- Mechanisms to evaluate all of these programs are operative
- *Social and Legal Equality*: plan to eliminate discrimination and inequality guarantee the rights provided by the Constitution
- *Political Participation*: plan to expand women's participation in decision-making, including areas that affect economic policy
- *Economy and Employment*: plan to provide access to training, credit, and markets
- *Health*: plan to strengthen women's access to health services and information

- *Education*: plan to eliminate sexist practices within national education system, promote women's access to education and professional training
- *Violence*: assist victims of violence

Thailand

- Thailand has not yet drafted a national action plan (NAP). However, it is in the process of doing so.
- The Office of the National Commission on Women's Affairs (ONCWA) will conduct meetings for 100 participants from relevant agencies to seek their views on a NAP.
- The ONCWA established the National Committee on Women's Labour and Social Development to report on relevant issues
- ONCWA has translated the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action into Thai for publication and dissemination to Government agencies, NGOs, and others
- * ONCWA will conduct seminars for 300 local and grassroots women's leaders in the principal cities of the 4 main regions of Thailand to enlist grassroots support for action on the status of women