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Memo

September 19, 1984

TO: Members of the NJCRAC Committee on the U.N.

FROM: Shirley Joseph, Chair

Enclosed for your information is a summary of the August 9 meeting of the NJCRAC Committee on the U.N., as well as the following enclosed background material that I think you will find of interest:

1. Betty Shapiro's report on the Paris ADL-B'nai B'rith Women's Conference, excerpted from the bulletin of the Jewish Women's Caucus
2. Tamar Eshel's presentation to the Paris Conference on "Developing Counteraction Skills"
3. Norma Levitt's report on the Paris Conference, "The Women's Movement: The Road to Nairobi"
4. Evelyn Sommer's memorandum to Presidents of WIZO Federations on the rules of procedure for Nairobi

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Enclosures

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Summary of August 9 Meeting of the NJCRAC Committee on the UN

I. Report on the Paris ADL-B'nai B'rith Women Conference

Shirley Joseph reported that the turnout was excellent at the Conference and that there was a high degree of interest displayed in the topic of Nairobi. The general sense that she emerged with from the meeting was that the United States and Western European nations needed to "hang in there" and attempt to make the Conference reflect the real priorities and concerns of women around the world. She indicated that the Conference included a number of excellent presentations, as well as good floor comments, and that the quality of the exchange between the speakers and the participants was spirited.

She further indicated that there seemed to be three different approaches among the attendees: one approach that is primarily concerned with issues of anti-Semitism, another approach that is primarily concerned with women's issues and a third approach that seeks to fuse the two concerns.

Ms. Joseph further indicated that the Conference was focused not so much on the specific tasks that need to be carried out, but rather on general types of guidance. She also indicated that there was an excellent briefing given to presidents of organizations by Phyllis Kaminsky, Director of the U.N. Information Center. She suggested to the Task Force that we extend an invitation to her to speak to our next meeting--a recommendation that the Task Force agreed would be helpful.

Ms. Joseph referred those who are interested in more detail on the Conference to Betty Shapiro's July 30 Jewish Women's Caucus bulletin (that portion of the bulletin dealing with the Conference is attached). In addition, a statement prepared by Tamar Eshel, a member of Knesset, on developing counter-action skills was passed out at the meeting (also enclosed). After Ms. Joseph's remarks on the Conference, Norma Leavitt added that she felt that the Conference served the very valuable purpose of raising the level of consciousness of a number of those women present on the importance of keeping the focus of our concerns on both combatting anti-Semitism and promoting the concerns of women. She thought that many of those who were present at the Conference had been relatively unfamiliar with issues related to Nairobi prior to the Conference.

Jackie Levine indicated that she had just returned from a dialogue on women, sponsored by the American Jewish Congress and held in Israel, at which Nairobi was the subject of one of the sessions. Betty Freidan, who was present for the entire dialogue, asked pointedly that she be involved in deliberations of the Jewish community with regard to Nairobi. Jackie pointed out that it is likely that Betty Freidan will be the focus of Jewish women at Nairobi. Shirley Joseph responded that she felt it was important to think about how we could involve both Betty Freidan and Bella Abzug, who apparently are now getting along better than they had been at one point and could conceivably work together. Jackie also indicated that Tamar Eshel had been present for the entire time at the dialogue as well.

II. NGO Conference in Vienna

Shirley Joseph then reported briefly on preparations on developments related to the October 22-25 Conference for Non-Governmental Organizations in Vienna. This is a pre-conference consultation for NGOs, to which all organizations accredited to ECOSOC (Economic and Social Council of the U.N.) are

these recommendations. The Italian government has apparently accepted the four points in the memoranda. This is what we want to encourage other governments to do as well. She also noted that she would be meeting with the Secretary General sometime in August. The Secretary General's report and the revision of the U.N. Secretary General's report will be taking place between now and February, although she has indications that work on the report is not yet underway.

V. Additional Follow-up on Strategy Committee Meeting

First, on the issue of the administration of the U.S. contribution for the Nairobi Conference. Marlene Provizer indicated that based on consultation with Rita Salberg, the general sense at this time was that we have to focus not so much on the contribution, but on the question of appropriate implementation of the Kassebaum amendment. However, we will clarify with contacts on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (since the contribution is part of the State Department appropriations) what the exact timetable is for the contribution. Second, on the Secretary General's report, see Evelyn Sommer comment. Third, on the issue of the possibility of seeking support on rules of procedure from a group of international national women's lawyers, Thelma Wolf agreed that she would pursue this approach further.

On the issue of the Kassebaum amendment, it was agreed by the Committee, based on the situation at this time and on Shirley Joseph's conversation with Adele Liskoff, that Senator Kassebaum, as the author of the amendment, is the appropriate person to generate a letter on implementation of the Kassebaum amendment. It was also agreed that such a letter should be prepared and circulated before we pursue meetings with individuals in the State Department whom we hope will be supportive. There was also a brief discussion as to whether or not we should attempt to get non-Jewish women's groups to join in sending a follow-up letter on the Kassebaum amendment. Shirley Joseph and others expressed the view that they felt it was unlikely that we would be successful in that area, and that we would be more likely to be successful in lining up their support on the issue of the rules or procedure. It was suggested by Joan Suall and agreed to by the Committee that we initially try approaching the AAUW and the National Council of Jewish Women to see if we find any support.

The group then proceeded with a discussion of the kinds of specific meetings that needed to be held in order to carry out our agenda. The following meetings were discussed:

1. A meeting with Jean Kirkpatrick. It was agreed, based on discussion, that such a meeting would have to be a large one like the one held a couple of years ago with Kirkpatrick; but that in order for it to be effective, it would have to be extremely carefully planned.

2. It was also agreed that meetings should be held with both the Women's Congressional Caucus, Senator Kassebaum and the Jewish Congressional Caucus.

3. A third set of meetings that needs to be held is with the appropriate State Department people. These include Greg Newell, Assistant Secretary of State; Jean Bergaust, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, who supervises preparations for the conference, and Ann Stanford, the new director of International Women's Programs. The general sense was that it was more important to meet with the Congresspeople prior to meeting with State Department people.

