For File on Soviet-US women's Summit

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18 May 1990

Dear sisters and participants in the first Soviet-American Women's Summit,

They're off.

We kissed and waved goodbye to 26 exhausted, exhilarated, experience-filled women from the Soviet Union. They were laden with boxes of syringes, needles, rubber gloves, condoms, all gifts from loving caring US women. They also took concrete responses for new joint ventures; for an exchange of women's arts and crafts; a franchise for a John Deere tractor factory and a Happy Joe's pizza parlour; for a business management training program from a NYC bank; an initiative to send feminist scholars to the Univ. of Wisc at Madison; an exchange for sociology students with Hartford College and a plan to hold a demonstration on June 1 in Moscow, normally international children's day, now to call for greater participation of women in policymaking.

"It wasn't just interesting", said Elena Kamenetskaya, "it was useful". The women couldn't stop talking about the significance of the trip.

Not only had we agreed by consensus to a common agenda to present to Presidents Bush and Gorbachev, and to take back to our constituencies; we seem to have raised the level of Soviet-American exchange and increased the consciousness of Americans on both the potential role of women in society and on the nature of Soviet society during this complicated transition period in history.

The Soviet-American Women's Summit is a program of Women for Meaningful Summits, a 501(c)(3) organization, contributions to which are deductible for income tax purposes.

Arrival

It seems like an eternity since we met on April 30 at JFK airport and whisked them through immigration and customs (thanks to the help of Rep. Ted Weiss, (D. NY). Most of the women had not met each other before, many had never been out of their country, others had not been to the US.

One could do a "troika" analysis of the whole experience: Women from three parts of the political spectrum; three parts to each day; three places to go, NYC, Wash DC and one of 10 cities in the country; three themes to our over-all agenda; three days in NYC and three in DC; linking women from the grassroots with national and international women, etc.

We started with a candlelit orientation dinner, thanks to the Methodist Women and faced our first mistake. We had over programmed and had assigned women we thought would want to visit community agencies in NYC and soon realized they had their own ideas. So we reorganized and adjusted and learned.

Start of working sessions

Breakfasts afforded great chances to meet and eat together, to hear from Gov. Madeline Kunin about women in politics, and gifts appeared from everywhere: The women from Kodiak, Alaska were so excited about Bridget coming they made each Soviet woman a gift, and souvenir spoons came from Oregon and cosmetics from McCalls.

And our USA participants began to feel a little left out. After all, you came from very far,too, and were not fussed over. We hope you've reconciled that issue and forgive us.

United Nations

Sitting in seats long reserved for male ambassadors in the august chambers of the UN was a binding and awesome experience. "Wouldn't the world be a better place if this room looked like this every day," said Cora Weiss, as she opened the first session. Three mornings of briefings with extraordinary women from developing countries - Dame Nita Barrow of Barbados, Minister Lucille Mair of Jamaica, Amb. Olga Pellicer, Mexico, Susan Mnumzana of the African National Congress and Vandana Shiva of India - made us viscerally aware of the needs and aspirations of the women from the developing world as the superpowers make agreements east- west and north-south relations become more tense.

> A sample: "Have we made progress since Nairobi?" Dame Nita asked. "Have we succeeded with billions being spent on arms which should be going to development, targeted for the needs of all

countries? The Forward Looking Strategies set the goal - the elimination of discrimination against women and after 34 sessions the Commission on the Status of Women is still plowing over the same ground. The 80's are called the lost decade, the time of the feminization of poverty. Now we have the racialization of poverty. The number of least developed countries has increased, the number of illiterate has increased the majority of whom are women. Facing tomorrow is formidable. It needs an improved political climate, and women in significant numbers with commitment, courage and sensitivity," said Ambassador Barrow.

"There is no item on the global agenda which is not a woman's issue", said Minister Lucille Mair. "We face two killing trades, the arms trade and the drug trade which know no borders. We are at risk. We must look to all women as our natural allies."

There are 8 cassette tapes available from the UN sessions. Place your order on the enclosed flyer.

