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Dear Bookstore Owner,

Do you carry the only national news magazine that reports on all the issues surrounding the continuing battle over reproductive rights? If not, then we offer for your consideration, *the Body Politic*.

Based in Binghamton, New York, birthplace of Operation Rescue, the staff is extremely knowledgeable about current events and past history of the "abortion wars" and a proud member of the alternative press. Our dedication and experience is summed up in our motto, **REAL REPORTING - NOT - SOUND BITES.**

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The Body Politic is an independent publication, supported by a network of savvy volunteers across the country who supply the magazine with information about their local communities. We are a very interactive publication that involves readers in the news, encouraging them to participate at many levels, including reporting.

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Dedication

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THE BODY POLITIC

Real Reporting - Not Sound Bites

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THE EDITOR'S DESK

If a Woman's Conference Falls in the Forest...?

Jessie Helms is outraged about a "flirting workshop". George Bush sympathizes with the Chinese for having Bella Abzug in their nation. Hillary Clinton gives a speech.

Well, all I can say is **Thank Goodness**. If it were not for these events, most of the American public would have heard almost nothing about the *United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women* in Beijing.

My anger about the mainstream media's coverage of this momentous event is long and deep. This extraordinary gathering of over 35,000 women and men from governments and organizations of activists ready to shape a new world for the 21st Century deserved better than it got.

In the beginning, the American media was showing interest because of the uncertainty whether our First Lady would attend. She did, and acquitted herself credibly. The Chinese government's heavy-handed security also got some coverage, as did the rain and mud. But, Mrs. Clinton left, the Chinese behaved a little better, the rain stopped and coverage of the real agenda of the meeting nearly dried up.

My frustration as a journalist at this lack of information would have been overwhelming, if it were not for the Alternative Media and the United Nations who worked together on the Internet to report daily on the people, and events that made up FWCW. These reports came from many different sources, some of which are listed on the next page. A few of these agencies waived their normal copyrights so that those who wanted to inform the public were able to use their stories.

When you began to look, the volume of information was astonishing. I spent uncounted hours on the Internet reading reports and selecting some to print for permanent reference. All the UN conference documents were available, plus speeches of the scores of women and men who addressed either the NGO Forum or the Main Conference. There were also daily updates on the state of the negotiations on the two final conference documents, the *Platform for Action* and the *Beijing Declaration*.

I wish it were possible to share all I learned about this event with my readers, but it is impossible to reprint even the tiniest fraction of the speeches or reports from Beijing. However, I have taken highlights from a few speeches, including the one Mrs. Clinton gave to the Main Conference. I also chose to report on Bella Abzug and WEDO, the Women's Environment & Development Organization--my way of retaliating against George Bush for his cheap, gratuitous reference to Ms. Abzug while he was paid to address a fertilizer conference in China.

On page 12 you will find the text of the *Beijing Declaration*, a summation of the intentions of the *Platform for Action*, a document the world's women can use to pressure their governments to "remember the ladies", as we head into the 21st Century.

Of course, with a gathering that size, disagreements abounded. We selected comments from a few dissenters such as Jean Head, of the International Right to Life organization, and Dr. Hamid Algabid, an Islamic scholar from the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Mr. Algabid used his speech to explain why women should not be granted an equal portion in inheritance. (To be fair to the Islamic community, I should add, that even though many Islamic states were less than willing to see women in any light other than that of mother, wife, or sister, there was quite a presence of Islamic women who claim that the Quoran does not place women as second-class citizens.)

Our coverage of FWCW is enhanced by interviews from two women who were fortunate enough to attend--Babs Conant from Buffalo, New York and Marlene Gerber Fried from Hampshire College in Massachusetts. Both spoke to *the Body Politic* soon after their return from China and both have consented to write essays for the December issue.

The experience of trying to "cover" the Beijing Conference has made me more sensitive to where and how Americans get our information. As more and more of this nation's view of the world is controlled by fewer and fewer people, it is incumbent upon those who want a real picture to search out and patronize alternative sources of information. *The Body Politic* is a proud member of the Alternative Press and urges readers to keep supporting those with different voices who try to broaden your view.

Remember, there are many "trees" like the FWCW falling in the forest with no one to hear. Please seek out and support Alternative Media.

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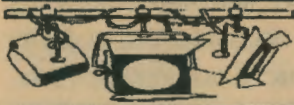
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New York, NY 10163

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New York, NY 10017





SPOTLIGHT



*The hottest place in Hell is reserved for those who remain neutral in times of crisis.
(Dante) as quoted by Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto*

When the United Nations was founded fifty years ago, recognizing the dignity and worth of women was one of its goals. Securing equality in law and in fact has been pursued by the U.N. during the last five decades. Success has been limited.

To further equality (and security) for the world's women, the U.N. has sponsored conferences permitting representatives of the world's nations, and women's advocates to assemble, discuss problems and formulate strategies to correct them. The 1995 *Fourth World Conference on Women* had as its agenda the devising of a *Platform for Action* which would implement goals articulated at the last conference in Nairobi and discussed at other conferences, such as the Cairo Population Conference last Fall.

The *Platform for Action* is a massive document, over 130 pages, which was assembled over the course of two years by various committees representing the world's nations. There was much wrangling over this document because its scope is large and it redefines women's place in society for the 21st Century. Many issues were raised in the *PFA*: violence against women, access to means of production and capital, education of women and girls, the condemnation of rape as a weapon of war, and health care for women and girls, including reproductive health and information.

At the end of the Conference on September 15th, exhausted delegates, some of whom had almost no sleep in the past 48 hours, adopted the *Platform* and issued a *Beijing Declaration* (see page 12). All nations were not in agreement. Over 60 delegates took the floor to comment, including many Islamic states objecting to some text that was not in keeping with their interpretation of Islamic law. However, many other countries rose to support the *PFA* and the *Declaration*, and the meeting was closed by Conference Secretary-General Gertrude Mongella who thanked all delegates, their hosts and the Non-Governmental Organizations for their work making the conference a success.

As might be expected, the effects of the Beijing Conference (which might become the last World Conference) will not be felt right away. It is up to the governments of the world to implement what they agreed to in Beijing if life for women of the world is to improve in the next century. Of course, the NGO's with their *Conference of Commitments Scoreboard* will be there watching and advocating, but the ultimate success of Beijing lies with citizens who must stay involved and committed. Let us remember Prime Minister Bhutto's quote, and find ways to hold the feet of those in power to the flame of justice for women's equality.

Beijing was an extraordinary event, but it was only a few days, which does not a century make. As Ms. Mongella said, "A journey of a thousand miles begins with one step." Beijing was a step. Now begins the march.

Fourth World Conference on Women

Interview with Babs Conant
and Marlene Gerber Fried

For most of us, the experience of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing can only be imagined, but *the Body Politic* is pleased to offer its readers a taste of the event by printing the following interviews of conference participants.

Babs Conant: A Banquet for All

Ms. Conant's Chinese Odyssey was courtesy of the Population Institute, a Washington, DC group that focuses on world population problems. She was fortunate to travel across China before the conference with representatives from international media who had been honored for their work by the Population Institute. In the December *Body Politic*, Ms. Conant will tell of her travels before the FWCW.

Q: You had the good fortune to attend the NGO Forum and the Main Conference deliberations. Give us your observations of each of those events.

A: The NGO Forum was chaotic, passionate, dedicated and messy. You must realize that Huairou was not being built on a rice field just in time for the conference. It is a tourist city of 250,000 people. I'm not sure what the Chinese actually built for the conference, but they used the framework of a living city.

My expectations were of a conference

site in a rural setting. I found instead a town whose people sacrificed greatly for the conference. They took voluntary cuts in electricity and water and watched their prices go up while welcoming 30,000 strangers. Secondly, I think the Chinese government could have done a better job with infrastructure, such as paving. The paths between the tent sites were paved with individual cement blocks which cracked and it got muddy. When rain came it exposed the last minuteness of their plan.

But, over all, the Chinese did a good job of trying to accommodate the immense number of events planned for the NGO Forum. The Conference Planning Book was the size of a telephone book listing 5,000 events. Each day you had hundreds of selections of work shops, performance and plenaries.

Q: Why do you think the Chinese refused to hold the NGO Forum in Beijing?

A: A lot of people feel Beijing might have held everyone, but it

became clear the Chinese needed to control things. It was easier to control them at a distance. They were worried about all those "hair-legged feminists".

They had such strange preconceptions about who was coming. Apparently they were warned that attendees were of dubious integrity--prostitutes, lesbians. What they got was 30,000 people from all over the world who just wanted to talk to each other and learn from each other. The first couple of days the Chinese tried to control some of the demonstrations which were only marches. By the time we arrived on the 3rd, they had relented. It is understood, that whenever you have an international

This was a free-ranging klatch of women from all over the world, each one of whom had a passionate agenda.

conference, on the conference site, UN laws apply. The Chinese did not satisfy that requirement very well.

Q: What struck you most about the Forum?

A: This was a free-ranging klatch of women from all over the world, each one of whom had a passionate agenda. It wasn't a single-issue conference like Cairo. People were there as individuals, with a scholarly and activist viewpoint.