It was further felt that insofar as the meetings with State Department officials and Congresspeople were concerned, it would be most advisable to

arrange small working meetings rather than the kind of large meeting that is envisioned with Jean Kirkpatrick. Based on concerns raised by Norma Leavitt, there was also a full discussion of appropriation coordination between the Committee and the Leadership Conference on Jewish Women's Organizations. She took issue with the sentence in the minutes of the Strategy Committee which states that "NJCRAC's role, subject to final agreement by the full committee, should be to influence the governmental posture on the official conference." Shirley Joseph, Jackie Levine and Marlene Provizer pointed out that the intention of the statement in the minutes was not to suggest that influencing the governmental posture be the sole province of NJCRAC, but that it was recognized that it was the role that the NJCRAC could carry out most effectively. Upon questioning from Norma Leavitt, Shirley Joseph also clarified that the Committee is an NJCRAC body and not a joint NJCRAC-Leadership Conference committee; however, she did emphasize the importance of coordinating activities with the Leadership Conference of National Jewish Women's Organizations. She noted that meetings that had been jointly conducted by the Committee and the Leadership Conference had been successful precisely because they did convey to people in positions of power that the full range of organizations representing the Jewish community was involved. This concern will continue to be taken into consideration in planning meetings and strategy in the next few months.

VII. Statement of Purpose

The last item on the agenda for discussion was the draft Statement of Purpose that was included with the mailing for the meeting. An attempt was made to incorporate a number of specific concerns referred to in the minutes into the revised text. However, it was pointed out by several people present that the key unresolved issue is the purpose of such a statement and, specifically, whether we intended to use it as an internal document or a document that we may want to use for other purposes as well. Shirley Joseph reminded the group that although we had several more lengthy pieces which to into some detail about our purposes related to the Nairobi Conference, we had agreed at our earlier meeting that we needed a terser statement of our objectives. She suggested that at the next meeting, in addition to taking a look at the revised text, that we also discuss and resolve the question of the purpose of such a statement.

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JEWISH WOMEN'S CAUCUS

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July 30, 1984

BULLETIN

FROM: BETTY A. SHAPIRO, CHAIR

A few days ago I returned from Paris where I attended the Conference on POLITICS AND ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: THE ROAD TO NAIROBI, sponsored by BBW and ADL, and co-sponsored by Amit Women, Britain-Israel Public Affairs Committee, Comité des Enseignants Amis D'Israel, Emunah Women, Madassan, International Council of Jewish Women, International WIZO, Jewish National Fund, La Ligue Internationale Contre Le Racisme et L'Anti-Semitisme (Licra), Le Consistoire Central Israelite de France et D'Algerie, National Council of Jewish Women, National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, Pioneer Women/Na'amat WIZO, Sonia, Women's American Ort and Women's League for Conservative Judaism.

BBW/ADL deserve a great deal of commendation for initiating the Conference and for its excellence. It was stimulating and informative. The calibre of panelists, speakers, presenters, etc., was very high, as was the level of approximately 170 participants from 16 countries, representing at least 3 million women. Beginning with the memorial service at the Memorial to the Jewish Martyrs, and ending with the reception given by the Mayor of Paris (addressed by the Jewish Vice Mayor), the conference proceeded at a fast pace, with facts and figures as to the situation of women in every country and their needs, and what we can do to prepare ourselves for the UN Conference in Nairobi in July 1985 and thereafter.

The keynote presentation on Sunday evening by Dr. Esther Broner (after an interminable number of greetings (really addresses) from high-level dignitaries) was sensitive and poetical, and directed the Conference's goal to one-to-one approaches as well as to group approaches. It was a very personal outreach to each one of us.

The Monday morning session was a global review of where women are in Europe, North America, the Middle East, Latin America, Africa and the USSR.

The luncheon speaker was the Hon. Ovadia Soffer, now Israel's Ambassador to France, whom many of us remember from his service on the Israeli delegation at Copenhagen.

Dr. Naomi Chazan, head of African Studies at the Hebrew University, did an analytical review of the politics of the international women's movement. (more later).

The next session was done by Arnaud de Borchgrave, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, USA. (more later).

There followed four group workshops, two in French and two in English. After the report session, there was a reception for the delegates and later a night tour of Paris provided by the Parisian BB/BBW groups.

The Tuesday morning session opened with a presentation by Tamar Eshel, former member of the Israel Knesset and Vice Chairman of the International Conference on Women (see below), followed by Leila Seigel, newly-elected President of the International Council of Jewish Women, who chairs the Copenhagen Jewish Steering Committee, speaking on building coalitions.

The final morning session was devoted to simulation games to train us for what to expect.

US Ambassador Jean Gerard (to UNESCO) spoke after lunch on US preparations for Nairobi. Abe Foxman, Associate National Director, ADL, opened the session to the examination of available resources. Evelyn Sommer, WIZO UN representative, spoke of taking the training model back home and the necessary follow-up. Summations by Ken Bialkin, Chair of ADL, and Beverly Davis, President, BBW, and the ceremony at the Mayor's Reception, concluded the Conference.

The above is an overview of the program. I will try to recap some of the statements made by some of the excellent speakers, but this will be brief and far from all inclusive. I will try to convey to you the flavor and essence of the conference. It is expected that the papers presented will be assembled into one final and all inclusive report which should then be an invaluable source of information.

Bernice Dubois' paper on women in Europe showed the various levels of the women's movement and women's rights. In some countries, equality was higher than others, some were very low, but nowhere was there parity on every level, including discriminations against owning property, taxes, marital, wages, cultural and employment opportunities. Women's movements, fighting to end the restriction, are organized everywhere, some much stronger than others.

Bella Abzug, for North America, was her usual electrifying self. She traced the movement from the time the slaves were freed to our current advances, stressing the need to work with the power structure; that we have a commonality of interests but different levels of development; that we must go to Nairobi; that women can change the world, and that by the year 2000 ;/3 of the world's households will be headed by women.