Meetings with the media

Riptide, our press representatives, arranged luncheons with editors of magazines including: McCalls, Good Housekeeping, Vogue, Glamour, Lears, New York Woman, Essence, Parents, Working Mother, Family Circle, Woman's Day, and Rose Mergenbaeva of Tashkent met with the cultural editors of the NY Times. Riptide also sent endless press releases, spent hours with reporters and landed stories. They helped us reach out to a diversified group of women leaders to meet the Soviet women.

Gracie Mansion reception

On May 1, Mayor David Dinkins welcomed the Soviet and American women to Gracie Mansion, where he and his gracious wife, Joyce, hosted a magnificent, warm and electric reception. "I see the Soviet-American Women's Summit as making a call to women throughout the world to come together against humanity's real enemies - nuclear weapons and the arms race, social injustice and environmental pollution.", said the mayor. "The message of the Soviet-American Women's Summit is particularly compelling, because women have never before been formally consulted in the process of making decisions on these issues...I admire your efforts in this Summit, for you are acting as "citizen diplomats" who refuse to wait for a cue from your respective governments."

May 1 was also named Soviet-American Women's Summit Day by Ruth Messinger, President of the Borough of Manhattan. Members of the NY City Council gathered in her office to meet Soviet guests and

received an invitation from Elena Zelinskaya to come to help the new deputies, recently elected on the democ block after years underground, or in jail, to learn how councils function.

Site visits

A band of interpreters and "escorts" volunteered to take Soviet and American women to a variety of community centers, banks, to learn how we cope with our social problems. At Planned Parenthood the women were showered with condoms; at the YWCA, during a stretch class to learn how to keep our bodies fit, Mrs. Lawrence Rockefeller walked in to visit, it was her 80th birthday and Kate Rostiashvili immediately engaged her in a discussion on the role of big business and voluntary NGO organizations. Mrs. Rockefeller joined us in moving to Lambada music. Later, the women visited a program for teenage mothers taking careful note for possible replication at home. Larisa Skuratovskaya was visibly moved as she listened at the Gay Men's Health Crisis Center to young men describe the medical and social problems of AIDS, soon to be of epidemic proportions in the Soviet Union.

Hunter College forum

Hunter College was crammed for a public forum chaired by MS editor, Robin Morgan. For most of the Soviets, it was a first time speaking in public, for all, it was a first time talking publicly about sex and sexual preferences, despite glasnost. The first internal dynamics began to emerge within the Soviet group, painful at times for some of the women, fascinating to watch for Americans who thrive on diversity and conflict. We began to see the gap between the younger women and the older, between the "state" and the voluntary movements, and we experienced great concern lest our friends feel afraid to express themselves because of subsequent reprisals. Indeed, we later found out that fear still exists, glasnost notwithstanding.

At our concluding session in Congress, Margaret Adams, of Good Housekeeping, declared, "Women from around the world will soon be speaking with one voice, the voice of reason". That is part of our vision, too, and may take some doing.

Planning committees

The two week program, co-chaired by Cora Weiss and Sarah Harder of Women for Meaningful Summits, relied on two planning committees in NYC and Washington to come up with ideas, hammer out schedules, and find people to help. These talented and committed groups met regularly and often (see list attached) and pushed democracy to its limits. We had broad full participation, group decisions, meetings that were planned for 2 hours lasting 4 or more, working over French picnic lunches, every detail was

ssed and decided. It was an unusual collaboration, and it
ed. Generous invitations flowed. The NYC YWCA took everyone
dinner, the United Methodist women let the photocopying
achine run on and telephones were always available.

Katrina vanden Heuvel brought in a film crew, after they edit their material for a feature film on Soviet women, we get all our footage.

Summit

We were welcomed to Washington by the Peace Child chorus which borught tears to the Soviet women as American children sang in Russian and our guests clapped and sang along to the now popular songs.

The transition from a multiple textured day in NYC to a more intense working day in DC wasn't easy. We all took our mandate seriously, to work together to discuss our common agenda: From Daycare to Disarmament: A Woman's Vision for the 21st Century, with its three sub-themes, Women's Rights as Human Rights; Disarmament, Development, Equality and Ecology; and Women and Politics. And then to come up with a consensus document which could not only be presented to the presidents, but which we could bring home to our own organizations for consideration and implementation. Two documents were completed. One, an 8 point agenda which Rep. Claudine Schneider called "outstanding" and which she "wholeheartedly supports", and a longer list of notes from workshops which contains ideas from nearly everyone attending. It became clear that while Daycare to Disarmament rolls off the tongue easily, it makes economic sense to say from Disarmament to Daycare, which indeed, is what we changed it to.