It was a real international bazaar with music and food. There were concerts, planned and spontaneous, all the time, and performance art.

Q: It sounds like a Chinese Woodstock.

A: It had a Woodstock quality to it. I wrote that on one of my postcards. There were quite a few people attending who had been social progressives all their lives, and were definitely world activists. For me, it was the best of women's political energy, which wasn't very well-controlled. There were shouting matches.

For example, the first morning I was there, Catholics For a Free Choice had a plenary with Frances Kissling called *The Rise of Fundamentalism: Ways to Combat It*. All the presenters pleaded for understanding and hearing each other with tolerance. During the questioning, the first speaker started screeching accusations at the speakers, claiming that the faith of Moslem women had been left out. Ms. Kissling tried to explain no one was attacking private faith, just religious dogma as public policy. The next questioner was no better, hurling insults. The panel responded to these attacks with deep sadness that their points were still being lost.

This was not the only workshop where voices were raised. The language of diplomats was not always in use in Huairou. You knew that everyone there

cared about women's lives. They just cared about a different piece of it.

Q: How did the main conference differ?

A: I expected it would be mostly an endless picky debate about words, taking place behind closed doors with little chance to participate or influence the outcome. I thought it would be boring.

Little did I know what fascination there was in the process. Delegates wore tags with red on them and could be spotted a long way off. They are the ones who made the final decisions, but they could be lobbied, so you joined one of the probably 20 caucuses scheduled each day. Here the interest-oriented NGOs gathered and figured out where in the document their interest was being debated. You found out which delegates were on your side and decided who to lobby.

Q: This sounds like a massive logistics problem.

A: Every day, you had the Beijing newspaper, the *Earth Negotiations Bulletin*, and a single page telling which words and paragraphs were being discussed by which committees. I had no idea how compelling this would be. Yet, much of this work went on behind closed doors and was more controlled. Special people were chosen for special committees.

No one was chosen for anything at Huairou. You just went and did what you wanted to do. Each day you could feast and enjoy. Huairou was a smorgasbord open to anyone who was hungry. Beijing was a restaurant where you were served, but not everyone got to eat.

They were both fascinating, although the Beijing conference was more important because they produced the documents, the *Beijing Declaration* and the *Platform for Action*. However, in relation to life-changing, I suspect the Forum will bring

people closer together.

Q: After attending this gathering, do you believe we will see changes in the nature of women's lives in the 21st Century?

A: Yes, because I've been infected with an optimism again. I'd gotten real cynical about happenings in this country. The women in Beijing hold considerable power. There were 13 female heads of state. These women have been working in the system and know how to use power. I don't think after the conference you will just see NGOs as beggars knocking at the doors of power of a male political system. I'm hopeful. Right now in many countries, women are networking to advance their goals.

Q: The world's biggest coffee klatch. So, are you ready for the Fifth World Conference on Women?

A: There was a lot of discussion that this is the last one of its kind. It was almost ungainly in size. There might be conferences on pieces of women's lives, but we went from 300 NGOs in Mexico city to 3,500 in Beijing. Over and over again, I heard people say, "I wonder if this is the last?"

Q: Well, if you've got to go out, this sounds like the way to do it.

A: I wouldn't have traded it for anything.

Marlene Gerber Fried: Another Step Down the Road

Ms Fried, Associate Professor/Director of Civil Liberties and Public Policy Program at Hampshire College in Massachusetts, went to Beijing wearing three hats. One from the Committee on Women, Population and the Environment, which she helped found, another centered around her grassroots abortion organizing, and finally, her "paid job" at Hampshire which pairs her with young reproductive

rights activists.

Q: What was your function at the Conference?

A: I participated in a series of workshops called *Our Bodies, Ourselves* in a collaboration with the Boston Women's Collective which wrote the famous book of the same name. We were joined in this by the Women's Global Network for Reproductive Rights, and the International Reproductive Rights Action Group and Women's Health Philippines. There were four sessions; *The Double Challenge* which showed that women trying to control their own sexual and reproductive rights are squeezed between Fundamentalists on one side and Population Controllers on the other. The Boston Women's Health Collective did a session on people all over the world who are involved in translating *Our Bodies, Ourselves*. The third workshop was *Women's Concepts, Women's Lives*, a report from a study by Rosalind Petchesky investigating how cultures around the world articulate reproductive rights. *Political Environments and Strategies for Change* featured Billie Averey as keynote, joined by people around the world talking about the situation in their countries.

Q: That's a pretty full plate.

A: Well, I also spoke at an event organized by Oxfam which was linking reproductive rights to other world struggles and tried to go to events about abortion rights.

Q: Let me clarify for the reader - all of these workshops were at the NGO Forum.

A: Yes. I think there were almost 6,000 workshops there. None of my groups interacted with the official conference in Beijing. We weren't delegates and it was difficult to get information about what was going on there. Getting back and forth to Beijing was a little daunting.

Q: Now that you're home, what do you think about your experiences?

A: I was very glad to have gone, even though it wasn't what I would call a women's movement event. It was huge and very challenging to negotiate, so I would say some of the best things didn't happen officially. The kinds of connections being made about the types of battles women are engaged in was a basis of unity, but also, rather overwhelming.

It was stunning to make the connections between Islamic Fundamentalism and Operation Rescue. Clearly, Fundamentalism is a problem, in terms of women's rights, everywhere. People in the U.S. tend to separate these two forces, but at the NGO Forum, it was a seamless web. This was an eye-opener for people in other parts of the world and for us, as well. Even though there are enormous ethnic and cultural differences between women of the world, our problems aren't really different.

One of the panels featured a woman lawyer who had been counseling women who were in prison for having illegal abortions. For me, it was like looking backwards through the tunnel of our own experiences. These lawyers were trying to get abortion legal and were explaining their strategy. They didn't dare base any of their claims on such a concept as "women's autonomy", but were trying avenues such as economic justice. We from the U.S. were able to share our experiences of winning a right in a certain framework, then having it be vulnerable to attack.

It was stunning to make the connections between Islamic Fundamentalism and Operation Rescue. Clearly, Fundamentalism is a problem, in terms of women's rights, everywhere.

Q: Where you disappointed by anything?

A: I felt we made little progress in trying to move to strategy. There was much sharing and testimony, which is important, but I think people wanted to see the next step. How do we marshal power? How do we seize power?

Of course, it would have been difficult to figure that out in the meetings, although, there were some very pragmatic sessions, especially around the notion of using "human rights" to advance women's rights.

Q: Is it fair to say you see this conference as just another step down the road?

A: Yes. My other disappointment was the lack of a big demonstration at the official conference. There were many demonstrations at Huairou, something going on every minute. But neither the Chinese nor the NGO Forum organizers wanted this. I think there was a

feeling among many of us that the women were "put off to the side." The picture of women taking action, such as there was at the Denmark summit, is a tough one for the Chinese.

The mood in the town of Huairou was strange. We aren't sure what the townspeople had been told about us, but they weren't very friendly, at least until the end. We also think they were told to stay off the street. For the local population, this might have been a pain in the neck. Now, in Beijing, where we went for a few days after the NGO Forum, it was a very different feel--it wasn't as if you had come there and

taken over. Beijing is a very big, cosmopolitan city with enormously friendly people. Even if they couldn't speak English, they would come and talk to you.

If I have any complaints, I wouldn't really direct them at the Chinese, but at the organizers who didn't seem to have a lot of backbone. All that aside, the mud, the security, there was nothing dangerous or menacing there. The sense of personal safety is incredible, in sharp contrast to any major U.S. city. We came away wishing we knew much more about China and our major frustration was not really being able to connect with Chinese women because of the language barrier.

Q: All your contacts with Chinese women were formal?

A: Not completely. At one point we hitched a ride with a group of Chinese women delegates and had a great time. It was totally relaxed. We were singing and they were singing, taking each others pictures and giving gifts. They wanted us to teach them *Edelweiss* because *The Sound of Music* is their favorite movie. You just felt as if you only had a little more language you could have had a discussion.

One thing I believe, is the impact on the women's movement in China and Japan will be enormous. There were 5,000 Japanese women at this conference.

Q: What have you come away with for your own life?

A: I have more of a sense of how to make connections around our abortion rights work with women in other countries. My sense is that our experiences in America can be helpful to women of other nationalities. The spread of anti-abortion activism and Fundamentalism are not so different.

You know, part of the frustration that everyone felt was, whatever you did, you were missing a lot. You couldn't be in

seven places at once. What I did was try to go to as much as I could about reproductive rights and abortion. After a while, you found yourself with the same group of people which was interesting.

We had one great time going to an anti-abortion workshop hosted by Olivia Gans hosted by the National Right to Life Committee. It was filling up and I was looking around to see who was there and in comes Kate Michelman of NARAL. When she walked in, Olivia stopped what she was doing and said, "Oh Kate, I haven't seen you in two years. I must come and give you a hug." It was bizarre.

I bet it was three to one pro-choice supporters who were in attendance. Gans' whole pitch was frame around the connection between breast cancer and abortion and all she wanted was research. She got about five minutes into this when a doctor from Holland and two young women who seemed to be on their own, disrupted the session. Whatever Olivia said, one of them would start screaming "bullshit" and she got flummoxed. It went on like this for sometime. What can I say? It was a scene!