Yael Vered, former Israeli Ambassador to UNESCO, reviewed the Middle East. Other than Israel, Islamic law, male oriented and dominated, rules. The women's movement is weak and in some countries does not exist, but there is a growing desire everywhere for fulfillment. An anti-Israel attitude exists among the educated. Among Palestinian women in Judea, Gaza and Samaria, there have been some qualitative changes in minds and attitudes, not describable by statistics. There are more work opportunities in Israel and there is a preference to work in Israel because of human attitudes. Among the goals: industrialization of agriculture (running water, etc.), high standard of living, right to choose own husband, have all girls attend public schools, smaller families, more employment opportunities.

(At a later session, Ettia Simcha, aide to Sarah Doron, Knesset member, presented a flowing picture of the status of women in Israel, their rights and opportunities. This was disputed by some of the Israelis present).

Lic. Gita Zonzonski Pruzbalowich, Costa Rican Delegate to UNESCO, reviewed Latin America where the women's movement, especially in Central America, is just beginning and is therefore less successful than others; They seek independence while sharing responsibility for family; also seeking legalized abortion.

Gertrude Omog, Chairman, Association of Cameroon Women, was exciting (and won the hearts of all of us) in her description of the situation of African women. She never failed to remind us at this time and at every opportunity later - in dialogue and in Q & A - that the struggle of African women cannot be separated from the global feminist movement; that men speak of politics but use women to carry out their desires; that African women are the forgotten women; women exploited by business; that women rent their land from men whom they taught how to use products; that female coops are now being organized; that women suffer more religious persecution than men. She emphasized the sisterhood and solidarity that must exist among women.

In her analysis, Dr. Chazan said: "...Shifts in the structure and agenda of the international community have had a direct impact on women and these influences, in turn, have affected official women's attitudes toward Israel and Jews. ... The divergence that characterizes international politics in the 1980s may offer Jewish women more possibilities for maneuverability within the global arena." Dr. Chazan admits that some of her findings analyzing the Copenhagen Conference may come as a surprise to those who were there. She goes on to say that "Although Israel did not emerge from Copenhagen unscathed, it had received far more demeaning treatment at the hands of women in other international gatherings. The generally subdued tone of anti-Israel statements in Copenhagen reflected the slightly greater openness to Israel in the international arena following the signing of the peace treaty with Egypt." She did make specific reference to the presence of Leila Khalid, and the anti-semitic overtones injected by delegates from the Soviet states, and that these anti feelings were aroused in the less official setting of the NGO forum. She went on "not all anti-Zionism is anti-Semitic and not all anti-Semitism is directed at Israel". In her prognosis for Nairobi, she points out that Jewish and Israeli women can furnish their own written contributions .. can also lobby specific states in the Third World, and particularly in Africa, during the next year. can bring pressure to bear on their governments to change politics which might affect Jewish concerns. .. And they have a special contribution to make in the selection and briefings of official delegations to the UN Conference and of non-governmental bodies in the Forum. ... It is vital that Jewish and Israel preparation for Nairobi possess substantive as well as an external operative comment. ... The challenge facing Jewish women is not whether they should withdraw from the international political economy of women; rather, it is to define and disseminate their unique contribution to human and female liberation. Jewish women can unite to combat the moral injustice perpetrated by the continuous defamation of Israel and Jews by the world. At the same time they need to delineate the parameters of their own existence."

(Dr. Chazan does not deny the trauma Jewish women experienced at Copenhagen. I realize the above is taken out of context, but I think it conveys a direction and attitude we should develop - or at least think about. Her

(presentation should be read in its entirety)

Borngrove spoke on "Identifying Disinformation". Although his talk was not specifically related to women's issues and the overall topic, there was a relation as he presented a graphic and frightening view of the influence and control of the media in formulating popular opinion, citing examples of the withholding of pertinent information and the coloration of other facts. He stressed the need for continual vigilance by the public in bringing out the true facts and pressuring the media to do the same.

The workshops, an opportunity for dialogue among participants, made a number of recommendations: Training on how to speak to non-Jewish groups, position papers, slick literature models, press briefings, learn the jargon, conscious raising, use of experts, education, public relations, acquire as much information as possible re all women, particularly Arab women, advance preparation, speakers' bureau, look to government and press, know procedures, etc.

In her dynamic presentation, Tamar Eshel made a number of points, including:

1. Define our main goals:
 - Interested in the problems of women and wish to further them universally
 - Against exploitation of the Conference as a forum for political campaigns against Israel and for the encouragement of anti-Semitism
 - Nairobi should not be allowed to be a victim of politicization by the Arabs
 - Be present and vocal at Nairobi, not only to answer slander and political onslaught but also to contribute to the debate on women's issues
 - The Jewish "lobby" will compensate for the fact that Israel is not a member of any bloc within the UN
 - Israel has a special interest and experience which can be useful in Africa
2. Kenya is basically friendly to Israel and is particularly sensitive that its hospitality at international meetings not be abused
 - Special emphasis will be given to African women and their problems
 - ECOSOC guidelines call for decisions by consensus (not allowed at Copenhagen)
3. Jewish groups and individuals (which she constantly referred to as "Jewish lobby") must work closely in their countries with other groups on issues of human rights and the women's movement; work to place friends and Jewish representatives in the government delegations
 - Delegates be conversant with documents, plans of action, history, voting patterns, etc., and work with other groups on presentation of papers, etc
 - Delegates try to cultivate relationships with youth and student groups which can act as contacts and intermediaries with various vociferous and activists groups

She made many other points, among which were the need for an Information Center, to be manned by informed representatives which will include exhibitions, films, posters, brochures, bibliographies, much literature, etc.

In her recommendation for activity and participation, she stated "there is no need to keep a low profile". (She did say we should stay away from the subject of female circumcision). She also recommended a workshop or panel on a non-Israeli related subject.

Leila Siegel referred to the specific accreditation that may be required for NGOs at the Forum; that visas will probably be demanded; that emphasis will be on rural and African women; that we need to coalesce with these groups and others interested in these issues as well as traditional practices affecting health and welfare of African women.