We listened together to Coretta Scott King discuss the need for a new era of non-violence; to Dorothy Height and Randall Forsberg. Height, civil rights leader, sat with us on May 7 and with Pres. Bush on May 14, pressing for improved civil rights legislation.

Hilda Mason, DC's Council Member, read a resolution citing our Summit at a generous reception hosted by Nancy Woodhull, President of Gannett News.

Gen Vaughan led us in song before a plenary session and helped to clear the air by burning sage.

While a large group of women took turns in the drafting room, collecting ideas from every panel and workshop others went to a concert or the theater. Working together, living in close quarters having a Soviet-American retreat for three days certainly undid 45 years of Cold War. Two by two, and three by three, our friends left to fan out across the country to get a sense of how we live, work and organize, and to establish

continuing contacts.

Visits to 10 cities

It is impossible to adequately convey the enthusiasm and excitement that each woman felt returning after a week with American families, visiting the Dean of Yale Law School, the president of Wisc Univ., farmers, and students, women's organizations of all kinds, Native American Indians, African American homes, and Hispanic American communities. Olga Bessolova went up in a single engine plane alone with the pilot (she works at the Soviet equivalent of NASA); Natalia and Svetlana went down the Mississippi in a steam boat and made arrangements for a child suffering from leukemia from Chernobyl to be treated in Iowa, while Vera arranged for women in Texas who work in the refrigeration industry to come to Moscow to help cut down on food spoilage during transport.

In each host city, women formed coalitions representing locally what we tried to do nationally. Thus the LWV worked with NWPC, AAUW, SANE/FREEZE, MANA, Methodist women, church groups, etc. And stretched their usual reach into the state to arrange meetings at levels they might not have considered before.

A session over lunch with the Institute for Soviet-American Relations evoked a discussion about the new book, Soviet Women, dedicated to Elvira Novikova, one of the women in our group. Francine Gray, the author, was a guest at a reception in Connecticut for three of the women and Mirabella magazine is about to do two pieces, one on our Summit, another on sexuality under perestroika, by Francine.

At a National Press Club Newsmakers conference, Nina B. summarized the two week experience saying in part that she learned to appreciate a broader meaning of the word feminism, that the women's movement and women's role in the social life of our country is greater than she had thought before coming. "The word feminism in the Soviet Union evokes fear, and women's issues are restricted to protecting women at work, or discussing combining career and the family. At our Summit we spoke of broader issues, disarmament, pollution, the environment, homelessness. Not only are women's issues the issues of the women's movement. I learned how wide is the sphere in which women's groups are active. In my country, women's groups should begin to be mushrooming and in every sphere of society we should bring women's views. The variety of views in the women's movement helps us learn who we are," said Nina.

"We were forced to build a team inside the Soviet and American delegation and together to come up with compromise to complete our document. From this experience we have learned a lesson, to go deeper, not to stay on the surface level of society, to learn

our different social backgrounds. A concrete result of crip is that our relations are going deeper, to a practical l," added Belyaeva.

The Women's Summit did not end with NYC and Wash. DC, but continued around the country. Thanks to these trips the audience for our thinking was enlarged. Members of the Soviet delegation will speak about these ideas when we get home, and we will meet President Gorbachev before he comes to the US and we will pass this document on to him," said Valentina Matvienko, member of the Supreme Soviet.

"Compared to ten years ago, I can say Americans have done away with stereotypes of us. How can we help you was the question most often asked. The majority of the American people are eager to support the democratic process," she added.

At the Congressional breakfast, organized by Linda Weber, sponsored by Good Housekeeping, Congresswomen Schneider, (RI) Kennerly, (CT) Boggs (LA) and Slaughter(NY) couldn't keep their enthusiasm down. Each expressed strong support for our Summit, for what we seem to have accomplished and applauded our 8 point agenda. They agreed to enter it in the Congressional Record and Claudine offered to help secure an appointment with President Bush.