However, there were not a lot of antis there. I went to the anti-abortion table every day and all I ever saw was literature and one white man. Typical.

Q: You know, Marlene, most of what we heard about here was Hillary and mud.

A: It drove us crazy that everyone was making such a big deal about this. Once you got passed that, it wasn't a problem. The problem with the site was a much bigger question about the relationship between the NGOs and the official conference. People came from all over just to be a part of this and say, "we're in this together." That was the best part.

**Opening Keynote Address by Aung San Suu Kyi
Nobel Prize Laureate
(read on video) to the NGO Forum on Women
(Highlights)**

It is a wonderful but daunting task that has fallen on me to say a few words by way of opening this Forum, the greatest concourse of women (joined by a few brave men!) that has ever gathered on our planet. I want to try and voice some of the common hopes which firmly unite us in all our splendid diversity.

For millenia women have dedicated themselves almost exclusively to the task of nurturing, protecting and caring for the young and the old, striving for the conditions of peace that favour life as a whole. To this can be added the fact that, to the best of my knowledge, no war was ever started by women. But it is women and children who have always suffered most in situations of conflict. Now that we are gaining control of the primary historical role imposed on us of sustaining life in the context of the home and family, it is time to apply in the arena of the world the wisdom and experience thus gained in activities of peace over so many thousands or years. The education and empowerment of women throughout the world cannot fail to result in a more caring, tolerant, just and peaceful life for all.

If to these universal benefits of the growing emancipation of women can be added the "peace dividend" for human development offered by the end of the Cold War, spending less on the war toys of grown men and much more on the urgent needs of humanity as a whole, then truly the next millenia will be an age the like to which has never been seen in human history. But there still remain many obstacles to be overcome before we can achieve this goal. And not least among these obstacles are intolerance and insecurity.

This year is the International Year for Tolerance. The United Nations has recognised that "tolerance, human rights, democracy and peace are closely related. Without tolerance, the foundations

for democracy and respect for human rights cannot be strengthened, and the achievements of peace will remain elusive". My own experience during the years I have been engaged in the democracy movement in Burma has convinced me of the need to emphasize the positive aspects of tolerance. It is not enough simply to "live and let live": genuine tolerance requires an active effort to try to understand the point of view of others ; it implies broad-mindedness and vision, as well as confidence in one's own ability to meet new challenges without resorting to intransigence or violence. In societies where men are truly confident of their own worth women are not merely "tolerated", they are valued. Their opinions are listened to with respect, they are given their rightful place in shaping the society in which they live.

The last six years afforded me much time and food for thought. I came to the conclusion that the human race is not divided into two opposing camps of good and evil. It is made up of those who are capable of learning and those who are incapable of doing so.

There is an outmoded Burmese proverb still recited by men, who wish to deny that women too can play a part in bringing necessary change and progress to their society: "The dawn rises only when the rooster crows". But Burmese people today are well aware of the scientific reason behind the rising of dawn and the falling of dusk. And the intelligent rooster surely realizes that it is because dawn comes that it crows and not the other way

round. It crows to welcome the light that has come to relieve the darkness of night. It is not the prerogative of men alone to bring light to this world: women with their capacity for compassion and self-sacrifice, their courage and perseverance, have done much to dissipate the darkness of intolerance and hate, suffering and despair.

Often the other side of the coin of intolerance is insecurity. Insecure people tend to be intolerant, and their intolerance unleashes forces that threaten the security of others. And where there is no security there can be no lasting peace. In its Human Development Report for last year, the UNDP noted that human security "is not a concern with weapons - it is a concern with human life and dignity". The struggle for democracy and human rights in Burma is a struggle for life and dignity. It is a struggle that

encompasses our political, social and economic aspirations. The people of my country want the two freedoms that spell security: freedom from want and freedom from war. It is want that has driven so many of our young girls across our borders to a life of sexual slavery where they are subject to constant humiliation and ill-treatment. It is fear of persecution for their political beliefs that has made so many of our people feel that even in their own homes they cannot live in dignity and security.

The adversities that we have had to face together have taught all of us involved in the struggle to build a truly democratic political system in Burma that there are no gender barriers that cannot be overcome. The relationship between men and women should, and can be, characterized not by patronizing behavior or exploitation, but by metta (that is to say loving kindness), partnership and trust. We need mutual respect and understanding between men and women, instead of patriarchal domination and degradation, which are expressions of violence and engender counter-violence. We can learn from each other and help one another to moderate the "gender weaknesses" imposed on us by traditional or biological factors.

There is an age old prejudice the world over to the effect that women talk too much. But is this really a weakness? Could it not in fact be a strength? Recent scientific research on the human brain has revealed that women are better at verbal skills while men tend towards physical action. Psychological research has shown on the other hand that disinformation engendered by men has far more damaging effect on its victims than feminine gossip. Surely these discoveries indicate that women have a most valuable contribution to make in situations of conflict, by leading the way to solutions based on dialogue rather than on viciousness or violence?

The Buddhist paravana ceremony at the end of the rainy season retreat was instituted by the Lord Buddha, who did not want human beings to live in silence [I quote] "like dumb animals". This ceremony, during which monks ask mutual forgiveness for any offence given during the retreat, can be said to be a council of truth and reconciliation. It might also be considered a forerunner of that most democratic of institutions, the parliament, a meeting of peoples gathered together to talk over their shared problems. All the world's great religions are dedicated to the generation of happiness and harmony. This demonstrates the fact that together with the combative instincts of man there co-exists a

spiritual aspiration for mutual understanding and peace.

This forum of non-governmental organizations represents the belief in the ability of intelligent human beings to resolve conflicting interests through exchange and dialogue. It also represents the conviction that governments alone cannot resolve all the problems of their countries. The watchfulness and active cooperation of organizations outside the spheres of officialdom are necessary to ensure the four essential components of the human development, paradigm as identified by the UNDP: productivity, equity, sustainability and empowerment. The last is particularly relevant: it requires that "development must be by people, not only for them. People must participate fully in the decisions and processes that shape their lives." In other words people must be allowed to play a significant role in the governance of the country. And "people" include women who make up at least half of the world's population.

The last six years afforded me much time and food for thought. I came to the conclusion that the human race is not divided into two opposing camps of good and evil. It is made up of those who are capable of learning and those who are incapable of doing so.

As we strive to teach others we must have the humility to acknowledge that we too still have much to learn. And we must have the flexibility to adapt to the changing needs of the world around us. Women who have been taught that modesty and pliancy are among the prized virtues of our gender are marvelously equipped for the learning process. But they must be given the opportunity to turn these often merely passive virtues into positive assets for the society in which they live.

These, then, are our common hopes that unite us -- that as the shackles of prejudice and intolerance fall from our own limbs we can together strive to identify and remove the impediments to human development everywhere. The mechanisms by which this great task is to be achieved provided the proper focus of this great Forum. I feel sure that women throughout the world who, like me, cannot be with you join me now in sending you all our prayers and good wishes for a joyful and productive meeting.

I thank you.

If you have Web access, you can visit the Aung San Suu Kyi home page at URL:

<http://ds1.gl.umbc.edu/~pwin1/suuky.html>

Beijing Declaration

Text as printed in the China Daily on September 16, 1995.

1. We the Governments, participating in the *Fourth World Conference on Women*,

2. Gathered here in Beijing, in September 1995, the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations,

3. Determined to advance the goals of equality, development and peace for all women everywhere in the interest of all humanity,

4. Acknowledging the voices of all women everywhere and taking note of the diversity of women and their roles and circumstances, honouring the women who paved the way and inspired by the hope present in the world's youth,

5. Recognize that the status of women has advanced in some important respects in the past decade but that progress has been uneven, inequalities between women and men have persisted and major obstacles remain, with serious consequences for the well-being of all people,

6. Also recognize that this situation is exacerbated by the increasing poverty that is affecting the lives of the majority of the world's people, in particular women and children, with origins in both the national and international domains,

7. Dedicate ourselves unreservedly to

addressing these constraints and obstacles and thus enhancing further the advancement and the empowerment of women all over the world, and agree that this requires urgent action in the spirit of determination, hope, co-operation and solidarity, now and to carry us forward into the next century.

We reaffirm our commitment to:

8. The equal rights and inherent human dignity of women and men and other purposes and principles enshrined in the *Charter of the United Nations*, to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and other international human rights instruments, in particular the *Convention of the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women* and the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* as well as the *Declaration on Elimination of Violence against Women* and the *Declaration on the Right to Development*;

9. Ensure the full implementation of the human rights of women and of the girl child as an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of all human rights and fundamental freedoms,

10. Build on consensus and progress made at previous United Nations conferences and summits — on women in Nairobi in 1985, on children in New York in 1990, on environment and development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, on human rights in Vienna in 1993, on population and development in Cairo in 1994 and on social development in Copenhagen in 1995 with the objectives of achieving equality, development and peace;

Women's rights are human rights.

11. Achieve the full and effective implementation of the *Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women*;

12. The empowerment and advancement of women, including the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief, thus contributing to the moral, ethical, spiritual and intellectual needs of women and men, individually or in community with others and thereby guaranteeing them the possibility of realizing their full potential in society and shaping their lives in accordance with their own aspirations.