Joan Boorstein, a writer for the LA Times, based in the Middle East, focused on the need of correspondents to be well briefed in advance, to be versed in UN jargon and practices, informed on status of women in many countries; that Jewish members of official and NGO delegations meet with representatives of media in their countries; media be urged to send correspondents who should receive special intensive pre-conference training; a task force especially selected to assist western journalists, based in the press room, and a network, outside of Nairobi, to monitor Arab and Communist press.

Shimon

The simulation games, arranged by Samuel, Director, European Office of ADL, were an active, visible demonstration of what does and could happen at UN official and unofficial meetings. "Actors" were selected to portray various roles, and to create disharmony and confusion, including physical contact, a bomb threat, etc. Everyone got into the "spirit" and there was much confusion and bedlam. I personally thought the session got a little out of hand but it made its point because for me it was a painful reminder of several sessions at Copenhagen, including the bomb threat. (One of the funniest moments, however, was to see two slight women trying to evict Bella Abzug who perfectly played her role as a peaceful pro-Arab Israeli). (It is too bad that the media has highlighted this session in preference to the other very substantive sessions).

****We participated, we articulated, we discussed, we agreed and disagreed (but not in disunity). We were united as we girded ourselves for protection against possible verbal attack and as we probed and sought for peaceful solutions to achieve our goals, and to take the offensive and not the reactive defensive role.

It was suggested that each country may wish to duplicate this conference in order to carry out our aim of continual education. In the US, it is probable that there will be several such mini-conferences, possibly Houston, Boston and San Francisco. In the meantime, it is my suggestion that those of you who live in cities other than those mentioned, may organize your own mini-conference, utilizing the resources of JWC members present in Paris. (of whom there were many) and, of course, representatives of the sponsoring national and international organizations. I will be glad to supply names to any who desire.

As each one of us had a different perception of what transpired, I would welcome statements from JWC members who may wish to make known their own conclusions, for the next Bulletin.

It is also expected that the papers, etc., will be compiled into a final document which will then be made available.

COPENHAGEN JEWISH STEERING COMMITTEE

As you will recall this is the group elected in Copenhagen to coordinate the activities of the Caucus formed there. As you also know, this group has kept together, has exchanged information, and met in Israel in November 1982 for further discussion and training in dealing with offensive and objectionable tactics at international conferences. All of this has previously been reported to you.

We met the day after the Conference in Paris, to plan future strategy and to reorganize. On the agenda was the request of one of the participating organizations that there be a co-chair (proposing one of their members residing in the US), and that international organization with consultative status be allowed 3-5 members, and others only one. After very prolonged and serious discussion, the members present agreed to retain those already on the committee on the understanding that they were elected as individuals and not as organizational representatives, that in view of the small size of the committee, there need be only one chair, and that women's organizations involved in the international women's movement be invited to select a representative, thus enlarging the group. (The invitees include organizations who may already have an individual(s) on the committee).

There was discussion regarding finances as the Committee operated on a very limited budget. The consensus was that participating organizations be asked to contribute \$100 for 1984-85, and that individuals be asked for \$25.

Leila Siegel, Chair, reported on the Pre-UN Conference NGO meeting to be held in Vienna in October. Working groups are now preparing material, recommendations, etc., on a number of subjects relating to the theme, plus youth, aging women and peace. Any NGO may attend as an observer. European affiliates are being asked to send observers. In the US, similar groups are working under the direction of Virginia Hazard. It appears that more people could be used on these groups. (They should come from the New York area to facilitate attendance).

The PrepCom itself will meet next spring (probably March, despite earlier predictions of January-February). This is where the rules of procedure will be adopted. This is extremely important - it will be one way of preventing some of the disastrous happenings that occurred in Copenhagen. One of the most important rules will be to prevent any resolution coming directly to the plenum; that any resolution must be documented to and through a special committee. It is also important to stress agreement by consensus. (This is the way the recent PrepCom has been operating and thus far rather successfully). (Participants at the Conference were asked to lobby their governments on these two points). (I have since learned that our government, while agreeing on these two points, especially the first, is also exploring other methods with experienced legal, parliamentarians on its UN and other staff).

Lenthy discussion ensued on the types of materials needed for use and distribution at and prior to Nairobi. Each organization will be asked to submit lists of its resources. Emphasis was placed on the fact that we need lots and lots of material, slick and attractive in appearance, and not too wordy; that PrepCom meeting also be a place for possible distribution. Ettia Simcha, who serves as aide to Sarah Doron (member of Knesset) for women's issues, and also on an intergovernmental committee, stressed the material should include what Israel does for the 3rd World.

The possible difficulties of NGOs (and non-NGOs) at Nairobi were discussed at length, but no conclusions reached.

Our program of preparation will be (1) self-education, (2) outreach in each country (3) Israel's programs and activities (4) cooperation at Nairobi (5) Involvement and development of women's concerns.

The Committee will continue to keep in touch and may or may not have another meeting prior to Nairobi but will definitely plan for meetings at Nairobi, including all Jewish persons present.

Phyllis Kaminsky, Director of UNIA, had an opportunity for a "get-acquainted" meeting with some of the US organizational leaders, to discuss the role of the UNIA and other matters. Among the subjects which came up briefly was the August 27-September 13 program of N. GUE OWN WAY - a non-profit organization founded in 1982 to link community-based leaders with national and international development resources. The coming program consists of a 3-part International Exchange (1) visits in rural Appalachia in groups of seven, in local homes for 5 days, on projects related to involvement at home (2) A forum at Mars Hill College, North Carolina, for 4 days, exchanging ideas, in workshops, etc., and (3) a one-day conference in Washington where leaders will present statements and strategies to national and international public and private policy-makers. Some Middle East countries are represented, but thus far no funding has been found to bring at least two Israeli women. Knesset Member Sarah Doron is extremely interested but the State of Israel is not providing funds. At this meeting with Kaminsky, several leaders present indicated their organizations would be glad and willing to contribute to the cost of bringing a couple of Israelis to the US for this purpose. As I will be out of town in the next several weeks, may I suggest that those interested contact Jane Threat, Director, 2437 Fifteenth Street, N. W., Washington, DC 20009 (202-483-0710) or Phyllis Kaminsky, UNIA, 1889 F Street, N. W., Washington, DC. (202-289-8670).