Possible meeting with Presidents Bush and Gorbachev

We have asked both Presidents Gorbachev and Bush to meet not only with us, but with representatives of the entire peace and women's movements at one time, so that not only may we present our agenda, but other citizens can express their views at this critical juncture in history.

We promise another letter to you should that happen. Meanwhile, if you can make it to Washington DC, we suggest you join us on Wednesday night May 30th, at 7:30pm, when the National Council of Churches will hold an ecumenical service at the National Cathedral with Soviet religious leaders; Friday, June 1, from 12 to 2pm in a vigil in front of the White House, sponsored by FOR; and on June 2 from 1-5 in a demonstration at the Lincoln Memorial. Bring your peace ribbon, your petitions, your banners and your enthusiasm.

We think we have made a tiny mark on the ladder of history, We started last June proposing to hold this Summit to "help consolidate the gains of detente". Perhaps we have, a bit.

Please let us hear from you. It was wonderful to work
let's not stop now.

Best wishes,

Cora Weiss and Sarah Harder
Co-chairs

We would like to express deep appreciation and thanks to our wonderful staff, Barbara Green and Patricia Brady, Ria Pugeda, and interns Humaira Ali and Evelyn Guzman (both of whom received college credit for this) and volunteers Lynn Schuster, Betty Reiser and Edith Anthoine and the terrific women who participated on the planning committees. And a special note to Laurel Marx who designed our logo.

Next?

Izzy Guy, WILPF legislative director, leaves for Brussels to represent WMS at a NATO Alerts meting with NATO defense ministers. She carries our agenda to share with women from other countries for their consideration and further distribution.

We think this agenda is worthy of discussion with each of our organizations or networks. Perhaps you could ask for endorsements, send copies to senators and representatives, use it as a letter to editor, and reprint it in our newsletters. The broad support of Soviet and American women for this agenda gives it unusual significance.

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FROM DISARMAMENT TO DAYCARE: A WOMAN'S VISION FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

May 7, 1990

Message to Presidents Bush and Gorbachev from the Soviet-American Women's Summit

Meeting in New York and Washington, May 1-7, 1990, we, over 100 delegates to the Soviet-American Women's Summit representing diverse professional, racial, ethnic, religious and political backgrounds, express our hope for a successful summit and call on you to join us in launching a peaceful and just decade leading to the 21st century.

We are at a turning point for the fate of the earth and all its inhabitants. One road leads to environmental and economic renewal; the other to ecocide and poverty. One road leads to war between the haves and have-nots and the waste of precious human and natural resources; the other to a common ground of peace and sustainable development.

We call for the full and effective participation of women at every level of decision-making to ensure the comprehensive vision and democratic action needed to address the urgent challenges of our times. Every minute, 15 children die for lack of food, vaccines and health care while every minute nearly $2 million is spent on the military. On the eve of the 21st century, we must wholeheartedly commit ourselves to eradicating war, violence against women and children, discrimination, racism, hunger, illiteracy and poverty, and restoring the ecological health of our planet.

We applaud the end of the Cold War and urge rapid progress in climinating nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and boldly reducing conventional forces and military budgets to those necessary for defensive defense. We believe, however, that growing superpower cooperation should not be detrimental to the Third World. East-West coexistence must be combined with North-South cooperation, respect for self-determination and adherence to international law. We need both Perestroika and "Yankeestroika."

Toward this end, we agree to establish a joint Soviet-American International Women's Commission, open to women throughout the world, to study, monitor and act on critical issues and to develop collegial ties.

APRIL 30—MAY 15, 1990

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Following is our vision of some of the keys to a decent life in a sustainable world:

1. **Ensure the full participation of women at all levels of decision making.** Women's values, skills and perspectives are crucial to guiding the transformation of our societies. Women must have equal pay for work of comparable worth. Recognize that when women achieve gains, the entire society flourishes.

2. **Immediately enact a comprehensive nuclear test ban.** Stop the production of nuclear weapons and weapons grade materials. We should meet our energy needs through conservation and the development of alternative renewable energy sources and work towards the elimination of nuclear power.