We are convinced that:

13. Women's empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace;

14. Women's rights are human rights;

15. Equal rights, opportunities and access to resources, equal sharing of responsibilities for the family by men and women and a harmonious partnership between them are critical to their well-being and that of their families as well as to the consolidation of democracy;

16. Eradication of poverty based on sustained economic growth, social development, environmental protection and social justice requires the involvement of

women in economic and social development and equal opportunities and the full and equal participation of women and men as agents and beneficiaries of people-centred sustainable development;

17. The explicit recognition and reaffirmation of the right of all women to control all aspects of their health, in particular their own fertility, is basic to their empowerment;

18. Local, national, regional and global peace is attainable and is inextricably linked with the advancement of women, who are a fundamental force for leadership, conflict resolution and the promotion of lasting peace at all levels;

19. It is essential to design, implement and monitor, with the full participation of women, effective, efficient and mutually reinforcing gender-sensitive policies and

programmes, including development policies and programmes, at all levels that will foster the empowerment and advancement of women;

20. The participation and contribution of all actors of civil society, particularly women's groups and networks and other non-governmental organizations and community-based organizations, with full respect for their autonomy, in co-operation with Governments, are important to the effective implementation and follow-up of the *Platform for Action*.

21. The implementation of the *Platform for*

The explicit recognition and reaffirmation of the right of all women to control all aspects of their health, in particular their own fertility, is basic to their empowerment.

Action requires commitment from Governments and the international community. By making national and international commitments for action, including those made at the Conference, Governments and the international community recognize the need to take priority action for the empowerment and advancement of women.

We are determined to:

22. Intensify efforts and actions to achieve the goals of the *Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women* by the end of this century;

23. Ensure the full enjoyment by women and the girl child of all human rights and fundamental freedoms, and take effective action against violations of these rights and freedoms;

24. Take all necessary measures to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and the girl child and remove all obstacles to gender equality and the advancement and empowerment of women;

25. Encourage men to participate fully in all actions toward equality;

26. Promote women's economic independence, including empowerment, and eradicate the persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women by addressing the structural causes of poverty through changes in economic structures, ensuring equal access for all women, including those in rural areas,

as vital development agents, to productive resources, opportunities and public services;

27. Promote people-centered sustainable development, including sustained economic growth through the provision of basic education, life-long education, literacy and training, and primary health care for girls and women;

28. Take positive steps to ensure peace for the advancement of women and recognizing the leading role that women have played in the peace movement, work actively towards general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, and

support negotiations on the conclusion, without delay, of a universal and multilaterally and effectively verifiable comprehensive nuclear-test ban treaty which contributes to nuclear disarmament and the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons in all aspects;

We are deeply convinced that economic development, social development and environmental protection are interdependent and mutually reinforcing components of sustainable development...

29. Prevent and eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls;

30. Ensure equal access to and equal treatment of women and men in education and health care and enhance women's sexual and reproductive health as well as education;

31. Promote and protect all human rights of women and girls;

32. Intensify efforts to ensure equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all women and girls who face multiple barriers to their

empowerment and advancement because of such factor as their race, age, language, ethnicity, culture, religion, or disability, or because they are indigenous people;

33. Ensure respect for international law, including humanitarian law, in order to protect women and girls in particular;

34. Develop the fullest potential of girls and women of all ages; ensure their full and equal participation in building a better world for all and enhance their role in the development process.

We are determined to;

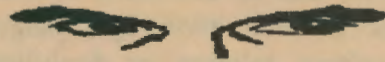
35. Ensure women's equal access to economic resources including land, credit, science and technology, vocational training, information, communication and markets, as a means to further the advancement and empowerment of women and girls, including through the enhancement of their capacities to enjoy the benefits of equal access to these resources, *inter alia*, by means of international co-operation;

36. Ensure the success of the *Platform for Action* which will require a strong commitment on the part of Governments, international organizations and institutions at all levels. We are deeply convinced that economic development, social development and environmental protection are interdependent and mutually reinforcing components of sustainable development, which is the frame work for our efforts to achieve a higher quality of life for all people. Equitable social development that recognizes empowering the poor, particularly women living in poverty, to utilize environmental resource sustainably is a necessary foundation for sustainable

development. We also recognize that broad-based and sustained economic growth in the context of sustainable development is necessary to sustain social development and social justice. The success of the *Platform for Action* will also require adequate mobilization of resources at the national and international level as well as new and additional resources to the developing countries from all available funding mechanisms, including multilateral, bilateral and private sources for the advancement of women; financial resources to strengthen the capacity of national, subregional, regional and international institutions, a commitment to equal rights, equal responsibilities and equal opportunities and to the equal participation of women and men in all national, regional and international bodies and policy-making processes; the establishment or strengthening of mechanisms at all levels for accountability to the world's women;

37. Ensure also the success of the *Platform for Action* in countries with economies in transition, which will require continued international co-operation and assistance;

38. We hereby adopt and commit ourselves as Governments to implement the following *Platform for Action*, ensuring that a gender perspective is reflected in all our policies and programmes. We urge the United Nations system, regional and international financial institutions, other relevant regional and international institutions and all women and men, as well as non-governmental organizations, with full respect for their autonomy, and all sectors of civil society, in co-operation with Governments, to fully commit themselves and contribute to the implementation of this *Platform for Action*.



As Babs Conant and Marlene Gerber Fried mentioned in their interviews on page 5, the forces of patriarchy and conservatism were well represented at the FWCW.

IRLF

Jean Head, representative of the International Right to Life Federation, in a speech to the Main Conference on September 7, decried the "overemphasis on reproductive health in this and other U.N. documents." Ms. Head claimed that abortion is never safe, even if legalized, citing the conviction of a doctor in New York City for second degree murder during a legal abortion. Using World Health Organization statistics, Ms. Head said the decline in maternal mortality in the developed world was due to improved obstetrics and the general health of women, not with access to legal abortion.

She quoted statistics claiming that Ireland, where abortion is illegal, has one of the lowest maternal mortality rates in the world. According to Ms. Head, in the U.S., the maternal mortality rate is four times that of Ireland, leading her to conclude that keeping abortion illegal will reduce maternal mortality. Ms. Head makes no allowances for the huge and varied population of the United States as opposed to Ireland. She also does not take into account the number of Irish women who travel to Britain for legal abortions.

Ms. Head concluded by urging the "many delegates who share our beliefs to stand firm against the cultural imperialistic tactics of the Western World."

MOTHER TERESA

A delegate from Guatemala distributed a message from Mother Teresa to the FWCW. Calling on delegates to "know, love and respect the special place of women in God's plan", Mother Teresa also warned, "the greatest destroyer of peace in the world today is abortion," adding, "those who want to make women and men the same are all in favor of abortion."

OIC

The statement from Dr. Hamid Algabid, Secretary General of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, suggested that Islamic women have a long way to go before they can be considered equal partners with men in many aspects of life. Relying on revealed religious doctrine as the basis for society, Dr. Algabid stated the OIC declares "the family is the first unit of the society's structure and that securing all elements of stability for the family, is an indispensable guarantee for the safety of the society as a whole..."

With this premise, Dr. Algabid is unable to view women as anything but mother, wife, or daughter — part of a family. From his reading of Islamic law, including the directive the man is required to support the family, it follows women may never attain equal inheritance rights because they do not have the same financial burdens placed on them as Islamic men.

Patriarchy and Fundamentalism wear different clothing, but always the same face.

REALITY BITES

This is a message we had hoped not to write, but we can't put it off any longer. After **December 31, 1995** the price of a subscription to *the Body Politic* magazine will rise from **\$18.00 to \$22.00** per year. The newsstand price will rise from **\$3.00 to \$3.50**.

Our price has not changed since 1992, but circumstances during the past 16 months have forced us to announce this increase. There have been **four increases** in the cost of newsprint. This, coupled with the **ten percent** rise in postage, have made it inevitable we must take in more revenue if we are to continue to publish.

Why does *the Body Politic* cost so much? Partly because we do not accept advertising. We made a decision some time ago to maintain our independence and trust to our readers and foundations to keep this magazine in production. We are not ready to retreat from that position. Consequently, we must increase our price.

To keep this from being too much of a hardship on subscribers, we are announcing this increase three months in advance and offering anyone who wants to renew for next year to do so at this year's price as long as your check or money order is received by **December 31st**. We are also offering our **special gift price of \$16.00** until the end of December. The holidays are coming. Please consider giving a gift of *the Body Politic* to a friend, library, or Congressman.

We hope you understand and will stay with us as we head into 1996. As the media comes under the control of fewer and fewer people, democracy is more in need of alternative voices from the Alternative Media. *The Body Politic* looks forward to your continued support.

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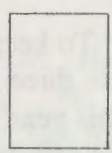
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Thank YOU!

WEDO CAN DO

The feminist community owes George Bush a big thank you. If it had not been for his disparaging and totally uncalled for remarks about the Chinese having to "put up" with Bella Abzug running around their country at the Women's Conference, the American public might never have known she was there.