WORLD POPULATION CONFERENCE, MEXICO CITY, AUGUST. The US delegation will be headed by former NY Senator James Buckley, a critic and opponent of abortion (choice) and population control. Selected with his concurrence are: Alan Keyes (US representative to UNESCO), William H. Draper III, (President of the Export-Import Bank), Danny J. Boggs, (Deputy Secretary of Energy), Author Ben Wattenberg, and Jacqueline Shafter (former Buckley aide, now at Council for Environmental Quality. From the State Department: Assistant Secretary James L. Malone, Under Secretary Gregory J. Newell, and AID Director M. Peter McPherson. The American Life Lobby has expressed its pleasure at the composition of the delegation (the public members are not friends of pro-choice). Family planning groups reacted very strongly to the composition of the group as well as to the proposal to be presented by the US (see previous Bulletin). At the last world population conference in 1974, the US strongly urged the adoption of population control measures. The new US proposal is exactly opposite, including withholding funds from governments or private organizations that pay for abortions using money obtained from private or non-US sources. As previously reported, this tactic may result in funds being cut from the UN Fund for Population Activities and the International Planned Parenthood Federation.

** SEE Below

NEW DIRECTOR Anne Stanford, a career Foreign Service officer, has been appointed as Director of the Women's International Programs at the Department of State. She will take office August 6. Julie Jacobson, who has been Acting Director for the last 3 years, has taken maternity leave (her baby is due about August 22), but does not expect to return to her same position.

THURSDAY, JULY 26, The House Manpower and Housing Subcommittee held a hearing to review the operations and programs of the Labor Department's Women's Bureau. The sub-committee, Chaired by Barney Frank (D-Mass), and staffed by Joy Simonson, is concerned why the Bureau, under the Reagan administration, has cut back its services. One part of the hearing dealt with the firing of two employees in San Francisco, who held the only job-sharing program in the Bureau. Willard Wirtz, former Secretary of Labor, and former heads of the Women's Bureau Libby Koontz, Alexis Herman and Catherine East, were among those who submitted testimony regarding the cutback of services, including publications, technical assistance, etc. Congresswoman Boxer made a personal appearance. Organizations voicing their concern included AAUW, NCNW, Association for Commissions of Women and Women in Washington.

** A coalition of 16 national Protestant and Jewish agencies (Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights) sought a White House meeting to discuss the proposal. They were told the proposal as it stands reflects the President's belief that "abortion is morally wrong". No meeting

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DEVELOPING COUNTERACTION SKILLS

Points on Statement by Tamar Eshel
Member of Knesset, Jerusalem, Israel

I am grateful that the ADL took the initiative to convene this Paris meeting one year before the U.N. end-of-decade Conference on Women takes place. Still, we have little time to prepare. We should have started immediately after the mid-decade Conference in Copenhagen. Many countries which do not have the special problems we have as Jews have already been working energetically on their preparations for a long time.

We must learn from the experience of the Mexico and Copenhagen Conferences. We were confronted with different problems and different rules in the governments meeting and in the NGO Forum. Copenhagen was typified by the extreme weakness and naivete of the West, by isolation of the U.S., by a dominating PLO presence, and by exploitation of procedure by Third World countries acting always under the leadership of the Soviets, who preferred to keep themselves behind scenes.

Jewish women were under shock and unprepared for the violence, hatred, anti-Semitism and anti-Israel sentiment. To many the atmosphere was too reminiscent of Central Europe in the thirties and was very frightening.

We must bear in mind certain facts of life: the composition of the U.N. where there is an automatic majority of Arabs, and where democratic countries — those having respect for human rights — are in the minority. We cannot change the basic voting pattern. We should not, however, give up the fight beforehand. Our presence, our posture, our contacts and friendships can have an important impact. We should not facilitate the work and aims of our enemies.

1. We must define our main goals in the Conference:

- A. We are interested in the problems of women and wish to further them universally.
- B. We are against exploitation of the Conference as a forum for political campaigns against Israel and for the encouragement of anti-Semitism. Both have nothing to do with the topic of the Conference.
- C. Nairobi, as the end-of-decade Conference, should not be allowed to fall victim as the first two Conferences did to politicization by the Arabs. The Arab-Israeli conflict is debated in plenty of relevant U.N. fora.
- D. We are not in Nairobi just for the political fight. We shall make sure to be present and have our voice heard in all meetings and debates in order to answer slander and political onslaught, but no less to contribute to the debate on women's issues.
- E. The Jewish lobby will compensate for the fact that Israel is not a member of any bloc within the U.N.
- F. We in Israel have a special interest and experience which can be highlighted and useful in the African continent.

2 Copies prepared

2. The following points must be kept in mind regarding Nairobi:

- A. Kenya is basically a friendly country to Israel, though it severed diplomatic relations after 1967.
- B. Kenya is particularly sensitive that its hospitality at international meetings not be abused (Kenya has less complexes in this issue than Denmark, for instance).
- C. Kenya is preoccupied with the possibility of a repetition of Copenhagen and especially with the fear that the Forum may get out of hand. It is, therefore, thinking of establishing more severe rules to avoid such developments.
- D. As the meeting is taking place in Nairobi, special emphasis will be given to African women and their problems.
- E. ECOSOC (Economic and Social Committee of the U.N.) guidelines call for the reaching of all decisions by consensus (which the Arabs barred in Copenhagen).
- F. Strong sentiments against politicization of the Nairobi conference was already expressed in the preparatory meeting of the conference.

3. Preparation in countries prior to Nairobi:

- A. Jewish groups and individuals (NGO Forum is open to individuals too) should work closely in their respective countries with other groups on issues of human rights and the women's movement, and should work in advance on creating support groups, coalitions, etc.
- B. Work to place friends and Jewish representatives in the government delegation.
- C. Delegates must be conversant with documents, plans of action, past history, patterns of voting etc.
- D. Delegates must cooperate with other groups on the presentation of papers, resolutions or amendments if appropriate.
- E. Delegates must try to cultivate relationships with youth and student groups which can act as contacts and intermediaries with various vociferous and activist groups (such as, for example, in Latin America) - to prevent wholesale extremist anti-Semitic and anti-Israel sentiments dictated by their alliance with the PLO.