3. **Demilitarize our societies.** We call for disarmament to proceed by rapid stages to a system of defensive defense. Eliminate nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and sharply reduce conventional forces. Move all military forces to stay within national boundaries. End the transfer or sale of weapons and nuclear technology to other countries. We must demilitarize our thinking and educate our peoples for peace.

4. **Convert from military to socially and ecologically responsible economies.** Develop a national conversion plan. Retrain personnel to deal with social needs while respecting natural resources. During the transition, measures should be taken to assist workers, communities and manufacturers currently dependent on military research, development and production.

5. **Halt human destruction of the earth's environment and fragile ecosystems; implement a global action plan for environmental restoration.** We call for ecological conversion of our economy: transform industry and agriculture to environmentally safe, clean and sustainable technologies and methods. Create incentives for local production of essential goods and services. Institute open, public and local control of energy sources. Support international cooperation for the prevention and clean up of ecological disasters. Halt exports of toxic wastes. Respect the rights of indigenous peoples and species which have lived in balance with nature for centuries.

6. **Respect human rights including economic, political, social, civil and health rights for all peoples.** We call for the complete elimination of personal, institutional, and societal racism and sexism as part of the human rights agenda. We call for the adoption and implementation of mechanisms which ban all forms of discrimination including racial, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, national, religious or sexual orientation. Reproductive rights must be protected. The UN Convention on All Forms of Discrimination Against Women must be ratified and enforced.

7. Put into practice the non-intervention principles of international law favor the resolution of all conflicts, including those based on racism, ethnic a national prejudices, by peaceful means, with due respect to national sovereignty and self-determination. Reinforce the role of the UN, World Court, and other international institutions in resolving conflicts nonviolently.

Acknowledge that the third world debt has been paid and take steps to remove it from the balance sheets of public and private financial institutions. Third World women and children have been paying the highest price for a debt contracted without their agreement.

8. Promote citizen diplomacy and cultural exchange to help reinforce the climate of superpower cooperation following the summit and support the United Nations as an international institution.

We, the delegates to the Soviet-American Women's Summit, believe it is possible to create a world free of wars, violence, hunger and humiliation. Otherwise, people would not have dreamed of it for generations. It is time for the world to be free of fear, hatred, poverty and injustice.

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SOVIET-AMERICAN WOMEN'S SUMMIT
From Disarmament to Daycare:
A Woman's Vision for the 21st Century
May 1-7, 1990

Draft Notes from Workshops

These notes are suggestions proposed during workshop meetings at the Soviet-American Women's Summit, May 5-7, 1990. They were not agreed upon, but are offered as ideas for you to consider with your organization or network.

I. Ensure the full participation of women at all levels of decision making. Women's values, skills and perspectives are crucial to guiding the transformation of our societies. Recognize that when women achieve gains, the entire society flourishes.

- Women must have equal pay for comparable worth.
- We support empowerment of women at all levels.
- Ratify and implement UN Convention on Discrimination Against Women.
- Appoint all delegations to international meetings and conferences so that they have 50% women participation.
- Women have the right to set agendas affecting them.
- Make a commitment to annual US/Soviet meetings for exchange of information and training and further policy development.
- Prepare, encourage, support and train women for political office who are committed to the women's agenda.
- Insist on respect for women's values and strengths and their definition of power; power can be nurturing and sharing rather than authoritarian and confrontational.
- Establish and support grassroots women's organizations.
- Educate women on the importance of political activity in achieving their self-interests and goals.

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- Women in the movement shall expand the leadership by working with younger women.
- Money must not be a barrier to women who run for office.
- Bring concerns of women of different racial and ethnic groups to our Presidents.
- Denounce and eliminate violence against women.
- Increase the presence of women at all levels of power.
- Internationalize and globalize our thinking and doing.
- Develop women's self confidence in their ability to run, win and hold office.
- Build grassroots women's groups organizing women around: issues, occupations, local problems. Knowledge gained in these efforts can lead to political office holding.
- Provide mentoring for women, especially young women.
- Provide practical training for women in how to run and win office.
- Raise money to support women's candidacies.
- Improve economic conditions so women will be able to work on political equity.
- Women should have control of our own health care.
- Achieve equitable distribution of resources.
- Stop export of toxins.
- Protect women in the workplace.
- Women should not pay the price for the transformation of the economy.
- Ensure free exchange of information.
- Reproductive rights: choice and access to information and contraception are essential.