Ms. Abzug, co-founder of the Women's Environment & Development Organization and long-time feminist activist, was indeed in Beijing, but invisible to most of the American public until Mr. Bush felt compelled to attack her. She was there to promote WEDO's goals of getting women an "equal say in decision-making on environment, development, population, reproductive rights technology, political participation and other issues affecting their lives, their families and the future of the planet." WEDO is also dedicated to the premise that healthy communities make a healthy planet.

To further their mission, WEDO has a global information and advocacy network of more than 18,000, predominantly women, who work with this international non-profit organization. WEDO's mission to increase women's visibility, roles and leadership in public policy-making is carried out through its advocacy campaigns. They have a powerful Internet presence used to great advantage during the Beijing conference by making available Caucus documents, statements, and speeches.

During the conference, those fortunate to have Internet access were able to read articles and speeches by Ms. Abzug. (Her plenary speech Sept. 12 is reprinted in full on the following page). Ms. Abzug also penned a few articles for *Earth Times* in

which she defended attacks on the conference from Conservative elements in America and around the world. In response to critics claiming that the Fourth World Conference on Women is solely the product of radical Western feminists, Ms. Abzug said this "is an insult to non-Western governments and women and simply a distortion of the facts." The implication that non-Western Women are "sheep" being lead by their Western sisters-shepherds is false.

"The Beijing Platform for Action is a consensus document agreed to by nations of the world, including even the Vatican. ... Five regional preparatory conferences all produced documents that reflected the conditions of women and incorporated proposal to eliminate discrimination and violence against women..."

As the NGO Forum was wrapping up and the Main Conference about to begin, Ms. Abzug praised the thousands of "hardy women and men" for their success in spite of many obstacles, including weather. In reference to the much debated Platform for Action, Ms. Abzug said, "Women own this document", and cautioned, "Wise governments will not ignore the voices of the thousands of women gathered here to witness their deliberations."

Now that FWCW is over, what does the future hold for WEDO and Ms. Abzug? Why, another conference, Habitat II in Istanbul June 1996, this one to tackle "how and where we live on this planet and how we share it with all peoples and species." Ms. Abzug has never thought small.

Perhaps Mr. Bush will avoid Istanbul next June thereby preventing embarrassing himself (and America) in front of another group of fertilizer salesmen and the world.

Bella Abzug Co-Chair, Women's Environment & Development Organisation (WEDO)

Plenary Speech

Beijing, September 12, 1995

What will we accomplish at the week's end when the Platform for Action is adopted by the world's women and its 187 governments?

We are building a consensus to face life's realities. The affirmation of women's sexual rights is an important and bold step forward.

We are creating a better environment, attributing the cause of environmental degradation to unsustainable over-consumption and production and military conflict.

We are affirming human rights for all women and girls, acknowledging the full range of diversity that exists and detailing actions to prevent violence.

We are generating better opportunities for women who are living at the margins of life, women who are the majority of the world's poor, hungry and illiterate. Women who would transform the lives of themselves and their families with just a 5% slice of the military pie -- that would be a banquet for the world's 1.3 billion poor.

We are strengthening all families by supporting their economic and social needs. We are fashioning new ways to involve women at all stages of negotiation and decision-making. From kitchen tables to peace tables women propose to turn the tables on the status quo.

We are challenging all corporations to play by the rules and all governments to ensure that the rules are fair. We are moving a political, social and economic agenda for equality and democracy. Democracy within homes, markets and the state.

From Beijing, the world will never be the same.

Beijing has given birth to a global movement for democracy that as Gertrude Mongella said in her opening statement in the Great Hall of the People, is a "revolution." -- New partnerships between men and women based on real equality.

Imperfect though it may be, the Beijing Platform for Action is the strongest statement of consensus on women's equality, empowerment and justice ever produced by governments. The Beijing Platform is a consolidation of the previous UN conference agreements in the unique context of seeing it through women's eyes.

It is an agenda for change, fuelled by the momentum of civil society, based on a transformational vision of a better world for all.

We are bringing women into politics to change the nature of politics, to change the vision, to change the institutions. Women are not wedded to the policies of the past. We didn't craft them. They didn't let us.

As women, we know that we must always find ways to change the process because the present institutions want to hold on to power and keep the status quo. Just five short years ago, we developed the Women's Caucus

methodology to influence the global agenda at the UN for the Earth Summit. WEDO and countless other NGOs have carried this work forward, linking the gains made at each conference, trying to prevent collective amnesia by governments.

Now as we leave Beijing, women will not stop. It's like jet propulsion. The fact that so many women made such an effort to participate in this historic conference is a testament to the seriousness of the agenda. Now, women around the world own this agenda. Women will ensure that others know about the provisions agreed to and the commitments made and millions will press their governments to follow through.

One year after the Cairo conference, the Earth Summit Watch (initiated by the National Resources Defence Council, WEDO and other NGOs)

In the face of so much pain, I remain an incurable optimist. I am fuelled by the passion of the women I have been privileged to meet and work with, buoyed by their hope for peace, justice and democracy.

presented Nafiz Sadik, the head of UNFPA with a one year progress report on how governments are doing in their implementation of the ICPD Programme of Action. The results of the first global survey revealed that only one-third of governments bothered to reply. But 46 of the 54 countries that did respond to the survey said that they have initiated policies and programs to implement ICPD. Some such as Japan, South Africa, Thailand, Pakistan and the UK said they increased funding for reproductive health and social services. But serious efforts to implement the Cairo principles are sadly lacking in most countries despite ever-vigilant and diligent women's groups and NGOs.

I raise the issue of implementation today to remind each of us of the importance of the commitments governments made here. Sadly, only one-third actually picked up the challenge and announced actions. Governments watered down the language to make it harder for people to track the commitments, but NGOs in the Linkage Caucus were not side-tracked. We know that some 60 countries made commitments covering different critical areas of concern. A majority of commitments dealt with balancing work and family responsibilities, health and education. Many proposed new mechanisms and targets, goals or positive action to increase women in political office. Only a couple proposed actions to respond to armed conflict, a half dozen were to combat violence. Once pledged, governments must direct sufficient resources to these initiatives. Japan announced more resources for women in development. The US announced a six year \$1.6 billion antiviolence program. India pledged to spend 6% of its GDP on education, up from 2.5% of GDP currently.

These examples harken a new era of action. In March, the Linkage Caucus proposed that we focus on achieving gender justice. Five steps were called for: implementation, integration, accountability, enforcement and resources.

We look forward to the day when each country will assemble its national action plan and develop the political will to implement the full Platform for action before 1996. You can be sure that when this conference ends, we will still be looking at our governments -- closely, critically, urgently and hopefully -- to ensure that you hold to and make real the commitments entered into here. Each of us returns home to our countries and communities with concrete steps to take, with a road map for accountability and a comprehensive agenda

for progress.

Some wonder how I have kept going for so long and how I manage to remain optimistic. When governments were removing the brackets from the document over the last two weeks, the French tested another nuclear weapon in the Pacific, NATO was bombing Bosnia and the Serbs were shelling Sarajevo. Refugee camps overflowed in too many places around this globe. Conditions for women on factory floors did not change. Women died in childbirth and in their homes Hunger gnawed at the bellies of millions. The world went on, in its downward spiral we all know all too well.

In the face of so much pain, I remain an incurable optimist. I am fuelled by the passion of the women I have been privileged to meet and work with, buoyed by their hope for peace, justice and democracy. I am strengthened by each of them. And to each government delegate who pushed the boundaries of progress I thank you. I thank the United Nations and my sisters in the NGO community for your good humour and hard work. I wish each of you well and sustainable optimism for the days ahead. Never underestimate the importance of what we are doing here. Never hesitate to tell the truth. And never, ever give in or give up.

**WEDO is located at:
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(212) 759-7982**

For those of you with Internet access, WEDO's e-mail address is:

**wedo@igc.apc.org or
gopher://gopher.igc.apc.org:70/11/orga/wedo**



**FIRST LADY
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN
(HIGHLIGHTS)**

BEIJING, CHINA SEPTEMBER 5, 1995

Mrs. Mongella, distinguished delegates and guests:

I would like to thank the Secretary General of the United Nations for inviting me to be part of the 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 their communities, 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 be, 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 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 Huairou...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.

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 women, every man, every child, every family, and every nation on our planet has a stake in the discussion that takes place here.

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.

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

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

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 Huairou 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.

- 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, it is that human rights are women's rights And women's rights are human rights.

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

In my country, we recently celebrated the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage. It took 150 years after the signing of our Declaration of Independence for women to win the right to vote. It took 72 years of organized struggle on the part of many courageous women and men.

It was one of America's most divisive philosophical wars. But it was also a bloodless war. Suffrage was achieved without a shot fired.

Now it is time to act on behalf of women everywhere.

If we take bold steps to better the lives of women, we will be taking bold steps to better the lives of children and families too. Families rely on mothers and wives for emotional support and care; families rely on women for labor in the home; and increasingly, families rely on women for income needed to raise healthy children and care for their relatives.

As long as discrimination and inequities remain so commonplace around the world -- as long as girls and women are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, not schooled and subjected to violence in and out of their homes -- the potential of the human family to create a peaceful, prosperous world will not be realized.