4. Information and Propaganda:

- A. The Arab line is simplistic, easily understood and effective. We must not be apologetic or too lengthy and argumentative in our rebuttals (people have no patience).
- B. There is utter ignorance among the delegates on: Israel (establishment, size, populations, Arab minority); Zionism; Judaism - Holocaust; Jewish refugees and Arab refugees; P.L.O.-terror, Palestinian Covenant. It would be very useful to prepare short brochures on the above topics.
- C. Additional material must be prepared on women in Israel, detailed answers on points relating to Arab women in the West Bank and Gaza, comparative tables with Arab women in other countries (as raised by special reports to be presented at the Conference.)
- D. Special material must be prepared on Israel's programs for the advancement of African women.

Remember: Africa has strong feelings on white colonialism and remembers the way the Europeans always boasted about bringing the blessings and comforts of European civilization to the "natives". Arabs stress their basic tenet: "lack of self-determination and political freedom

bars Arab women from exercising their rights". We should stress the intransigence of Arabs and that our first priority is to solve the conflict. Moreover, we should stress the Arab women's improved political, educational, leadership, organizational status in Israel and the territories, rather than improved economic conditions.

E. Information center in Forum:

Must work on establishing a center, to be manned by informed representatives which will include: Exhibitions; Posters; Slides; Short films; Music; Folklore; Brochures, literature, bibliographies, etc.

A special section should highlight the Mount Carmel Center and its work with African women.

After the Forum closes, transfer as many items as relevant to the Government Conference. Ensure the showing of films.

5. Coordination and flow of information:

- A. Must ensure regular coordination and flow of information between the Israel delegation (government and NGO's) with the Jewish lobby and NGO's (at least once a day).
- B. Create a physical meeting place to act as General Headquarters manned by small committee, to ensure proper representation and distribution of delegates.
- C. Study in advance the schedule of panels and committees of Forum. The Arabs will turn any subject into: "X or Y and the Arab-Israeli Conflict". Ensure that one or more representatives will prepare themselves on topics for presentation at debates. Have a chart so that people know what is taking place and where the action is. Be quick to register as many representatives as present on the speakers list even before the debate starts (Arabs, through this trick, dominated most debates in the past).
- D. Do not run from one committee to the other unless the debate has ended.
- E. Be armed with the rules of procedure. Make sure they are followed by the chairpersons (who often are woolly and inexperienced). Make points of order. Insist on barring topics as out of order, as the rules stipulate.
- F. If you expect a committee to be "hot" - ensure more than one participant be there.
- G. If in the Government Conference Israel plans a statement, the Jewish lobby should be well represented in the audience, to lend encouragement and applause, etc.

6. In your activity and participation please bear in mind:

- A. There is little chance of passing resolutions. It is better to amend other resolutions or co-sponsor with a good mixed group.
- B. Whenever possible, refer to or support in your statement a previous speaker's suggestion or statement — especially if you wish to cooperate with that person.
- C. Do not over-dwell on achievements.
- D. Always point out, as well, failures, dilemmas, etc.
- E. Give particular thought to ideas, suggestions, amendments, etc., which will serve the cause of developing countries.
- F. Do not appear exclusively interested in Israel and anti-Semitism. Gain a standing and recognition on the grounds of your constructive contribution to the substance of women's issues.

- G. There is no need to keep a low profile (as was the policy in Copenhagen).
- H. The Conference is short and there's no time to waste. Early exchange of information on delegates, issues, policies, etc. should take place.

7. Choice of delegates:

- A. Delegates should be selected for their ability to perform, and for their ease in making contacts and articulating points. They should undertake to devote themselves full-time with the Conference.
- B. Make an effort to have younger women included on the delegation.
- C. Delegates should be nominated as early as possible so they have enough time to master documents, techniques, special briefings, etc.
- D. Interesting personal experiences, achievements or personality will help to enhance the impact and media exposure.
- E. Delegates should specialize in a number of relevant subjects and speak knowledgeably about them -- besides their normal briefings on the U.N., Israel, Arabs, Zionism, terrorism, etc.
- F. Delegates should be prompted to feel as part of a group working together, rather than as individuals.

8. Suggested possible activities prior to Nairobi:

- A. A special seminar in Israel on Israeli political problems, Arab women, etc.
- B. Inviting a select group of women leaders who are likely to be in Nairobi to come to Israel (alone or as a special conference) either to be invited by Israeli National Council of Women or through the Mount Carmel Institute.
- C. Promote, even to the extent of mobilizing special financial resources, help for the Mount Carmel Institute and the Israel Afro-Asian Institute on Cooperation, to intensify their projects in the coming year on behalf of African women.

There is no excuse for not being well prepared for Nairobi. There may always be surprises and unexpected developments, but we do have a better opportunity for readiness this time than we had in the past.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT
THE ROAD TO NAIROBI
Meridien Hotel, Paris, July 8-10, 1984

Women bring their whole lives into their dialogues, it is said. At the Meridien Hotel in Paris, July 8-10, 1984, some 160 Jewish women gathered from 16 countries and 17 organizations with over 2½ million members. They met to share their experiences, as well as to prepare information and strategy for the United Nations Conference to be held in Nairobi, Kenya, July 1985, to mark the end of the International Decade for Women. Speaking French, English, Dutch, German, Spanish, Italian, Hebrew, they spoke a common language of concern for Jewish as well as feminist issues.

The Decade was inaugurated in 1975 with high hopes and the themes of Equality, Development and Peace. The two previous Conferences, one in Mexico City in 1975 and one in Copenhagen in 1980, proved to be platforms for the vilification of Israel. In Mexico City, the Declaration of Mexico equated Zionism with racism, the first such resolution at a major UN Conference. In Copenhagen, the Program of Action provided that "United Nations aid to Palestinian women would be given in consultation with the PLO." For these reasons, both the Mexico City Declaration and the Copenhagen Plan of Action were seriously tainted.