II. Immediately enact a comprehensive test ban, and stop the production of nuclear weapons and weapons grade materials.

- Implement the demands of the Nevada Appeal from the citizens of Alma-Ata in Kazakhstan calling for an immediate worldwide comprehensive test ban.
- Negotiate an immediate end to nuclear testing and halt the production of nuclear weapons and weapons grade materials.
- Do not reopen Savannah River and Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons productions facilities and immediately shut down all remaining US weapons production facilities and all Soviet nuclear weapons facilities.
- Ban new production of conventional and nuclear weapons.
- Meet our energy needs through conservation and the development of alternative renewable energy sources.
- Work towards the rapid elimination of nuclear power as an energy source.
- Ban exports of nuclear reactor technology to other countries.
- Support Nuclear Free Zone Initiatives worldwide.

III. Demilitarize our societies.

- We call for disarmament to proceed by rapid stages to a system of defensive defense.
- Eliminate nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and sharply reduce conventional forces.
- Move all military forces to within national boundaries.
- End the transfer or sale of weapons and nuclear technology to other countries.
- Complete ban on chemical and biological weapons.
- Prohibit weapons in space.
- Ban all weapons trade.
- Call for a drastic reduction of strategic, offensive weapons.
- Observe international law as defined and adjudicated by the World Court.
- Drastically cut military spending in both countries with an aim to reduce by 50% in the next 5 years, and 75% in the next ten years.
- Halt any use of nuclear and/or other weapons technologies to threaten, dominate and otherwise manipulate other peoples.
- Halt the export of conventional weapons.
- A proposal that should be considered is the eventual dissolution of the NATO and Warsaw Pacts in favor of a strengthened organization - the existing Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). This institution which now includes military, economic, and human rights commitments by all countries in Europe plus the US and Canada should become a treaty with binding obligations on all parties. It can become the major security framework for Europe fully protecting all member countries without the presence of rival military blocs.

IV. Convert from military to socially and ecologically responsible economies.

- Develop a national conversion plan.
- Retrain personnel to deal with social needs while respecting natural resources.
- During the transition, measures should be taken to assist workers communities and manufacturers currently dependent on military research, development and production.
- Greater local control of energy policy.
- Improve economic conditions so that women will have more time for increased political participation.
- Drop barriers to economic exchange.
- Repeal Jackson-Vanick bill in the US Congress.
- US afford to USSR most favored nation status.
- Include southern hemisphere in development of international strategies.
- Restructure factories for economic conversion in order to provide increased employment opportunities for women.
- Provide training to women entrepreneurs in both countries and

provide increased opportunities for women owned joint ventures.
- Adopt a national conversion campaign for local communities in five areas:
  - Retooling in factories that convert to non-military production.
  - Reinvestment funding including government tax benefits.
  - Identify factories that should relocate to economically depressed areas.
  - Provide relocation and/or retraining assistance to workers who are displaced.
  - Attractive early retirement packages should be made available.
- Convert the military to constructive civilian activity.
- Provide a decent standard of living for all the world's populations.
- Recognize that the Third World debt is unpayable.

<u>V. Halt human destruction of the earth's environment and fragile ecosystems; implement a global action plan for environmental restoration.</u>

- We call for ecological conversion of our economy: transform dirty industries and unsustainable agriculture to environmentally safe, clean and sustainable technologies and methods.
- Create incentives for local production of essential goods and services.
- Institute open, public and local control of energy sources.
- Support international cooperation for the prevention and clean up of ecological disasters.
- Halt exports of toxic wastes and environmentally harmful public works projects and industries.
- Respect the rights of indigenous peoples and species which have lived in balance with nature for centuries.
- Establish strategies to address environmental refugees including the need for relocation of employment and housing.
- Develop a global environmental map identifying sources and locations of devastation.
- Recognize we must stop the war on the environment and support the efforts of such organizations as the International Green Cross.
- Ecological conversion through transfer of polluting and poisoning technologies into clean technology with no job loss and retraining if needed.
- Develop conservation strategies.
- Develop alternative and sustainable agricultural strategies and appropriate technology.
- Inspect and monitor to ensure that military facilities of both countries comply with Environmental Protection Standards.
- Strive for energy efficiency in transportation and building construction.
- Create an International Green Rescue Brigade to help with

ironmental disasters.
- Establish committee on the relocation of environmental refugees.
- Develop an environmental map of the Earth's real problems and clean up needs. Distribute it widely and educate citizens on the need for serious environmental actions including conservation, recycling and restoral of damaged ecosystems.