Let this conference be our -- and the world's -- call to action.

And let us heed the call so that we can create a world in which every woman is treated with respect and dignity, every boy and girl is loved and cared for equally, and every family has the hope of a strong and stable future.

Thank you very much.

God's blessings on you, your work and all who will benefit from it.

REMARKS OF .
AMBASSADOR MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT
U.S. PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE
UNITED NATIONS
September 6, 1995
(Highlights)

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 thousands who have helped to organize the conference, to draft the Platform for Action, to inform the world about the subjects under discussion here and to encourage wide participation both by governments and NGO's.

We have come here from all over the world to carry forward an age-old struggle: 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 stress that women's rights are neither separable nor different from those of men.

We are here to stop sexual crimes and other violence against women; to protect refugees, so many of whom are women; and to end the despicable notion--in this era of conflicts--that rape is just another tactic of war.

We are here to empower women by enlarging their role in making economic and political decisions, an idea some find radical, but which my government believes is essential to economic and social progress around the world; because no country can develop if half its human resources are de-valued or repressed.

We are here because we want to strengthen families, the heart and soul of any society. We believe that girls must be valued to the same degree as boys. We believe, with Pope John Paul II, in the "equality of spouses with respect to family rights". We think women and men should be able to make informed judgments as they plan their families. And we want to see forces that weaken families--including pornography, domestic violence and the sexual exploitation of children--condemned and curtailed.

Finally, we have come to this conference to assure for women equal access to education and

health care, to help women protect against infection by HIV, to recognize the special needs and strengths of women with disabilities, and to attack the root causes of poverty, in which so many women, children and men are entrapped.

We have come to Beijing to make further progress towards each of these goals. But real progress will depend not on what we say here, but on what we do after we leave here. The Fourth World Conference for Women is not about conversations; it is about commitments.

The United States is a leader, but leaders cannot stand still. Barriers to the equal participation of women persist in my country. The Clinton Administration is determined to bring those barriers down.

Today, in the spirit of this conference, and in the knowledge that concrete steps to advance the status of women are required in every nation, 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. That Council will build on the commitments made today and will work every

day with the nongovernmental community.

Second, in accordance with recently-approved law, the Department of Justice will launch 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 and to train police, prosecutors and judicial personnel.

Third, our Department of Health and Human Services will lead a comprehensive assault on threats to the health and security of women--promoting healthy behavior, increasing awareness about AIDS, discouraging the use of cigarettes, and striving to win the battle against breast cancer. And, as Mrs. Clinton made clear yesterday, the United States remains firmly committed to the reproductive health rights gains made in Cairo.

Fourth, our Department of Labor will conduct a grassroots campaign to improve conditions for women in the workplace. The campaign will work with employers to develop more equitable pay

**The Fourth World Conference for
Women is not about conversations;
it is about commitments.**

and promotion policies and to help employees balance the twin responsibilities of family and work.

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 to lead 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 to promote the enforcement of women's legal rights.

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 the human rights of all people.

No woman -- whether in Birmingham, Bombay, Beirut or Beijing--should be forcibly sterilized or 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 one should be forced to remain silent for fear of religious or political persecution, arrest, abuse or torture.

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

Let us be clear. Freedom to participate in the political process of our countries is the inalienable right of every woman and man. Deny that right, and you deny everything.

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

In preparing for this conference, I came across an old Chinese poem that is worth recalling, especially today, as we observe the Day of the Girl-Child. In the poem, a father says to his 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?**

Fellow delegates, let us make sure that question never needs to be asked again--in China or anywhere else around the world.

Let us strive for the day when every young girl, in every village and metropolis, can look ahead with confidence that their lives will be valued, their individuality recognized, their rights protected and their futures determined by their own abilities and character

Let us reject outright the forces of repression and ignorance that have held us back; and act with the strength and optimism unity can provide.

Let us honor the legacy of the heroines, famous and unknown, who struggled in years past to build the platform upon which we now stand.

And let us heed the instruction of our own lives. Look around this hall, and you will see women who have reached positions of power and authority. Go to Huairou, and you will see an explosion of energy and intelligence devoted to every phase of this 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 access to the levers of power.

This past week, on video at the NGO Forum, Aung San Suu Kyi, said that "it is time to apply in the arena of the world the wisdom and experience" women have gained.

Let us all agree; it is time. It is time to turn bold talk into concrete action.

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

Thank you very much.

**It is time to unleash the full
capacity for production,
accomplishment and the enrichment
of life that is inherent in
us--the women of the world.**

THE WAY WE WERE



Connie Cook: Tiny Giant

Last month we began a new feature of this magazine, the Way We Were, a column that seeks to interview those who have been instrumental over the last 30 years in furthering reproductive rights and health care. We chose to reprint a 1991 interview with Constance Cook, former New York State legislator, who played a major role in legalizing abortion in New York in 1970.

Ms. Cook had been explaining to the Body Politic how she organized the lobbying of New York State legislators and guided the pro-choice forces through the legislative process.

Q: What was your side doing?

A: We were applying heavy grassroots pressure, which is the best. A lot of women who had never taken political action before were involved.

Planned Parenthood also gave us some good people and assistance, but at that time, they were very reticent about political involvement. They never gave us their lists. Faye Wattleton wasn't President then.

Q: What kept you going?

A: It's very easy to drop legislation when you've got this kind of opposition, but people like Rev. Moody (who formed the

Clergy Counseling Service) kept me going. I was called to a meeting by our local Baptist minister who said he wanted me to talk about the abortion bill with some of his friends.

It turns out that this was a group in upstate who were involved in the Clergy Consultation Service. I'd been using them, because as soon as women heard my name associated with the abortion bill, I would get calls saying, "I need an abortion. Where can I go?" I would only refer them to the Clergy Consultation Service.

The meeting was held here and two of my staff people attended. There were ministers, female deacons, and even a few priests. They had

come to encourage me to push on and not give up.

Q: What about local religious support?

A: I'm Episcopal and my own bishop said, "I think you are absolutely on the right track. Keep with it." Things like that were helpful because this was getting very hard on me and on my children. One woman actually asked my five year old son why his mother was in favor of killing little babies.

Q: You know, nothing's changed today.

A: I know, except maybe it's worse. Then, I was just shocked at things like that. People at that time behaved with some civility. The Knights of Columbus came and talked to me about abortion, but it was

Illegal abortion was an
incredibly cruel and unjust law.
Getting rid of it was the only
way to go.

a simple exchange of ideas. Not like what happens today.

Q: Connie, the vote was taken and you lost, but the bill came up again April 9th. What happened?

A: I had a couple of legislators who said they would give me a yes if I really needed it. This time around everyone came through, including George Michaels.

When he cast the tie vote, he gave a very dramatic brief speech of his reasons for doing so, including his prediction that this would cost him the election - which it did.

Q: How did you feel?

A: Knowing George as well as I did, I realized it wouldn't be a devastating blow because he was a very successful lawyer who had alternatives in life, plus a strong family. I knew he'd be all right. But there was one thing that made me angry. About half way through the vote, the Speaker's public relations man who gives out press releases, handed out a release on the defeat of the bill. I knew that he was personally opposed.

While he was sending out this nonsense, Michaels changed his vote to yes which made it a tie. At that point, the Speaker, rather red-faced, also voted yes, banged his gavel and dismissed the Assembly immediately. All the while, the Republicans were getting these incorrect press releases. That infuriated me.

Q: Did this vote cause Speaker Duryea any problems?

A: Well, he would have preferred not to have cast the vote, but it was tied, and he had to break the tie. He never suffered any political repercussion because his constituents were basically pro-choice.

Q: What about you? Did you suffer any consequences?

A: Oh sure. It was so obvious in my Congressional race. I was pegged as

someone who would get the job done and persevere - something rather rare in politics. I was convinced about the effect of computer panels on women and the business community knew it, so I got no support from them. They knew I had the ability to drive something through.

I could still be in the Assembly today, if I wanted. I'm a good enough politician to establish a base and keep it.

Q: Connie, in 1972, the New York legislature repealed legal abortion.

A: Right. But that was nothing, because the Governor said he would veto the overturn. This was just political maneuvering, allowing legislators to vote on both sides of the issue so they could please both sides. I can't even remember being concerned about the vote.

Q: What was your reaction when Roe was decided in 1973?

A: I was very pleased because the Supreme Court followed our reasoning. We had gotten the New York State Health Commissioner to adopt appropriate regulations. He came to my office the next day after the vote and we worked out the details. I thought the Health Department worked very fast.

The Commissioner decided that the first three months there should be no interference, the second three there should be good medical justification. *Roe* followed our precepts and that really pleased me.

Politics is the art of the possible. You compromise to get what you want, while not giving up your principles. Otherwise, nothing gets done.

Q: What happened over the last 20 years?

A: There has just been too little emphasis on the position that abortion plays in the whole movement to elevate the status of women to that of almost equality. The recognition that abortion gives women a certain control over

their own lives that they didn't have before, has created a reaction.

I try to put myself in the place of a man, and think, by George, if I had to wash my own socks, when I didn't before, and cook my own meals when I didn't before, and on top of that face competition from some smart woman, I might be reluctant to support this. Of course, the economic system is bad now, too. Many men can't get jobs. Basically, they want women to be kept down - second class.