Nevertheless, the condition of women was improved in developing countries, not only by raising consciousness about their situation but also by the actions of governments, NGOs (representatives of UN accredited organizations) other citizen groups and women themselves. In the Mexico City Plan of Action, as well as the

Copenhagen Program of Action, many goals and programs to improve the access of women to employment, education, health services and participation in development were delineated.

Unfortunately, in November 1983, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution which includes within one operative paragraph the words, "Particular attention will be paid to the problems of women in territories and under racist colonial rule and in territories under foreign occupation on the basis of appropriate documentation from the Mexico City and Copenhagen International Conferences on Women under the themes of Equality, Development and Peace."

This opens the way once again for diatribes against Israel, reference to previous resolutions which equate "Zionism with racism" and the politicizing of debates so that women's concerns become secondary to political hostilities of nations.

Jewish women in attendance at the previous conferences were largely unprepared for the confrontational and illegal tactics by anti-Israel delegates. As a result, many Jewish organizations became more alert to the United Nations Women's Decade and many feminists became aware of their Jewishness.

In Paris the Conference featured many speakers, among them: officers of Jewish organizations, high officials from the United States and France, officials from Israel, as well as known women in the Jewish and women's movement, such as Bella Abzug, former member of the United States Congress; Dr. Esther Broner, professor and author; Tamar Eshel, former member of the Israel Knesset.

Tamar Eshel enunciated two goals in preparation for Nairobi: interest in problems of women and the wish to aid women universally; efforts to limit the exploitation of the Conference for other ends against Israel. It should not be the place for another Arab-Israel war of words and deeds.

Dimensions of the UN Women's Decade Conferences

There are two meetings held for each Conference, one a Governmental Conference, the second a Non-Governmental Conference. There is a difference between these two groupings, the Governmental Conference observing the rules of the United Nations, the Non-Governmental Forum or Tribune, being much more informal and representing a variety of points-of-view. In Nairobi in 1985, the Forum will be held from July 8-17; the Governmental Conference will be July 15-26. As space in Nairobi is limited, 5,000 people will be invited to the Non-Governmental Forum, with invitations sent first to organizations and secondly to individuals. International NGOs may have work-shops which must be financed by them and their organizations. The host country is important as the problems of women in Africa are very visible and Kenya does not wish to have a Conference which is politicized.

Women's politics cannot be separated from general politics. Just as international politics change, so do women's issues change, affecting Israel and Jewish women. In Mexico City, the atmosphere was one of confrontation between the Third World and the West. It was a mirror of the state of global politics. At that time Israel was isolated from the world, which had started in 1973 with her exclusion from much of black Africa. The Arab countries

occupied a central position in the Third World. Israel and the United States were unprepared for their attacks and perhaps very little could have been done. As previously noted, it was at that time that the infamous resolution was adopted which equated Zionism with racism.

The atmosphere in Copenhagen in 1980 was quite different. There was economic stagnation and deterioration, the Third World solid coalition was falling apart, the Arab world was split over the Camp David Accords. Third World women also had a different attitude; they realized the inequality which clouded their lives within their own countries and they needed to focus on the main issues of the Decade - Equality, Development, Peace and Education, Employment and Health. Emphasis was on how things were and what needed to be done. This was no longer a pitched battle between the North and the South, but rather a more pragmatic, more cooperative mode. Unfortunately there was still the Zionism/racism equation but only in the Preamble in Copenhagen. The Palestinian women wanted a more defined treatment and self-determination, plus the recognition of the PLO. The existence of Israel was not questioned and therefore, although the atmosphere was quite violent in the NGO Forum, the resolutions from the Governmental Conference were less insidious. In the NGO Forum there was vicious anti-semitism which was not apparent in the NGO Tribune in Mexico City. In the Copenhagen NGO Forum there was a strong presence of PLO women, acting separately with their own breed of anti-semitism. Many American women also encountered anti-semitism within their own delegations.

The global context for Nairobi in 1985 is again indifferent, a fluctuating situation in Africa and Latin American, with the Mid-East less in the forefront. The attitude toward Israel is in flux, with some African states recognizing Israel. And the Women's Movement is in flux: there are now Women's Movements. In Africa women are exploited everywhere: by men, by business, by government. They feel and are overburdened.

Kenya is friendly to Israel and does not want the Conference to be abused. The Government of Kenya wishes that interests of African women shall be stressed and there is a strong sentiment against politicization. They are worried about a repetition of Copenhagen.

The Women's Movement - Further Notes

Bella Abzug, colorful, verbal, committed champion of women, outlined briefly the history of the North American Women's Movement. In the struggle against slavery, women realized they too were not free. This was the beginning of the Suffragette Movement which in the United States took over 100 years to win. In 1920, when women did acquire the right to vote, their pressure was brought to bear on legislation which continued their age-old concerns: for the sick, the elderly, children, the vulnerable. There was no great change in their loyalties. The rebirth of the movement came in a response to violence, independent of the Civil Rights Movement, the violence of the war in Vietnam. Women in the movement, started to examine the violence of policy-making in what many of them judged an illegal, immoral war. Bella continued, saying that women still earn less than men for the same work, 59¢ on the dollar. Women have learned that their concerns are

international, that they are linked in a close unity, and that women and men often look differently at various issues. Women are now beginning to express themselves through votes, 9 million more U.S. women voting than before. There is a strong feeling in the movement that women need to unite for the benefit of the poor of this planet.

The Women's Movement is not monolithic, not faddish, nor is it exclusive and upper-class American, said Esther Broner, professor and author. Women are not equipped to deal with rage. They need to talk together with those whom they fear, to achieve a measure of understanding of different points-of-view, so that "others will hold umbrellas over our heads in the downpour".

"We are women of the world, and women are in the world to change the world, to tell the truth", said Bella. We want to improve the life of women wherever they live, not only to fight back but to fight forward, to unite across international boundaries.

"This is a Women's Conference", said Tamar Eshel, "It is not political, we do not need to think alike, nor collectively. We should have a stand on women's issues of common concern. Political issues are injected by males to dilute the purpose of the Conference."