VI. Respect human rights including economic, political, social and civil rights for all peoples.

- Understand that human rights include economic, social, political and civil rights.
- We call for the complete elimination of personal, institutional, and societal racism and sexism as part of the human rights agenda.
- We call for the adoption and implementation of mechanisms which ban all forms of discrimination including racial, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, national, religious, disability or sexual orientation.
- The UN Convention on All Forms of Discrimination Against Women must be ratified and enforced.
- Lift any and all restrictions on free travel between international borders.
- Increase education and awareness on the dangers of drug use that is devastating the inner city communities in the United States and that has the potential to wreak similar damage in the future in communities in the Soviet Union.
- Allocate substantial funds directly to local communities to fight drug trafficking and to promote drug use education.
- Allocate funds for research, education and health delivery to reach a worldwide goal of "Health for All By the Year 2000"
- Provide training in non-violent resolution of conflicts and peace studies for all citizens in their communities and for children and students in school from Pre-school through graduate school.
- Denounce and eliminate violence against women.
- Establish affordable and safe health care for women and children.
- Develop effective safety measures in the workplace.
- Reproductive rights are fundamental and non-negotiable and are to include freedom of choice and access to information and contraception.
- Women must have control over decisions regarding their reproductive rights, reproductive planning, birth practices, health care, child nutrition, and protection from environmental hazards.
- Adequate funding for women's health care must be provided, and women must be part of the decision making about the allocation of that health care.
- Women must be guaranteed protection from violence against

women, including prosecution of offenders, and better
to eliminate institutional sexism in our society that
and supports violence against women covertly and overtly.
- Pornography and prostitution must be regarded as exploit
of women.
- Literacy education is essential for full participation in
society and must be provided to all.
- Ensure full access and participation of disabled person in all
aspects of community, professional and private life.
- Ensure full participation in society of persons of all sexual
preference.
- Work to eliminate religious prejudice against persons of other
faiths.
- Eliminate barriers to work on the basis of age and gender,
recognizing women's right to work.
- Eliminate hunger,epidemics, and illiteracy.
- Women must have reproductive choice and access to adequate
health care for themselves and their children.
- Adequate funding for health care must be allocated, and women
must take part in deciding how the money is spent.
- Protection from violence against women.
- Pornography and prostitution must be included as threats to
women.
- Education and literacy are essential for health care (and
population).
- Drug and alcohol treatment must be available.
- Mental illness and physical disability should be included in
health care.
- Lift travel restrictions.
- Hold an international health summit in which women's primary
role as care providers should be recognized.
- Improve programs to treat victims of and to prevent further
child abuse, sexual abuse, and abuse to women, children and
families (also abuse as the result of addiction to alcohol and/or
drugs).
- Create health care programs that support the family including
prenatal care, child health programs and elders health care.

VII. Put into practice the non-intervention principles of international law.

- We favor the resolution of all conflicts, including those based
on racism, ethnic and national prejudices, by peaceful means,
with due respect to national sovereignty and self-determination.
- Reinforce the role of the UN, World Court, and other
international institutions in resolving conflicts nonviolently.
- Abide by nonviolence in addressing any national, ethnic, and
racial problems.
- Respect local people's rights to solve their own local
problems.

III. Promote citizen diplomacy and cultural exchange to help reinforce the climate of superpower cooperation following the summit and support the United Nations.

- Ensure women are actively involved in sister city exchanges.
- Exchange professionals in early childhood education - practitioners, as well as theoreticians.
- Saturate our two countries with exchange of every kind, and encourage American adults and school children to learn Russian and other languages. Our lack of language ability isolates the Soviet Union from the rest of the world.
- Guarantee that there will be an equal number of men and women in the US and Soviet delegations to the UN Conference on the Environment to be held in Brazil in June, 1992, and other international conferences.
- Guarantee that issues and concerns of women will be included in the reports to be presented by both nations at this conference.
- Make full payment of all current and past dues to the United Nations.