Q: Why did the Republican Party take this anti-abortion position?

A: Certainly all Republicans don't support this. Our own New York State Republican party changed their plank. Bush did a flip-flop for purely political reasons.

Q: How did this become part of the Conservative agenda?

A: Conservative, for one thing, usually means status quo. It's basically a change in the position of women that they're against.

They want women to be kept down, just like some of the churches. The most pro-choice churches are the reformed ones.

I think that the churches will loose on this one. I see this especially among my Catholic friends. I honestly hardly know a Catholic my age or younger, who is not pro-choice. I tell these women - get involved! Women are so indoctrinated to not think of themselves first.

Q: How do you get women to start thinking of themselves first.

A: Education. If they don't want to work for less money, if they don't want to have two full-time jobs, if they want day care, they have to go for it.

Q: What should we be doing to keep abortion legal?

A: Educate women. Persuade them that they have a stake in the political system. The reason they have poor jobs is because they are the peasants of this country. Look at what the unions did. Maybe unionization is what women need.

Q: Do you have any regrets?

A: No way. Illegal abortion was an incredibly cruel and unjust law. Getting rid of it was the only way to go. If *Roe* is vastly modified, maybe more women will get involved again. But it will take years.

Q: Why was abortion legalized in a relatively brief time?

A: I believe that the minute women saw there was some hope, they did get politically active. The women who helped me get the bill passed in 1970 worked very hard and even stayed around to work against the override in '72. The day that *Roe* came down, I went to their office a few hours later to celebrate, and there was a sign on the door, CLOSED - WE WON.

Women were working on other issues, such as the ERA. There were so many crazy laws out there designed to keep women out of responsible jobs. They thought abortion was safe.

Q: Would you like to run again?

A: No. It costs too much money and I think being in the state legislature today is about as futile an approach as you can take for social change.

We've lost party leadership, which used to stand for principle. I guess I'm a bit cynical about politics after all these years.

Conservative...usually means status quo. It's basically a change in the position of women that they're against.

Shannon Sentenced: 20 Years

The Grants Pass, Oregon housewife convicted of attempted murder in the attack on Kansas doctor George Tiller, will be a grandmother, maybe great-grandmother, before she gets out of prison thanks to her guilty plea to attacks on abortion clinics.

On September 8, Rachelle "Shelley" Shannon was sentenced in Oregon to 20 years to run consecutively with her 11 year term for attempted murder. The sentence for two counts of the use of fire to commit a felony, five counts of arson, two counts of interstate travel to commit crimes of violence, and one count of interfering with interstate commerce by force and violence (Hobbs Act), resulted from an eight month spree of firebombing and butyric acid attacks from Oregon to Nevada to California in 1992.

The Sentencing Memorandum filed by U.S. Attorney Kristin Olson is a mind-boggling chronicle of a woman's descent from sanity into mayhem. Ms. Shannon's diaries and letters (excerpts of which will appear in the December *Body Politic*), plus verbal confessions, sealed her fate.

Prosecutors chronicled a seven year period from 1988 to 1995 beginning with her participation in clinic blockades and ending with her praise and support of convicted murdered Paul Hill, to whom she wrote,

"Whatever you do, don't talk about how I influenced you to do what you did, especially any conversations beforehand, most especially the particulars (gun, etc.), unless of course you use our code words."

In the beginning, Ms. Shannon did not espouse violence, but her association

with various elements of rescue, including correspondence with convicted bombers Marjorie Reed and John Brockhoeft, convinced her that violence was the way to go. In April 1992, Ms. Shannon carried out her first attack in Ashland, Oregon. Prosecutors characterize defendants next few years as a "veritable **jihad** against abortion providers" which also endangered the lives of others unconnected with her targets.

"Defendant did not engage in isolated acts of violence but instead conducted a 'campaign of terror' which greatly aggravated the nature of her activities and expanded their scope."

Even after her imprisonment in 1993, Ms. Shannon continued to advocate and teach violence through her public writing, such as those in the *Prayer and Action Weekly*, and in her private correspondence, especially to Paul Hill who had attended Ms. Shannon's murder trial in Wichita. In one of her last letters, Ms. Shannon, who considered herself a member of the Army of God with the code name "Shaggy West", summed up the year 1994 with this quote,

"Well, for the ARMY OF GOD, 1994 was a pretty good year. Paul Hill performed a termination procedure on an abortionist and his accomplice... In Canada an abortionist was shot, and the culprit(s) are still free, as far as I know... The year ended with a bang thanks to John Salvi III..."

Before sentencing, Ms. Shannon said she hoped she got a very long sentence because "more good would come of it." After reviewing the Sentencing Memorandum, the court was happy to grant her wish.

Randall Terry Opens Institute for Patriarchy

Claiming that the nation is aching for MALE leadership, Randall Terry, the Voice of Intolerance, has opened a Leadership Training Institute at Outlook Farms in Windsor, New York, twenty miles from Binghamton where he began Operation Rescue less than a decade ago.

Unable to close the nations' abortion clinics or make abortion illegal, Mr. Terry is now planning to implement his anti-abortion and anti-democratic agenda by training men to take over positions of power at all levels of civil life. Claiming that "God instituted Patriarchy", Mr. Terry makes no apology for his gender "insensitive" stance in his plan to reclaim our country which was "started by Christian Men."

Warning of a possible a war, Mr. Terry joins the voices of the disaffected and unstable who blame the federal government for most of the evil on the earth. No one, not even Republicans, the darlings of some of his religious right brethren, is safe from criticism. Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich come in for scorn because they are occasionally willing to make a few compromises for our pluralistic nation.

Mr. Terry, in no mood to compromise, is preaching revolution. Thanks to undercover work from Planned Parenthood Federation's Public Policy Institute in April this year, we have a video tape of the Terry philosophy which is basis of courses at the Institute. For five days, (and \$500 dollars), men will learn things like how to reclaim the five power bases: Education, Printing Press, Medicine, Judiciary and Law/Politics. As to Education, Mr. Terry says he does not want to reclaim the public schools, but to "utterly

eliminate them." Apparently patriarchy demands that women be not only barefoot and pregnant, but writing lesson plans.

Actually, in Mr. Terry's world, women would fare better than their children. The Planned Parenthood video tape shows how the patriarchy would deal with a child that struck a parent — capital offense. Likewise for a child who cursed a parent. In a speech that smacked of racism, Mr. Terry talked about undisciplined renegade children, using the example of black fatherless kids as are often found in welfare homes. (Given Mr. Terry's history as a teen rebel, one wonders what would have been his fate if father Michael had followed Biblical precepts.)

Common criminals would be dealt with by the reinstatement of slavery because there are no prisons in the Bible. Slavery would be used to repay debt and as a way for criminals to make restitution. If the slaves revolted, they could be flogged. As Jonathan Hutson wrote in *Front Lines Research* in May 1995, "Children in this brave new world would thus pay for the sins of the father, and people who lack disposable income for fines and judgments would probably become a permanent slave class." (Just think. If these rules had been in effect when Mr. Terry was being arrested and fined for all his anti-abortion activity, he and Cindy and the kids might have been enslaved for months or years.)

All of this may seem beyond bizarre and too extreme to be taken seriously, but Randall Terry is not kidding. The Institute is spruced up and waiting for the first participants, due September 27th. The staff, including Planned Parenthood basher George Grant, and Howard Phillips of the U.S. Taxpayers Party, are ready. And, one final thought to ponder. Randall Terry is talking about running for Congress.

CLINIC REPORT

PA Woman Arrested

When Rosa Hartford took a 13 year old girl to New York to obtain an abortion, she had no idea she would wind up facing one count each misdemeanor, corrupting the morals of a minor and a felony, interference with custody of a minor.

The stories about the circumstances of the young woman's pregnancy have varied. One story said it was the 19 year old stepson of Ms. Hartford who impregnated the young woman. He has been charged with statutory rape and is free on bond. Another version says he was just a friend to the young woman in question, and not responsible for the pregnancy.

Whatever the circumstances, Ms. Hartford has not denied taking the young woman to New York where there is no parental consent law for women under 18. However, this trip has raised questions about the reality of the right to abortion for young women, and has prompted The Center for Reproductive Law and Policy to take Ms. Hartford as a client.

A conversation with Janet Crepps of The Center revealed they are not fully aware, as of this writing, how the charges were brought, but believe a complaint was filed by the young woman's mother. Ms. Crepps said the state police get a complaint then prepare a written charging document which goes to the district court justice. Prosecuting Attorney, Max Little, appears ready to pursue this prosecution and The Center, in the presence of Katherine Kolbert, will represent Ms. Hartford. No

trial date has been set until after the preliminary hearing, tentatively scheduled for October 12th in Sullivan County.

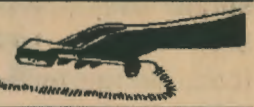
When asked what their defense will be, Ms. Crepps declined to answer, but did explain why this prosecution, never before initiated, is so troubling. The precedent that would be established by imposing criminal liability on an adult who assists a minor to obtain an abortion by going to a state where there is no parental consent law or a state where the young woman can be assured of maintaining her confidentiality, would make the right to obtain an abortion meaningless for a lot of young women. In effect, if a young woman has a right to get an abortion, charging an adult with a felony for helping will make the process of getting an abortion more dangerous.