Strategies

After sessions late at night in the hotel lobby, surrounded by construction, and Arab families with many children, women groped for new ways. They suggested: let us sit in small groups, face-to-face, Jewish and non-Jewish women, expressing different

religious traditions yet praying together and accepting differences. How can we act, it was asked, to make clear we are Jews and feminists? Our feminism unites us, to improve the conditions for all women. We need outreach dialogues with non-Jewish women, meetings with the press to deflect from political headlines, meetings with policy-makers in government; yes, we need to be alert and sensitive to the concerns of all women not defensively just to fight back, but on the offensive for all concerns. Our Conference must not be used for political goals of governments, but to serve our political goals of nutrition, water supply, child care, education, different ages of life. We need to form coalitions, to be part of larger groups, not only with Jewish women but also with non-Jewish women.

Other suggestions were: to form committees of Jewish organizations to work with the media, with government, with other organizations; to work with other groups on other issues, to prepare briefs and cooperate with others in preparation of papers; to work with youth groups; to prepare information and propaganda; to develop slogans. Furthermore, to stress the increase in women's political role and in education; to provide an information center in Nairobi with exhibitions and a staff to show film; to transfer all material to the Governmental Conference; to provide a daily flow of information between governments and NGOs; to have a physical meeting place for NGOs; to study the panels of the Forum and have one or two delegates prepare themselves on each subject; to register at a committee meeting and stay with that committee. It will also be necessary to be armed with rules of procedure, to

be sure they are followed by the Chairpersons; to utilize the call point-of-order to rule out what is out-of-order; and rather than to write new resolutions, to co-sponsor or amend existing resolutions whenever possible. With the Third World, it is important not to dwell too much on achievements but to speak of trials and failures and also the wish to serve the cause of developing countries. Jewish women need to go to Nairobi armed with information on the human rights of women in all countries, as well as in those which are against Israel. There must be collected as much information as possible about delegations; younger women should be included and appointed to them in time to master the documents and to meet with the press about their specializations. Invite non-Jewish women to Israel prior to the Conference and promote their interest for the Mount Carmel Institute on Israel-African studies.

Ambassador Jean Gerard, United States Ambassador to UNESCO, outlined the goals of the United States. She said that the United States wishes to prevent Israel from becoming a target, or the Soviet Union from taking over. But, she said, the Conference must go beyond damage limitation and focus on things which unite women rather than divide them. There is a need to develop future programs for women in development, access to resources to fill economic needs and a review of what has been accomplished. The United States wishes to encourage broader NGO participation.

From the press, Joan Borsten, reporter from the Los Angeles Times based in the Middle East, placed before the meeting many suggestions. She said that Jewish members of delegations should meet with the media in their own countries and urge American media

to send correspondents. Correspondents should be briefed beforehand and sensitized to propaganda. Israeli correspondents should be well briefed to help the Western journalists. There is a need to monitor the Arab press, to editorialize as well as to cover the Conference, and to make an effort to have a sympathetic journalist on the staff of the daily Conference newspaper. Most helpful would be a position paper on women's rights in Arab countries culled from Arab sources.

Veteran NGO representative, Evelyn Sommer, presented the picture of what needs to be watched for media development. She said that preparations would turn into high key at the Preparatory Committee meeting in Vienna in February, at which time rules of procedure would be decided. She hoped that governments would accept the rule of consensus, and that the special committees to monitor the resolutions would have on them United States and United Kingdom representation. Important to the outcome of the Conference would be the Secretary-General's report to the Conference rather than regional reports from various areas of the world. And lastly, she hoped there would be a rule of secret balloting

In Conclusion

To conclude the Conference, women wrote down one action to which they would commit themselves, and then they shared this action with their neighbor. These promises, to neighbor and to self - joined delegates in a Sisterhood of service as they shouldered their tasks on the Road to Nairobi.

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ויצו-הסתדרות עולמית
לנשים ציוניות

**WIZO-WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION**

515 PARK AVENUE • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022 • TEL. 751-6461

CONSULTATIVE STATUS WITH
E.C.O.S.O.C. U.N.
MEMBER OF UNICEF

MEMORANDUM

TO: Presidents WIZO Federations

FROM: Evelyn Sommer

WIZO FEDERATIONS:

Israel
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Barbados
Belgium &
Luxembourg
Bolivia
Brazil
Canada
Chile
Colombia
Congo
Costa Rica
Curacao
Denmark
Ecuador
El Salvador
Finland
France
Germany
Gibraltar
Great Britain &
Ireland
Greece
Guatemala
Holland
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Japan
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Peru
Portugal
South Africa
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Trinidad
Uruguay
Venezuela
Zambia
Zimbabwe

During the February 1985 session of the Commission on the Status of Women, acting as the Preparatory body for the World Conference on Women, the rules of procedure for the Nairobi Conference will be decided upon. It is imperative to influence supportive governments to adopt rules of procedure that will assure the success of the Conference.

The 1984 session of the PCWOW adopted decisions by consensus. Governments interested in the success of Nairobi should do their utmost to insure that the consensus requirement would apply also to the Nairobi Conference. This is not a "revolutionary idea". When governments are truly interested in the success of a conference, they manage to implement this requirement, (see as example the procedures of the Special United Nations Session on Disarmament) on that occasion, an Iraqi proposal against Israel and other proposals that were termed controversial were referred to the next session of the General Assembly). These steps were taken by many governments in order to maintain the consensus atmosphere.

2) If the above cannot be achieved, than the rules of procedure should call for the creation of either a "select committee" or a geographically balanced committee like the General Committee of the Conference, which would monitor resolutions and hopefully adopt them by consensus.

3) Draft resolutions should be submitted well in advance so that the Soviet-Arab axis could not come up with sudden surprises. The ILO has a deadline of two weeks in advance of meeting.

4) Only the Secretary General should submit reports to the Preparatory body. (In this way, the report of the regional meeting that will take place in Bagdad in December 1984 will not be allowed into the session of the Preparatory body and we could prevent the repetition of the chapter of the PCWA report submitted to the Copenhagen Preparatory session).

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