In essence, saying to a young woman, don't try to leave — you are trapped in your state, might be an issue that could be taken to the Supreme Court under the "undue burden" clause articulated in *Casey*. Right now, The Center lawyers are not sure what will be the deciding factors in this case, but the betting is, it could have major implications for the rights of young women nationwide.

Medical Students For Choice needs donations to send members to the NAF conventions in San Francisco. Please send contributions to: MSFC c/o Melissa Clark WSU School of Medicine 3640 Colonel Glenn Highway, Dayton, OH 45435.



THE NETWORK



NATIONAL

YWCA Sponsors Week Without Violence

On October 15-21, Americans in hundreds of communities nationwide are coming together to confront and address the epidemic of violence facing our society by focusing attention on practical alternatives. The YWCA is challenging all Americans to live for one week without participating in, perpetuating, or observing violence.

The challenge, issued earlier this year as part of the *YWCA Week Without Violence*, has captured the attention of many Americans whose lives have been directly and indirectly affected by violence. An eclectic and concerned group of Americans have answered the challenge including First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Denise Brown, Dr. Arun Gandhi, grandson of Mahatma Gandhi, Jean Harris, *New York Undercover* star Malik Yoba, L.A. District Attorney Gil Garcetti, activist Gloria Steinem, and Senator Bill Bradley.

A sample of the week's activities and observances around the country include:

- YWCA of Kauai County will plant trees at the children's Peace Park in memory of loved ones lost to violence.
- Children in Lancaster, Pennsylvania will sign pledges stating they will not watch violent television programs, play violent video games and turn off violent

programs during the Week.

- The YWCA of the U.S.A. is holding a national memorial service Oct 15 at New York City's Cathedral of St. John the Divine for loved ones lost to violence.

For more information call (212) 691-6262 or your local YWCA affiliate.



It's election time again and that means it's time for me to promote an organization that every voting American should be aware of - Project Vote Smart. For the last five years PVS has been collection a database on all candidates for federal office and some state offices. Voters can reach the Voter's Self-Defense System at 800 622 - SMART any time of the day or night. Reporters can access Research Services at (503) 737-4000. Last year PVS instituted a Bulletin Board at (503) 737-3777 and can also be accessed on the Internet at gopher.gopher.new.edu.

This year PVS has created the *Vote Smart Web*, a "universe of political information free to everyone." This is a

single directory which "links Project Vote Smart's unique database with the information found on the Internet. If you have trouble sorting through the maze of political information available, their researchers will direct you to the information you are looking for. Find their Web site at <http://www.vote-smart.org> For more information about PVS or the Web call Adelaide Elm at (503) 754-2746. Do it! These people are a treasure trove.

MASSACHUSETTS

October is Abortion Access Action Month, declares the Abortion Access Project of Cambridge. "Access to abortion services is under attack - on the streets with guns, in Congress with restrictive legislation, and in our hospitals with the neglect of responsibility to provide complete health care to women", says Susan Yanow, Coordinator of the Abortion Access Project.

Throughout the month, pro-choice organizations and individuals will be planning various activities to highlight the issues of access to abortion in their communities. Handing out leaflets at information tables, encouraging women to support their local abortion provider, and picketing hospitals which do not provide abortions will be among the planned activities.

The Abortion Access Project chose October to coincide with Rosie Jimenez Day on October 3. Rosie Jimenez was the first known woman to die of an illegal abortion after the passage of the Hyde Amendment, which allows states to deny Medicaid funding to poor women for abortion. Massachusetts currently has Medicaid funding for abortions, but only by a Supreme Judicial Court decision - decision

that could be reconsidered and possibly overturned with a change in the court's make up.

The Abortion Access Project, founded in 1992, believes that the right to choose is meaningless if all women don't have access to abortion. The Project is a unique coalition of reproductive rights activists, women's health care providers, and pro-choice organizations. For more information contact Rosemary Candelario at (617) 494-1161.



NEW YORK

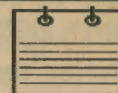
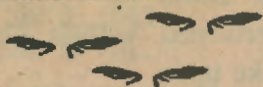
The Pope is coming! The Pope is coming!

Yes, Pope John Paul II will be in Central Park on October 7th and the pro-choice community will be in the streets.

New York NARAL, the New York Clinic Defense Task Force, Students Organizing Students, Action Tours, and Radical Women are the current sponsors of a *March for Women's Rights Saturday 1:00 PM October 7th at Bryant Park (40th Street and 6th Ave)*. Marchers will assemble then proceed to Columbus Circle.

For more information call NYS NARAL at (212) 343-0114 or check the Web at <http://www.echonyc.com/> - nycdtf/

Be there, or be square.



The following events, sponsored by anti-choice groups, were compiled by researchers across the country. Watch for action in your community. If you know of an event we missed, please send to:

Calendar - the Body Politic - PO Box 2363 - Binghamton, NY 13902

Check for the latest events on *The Abortion Rights Activist* World-Wide Web page at <http://www.cais.com/agm/>

Dates	Location	Event
October ?	New Jersey	Christian Coalition Leadership Training
Oct. 1	Nationwide	Life Chain
Oct. 5—7	New York, NY	Appearances by Pope John Paul II
Oct. 6—7	Syracuse, NY	Christian Coalition Faith and Freedom '95
Oct. 8	Baltimore, MD	Appearance by Pope John Paul II
Oct 12—14	Sandy Cove, MD	National Religious Broadcasters Eastern Regional Convention. Info: Steve Cross (703)534-2000
Oct. 14	Madison, WI Sioux Falls, SD	Christian Coalition Leadership Training
Oct. 18—22	Windsor, NY	Christian Leadership Institute. Organized by
Oct. 25—29		Randall Terry, George Grant, and others.
Oct. 19—21	Muskegon, MI	National Religious Broadcasters Midwestern Regional Convention. Info: John Maddex (312)329-2041
Oct. 20—21	Pine Bluff, AR	Christian Coalition Leadership Training
Oct. 20—22	LaFayette, LA	Human Life International Conference
Oct. 25—29	Manila, Philippines	Human Life International Conference
Oct. 27—28	Dallas, TX	Promise Keepers
Nov. 10-12	Birmingham, AL	Human Life Conference
Nov. 11	Eau Claire, WI	Christian Coalition Training



Reproductive Rights

Abortion Rights and Fetal 'Personhood'

Eds. Edd Doerr and James Prescott
Prometheus Books 1990 Second Edition
Papers presented at an ARL conference May 1987. Centers around the "heart" of the abortion controversy - when does a fetus become a person?

Paper 151 pages \$12.95
S & H \$2.50

Abortion Rights at the Polls: An Analysis of the 1992 Maryland Referendum

Albert J. Menendez
County by county indepth analysis of why Maryland voters supported choice.

Paper 93 pages \$10.00
S & H \$2.00

The Abortionist: A Woman Against the Law

Rickie Solinger
Professor Solinger, visiting scholar in the Women's Studies Department at the University of Colorado, has written a fascinating history of the life and times of a woman braving the legal system to provide desperately needed health care for women. Ms. Solinger's book illustrates that legal or illegal the provision of abortion services is still an occupation marginalized by some in the medical establishment and viewed with ambivalence by the law.

Hard cover 253 pages \$22.95
S & H \$3.00

The Anti-Abortion Movement and the Rise of the Religious Right

Dallas Blanchard

Professor Blanchard, author of *Religious Violence and Abortion: The Gideon Project*, has released a new book, *The Anti-Abortion Movement and the Rise of the Religious Right*. Mr. Blanchard, associate professor and Chair of the Department of Sociology at the University of West Florida, Pensacola, resides in a part of the country that has seen a high-level of anti-abortion violence and religious right activity.

In *The Anti-Abortion Movement and the Rise of the Religious Right*, Prof. Blanchard shows that the anti-abortion movement is complex, with organization, groups, and individuals limited to educational and lobbying activities and, at the other extreme, those involved in arson, bombing, and murder. His book examines the development of the anti-abortion counter-movement from 1973-1993.

Paper 177 pages \$14.95
S & H \$2.50

Research

Challenging the Christian Right: the Activist's Handbook

Skipp Porteous and Frederick Clarkson
Institute for First Amendment Studies
Second Edition 1993

The essential primer for anyone interested in the Religious Right and their true agenda for America. Provides background information, research articles, and a detailed description

of the major players.
 3-ring binder \$25.00
 S & H \$3.50

The Opposition Research Handbook: A Guide to Political Investigation

Larry Zilliox, Jr. Private Investigator
 Designed to expose single issue driven stealth candidates. (see review *the Body Politic* 10/93)

3-ring binder \$20.00
 S & H \$3.50

Education

Church Schools and Public Money: The Politics of Parochialism

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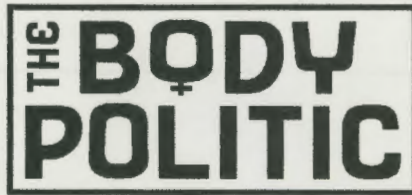
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