We, the delegates to the Soviet-American Women's Summit, believe it is possible to create a world free of wars, violence, hunger and humiliation. Otherwise people would not have dreamed of it for generations. We call on our presidents, Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev, to join us in this great endeavor.

SOVIET-AMERICAN WOMEN'S SUMMIT
May 5, 1990, Washington, DC

The Challenge
Cora Weiss

We are here to launch a decade of decency with the full participation of women at every level of decision making which will be the only way to ensure democracy.

We are here to do something no one has ever done before - to plan for a new century.

We are women worried about the whole world - not only about women.

We are here to say that war is waste and waste is an ecological crime.

We are here to help governments retrain soldiers to learn productively useful skills, to demand that military machines including nuclear, conventional, chemical and biological be destroyed or converted to socially responsible consumer use.

Some of you have told me it would be difficult to emerge from here with a common agenda because of our differences. But I believe we are united in our fear for our children's future; we are united in our determination to liberate our vision of the future that was frozen in a Cold War for the past 45 years.

We transcend grassroots community leadership, national and international leadership. We are here as women and as mothers.

By the year 2000, 80% of the world's population will be so-called Third World. The majority will be young, and 50% of those under 25 will be unemployed. Someone has said, we have seen the future and it is not like what it used to be.

We have just spent three days in New York City, Soviet and American women, students together of extraordinary Third World women experts. We heard their views about the two killing trades, the arms trade and the drug trade. We heard their appeal to recognize the easing of East-West tension and to reject militarist structures which supported 150 wars, <u>all</u> in the Third, developing world, since World War II.

We do not have time to review their poignant brilliance from debt crisis to development, from white dominance to colonial repression, from the need for economic structural changes to warnings about the high cost of illiteracy, disease and gender

inequality. Those presentations will be available in tape cassettes.

The end of this past decade witnessed the tumbling of the walls that separated people because of ideological fears. In this decade women must now begin to break down the walls that separate us, racial and religious barriers, political and class barriers.

Mrs. Evtushenko is here as a living reminder of the genocide of nuclear power. I hope we can agree that there is no justification for anything nuclear. We must try to transcend our differences to reach together to create a new political culture, a feminist culture, that will not only guarantee the survival of this planet - for survival alone is not enough - but survival with social, economic, political and human rights with respect for international law.

We cannot leave the fate of the earth to be bargained away by two fellows from two northern nations. Women, Soviet and American women, women from all nations must be at that table, too. Our ideas, our visions and our expertise must be recognized.

Looking around this room - it is clear that we cannot be ignored. We must climb on the backs of every decisionmaker, and you can be sure they are men, until they hear and heed our views.

I urge my North American colleagues, please remember that our numbers should not dominate the space. I urge my Soviet colleagues to realize this is an experiment that cannot fail and to take advantage of the space and time to express yourselves.

This place called Earth belongs to us. Let us exert our responsibility to take the best care of it and all of its inhabitants.

THE SOVIET-AMERICAN WOMEN'S
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THE FEMINIZATION OF POWER
THE SOVIET-AMERICAN WOMEN'S SUMMIT AND LEADERSHIP FOR THE 90'S

Sarah Harder, President
Women For Meaningful Summits

The Soviet-American Women's Summit offers the next frontier for exploration and redefinition of power. Women leaders from the two superpowers are meeting to explore an agenda FROM DAYCARE TO DISARMAMENT: A WOMEN'S VISION FOR THE 21ST CENTURY. The superpower status of our two nations is based upon warheads in a world where the emerging priorities are economic, environmental, and human development. Bilateral meetings, even among giants, may go the way of the dinosaur as new global and multilateral forums are explored. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) joins a series of economic and environmental summits in providing new settings for high-level international dialogue.

Nonetheless, at this moment in history this particular bilateral meeting is historic. In both the USA and the USSR, women are underrepresented majorities facing new challenges and opportunities. Institutional structures in both countries are rigid and resistant to change. Some declare that both our two governments are in gridlock, paralyzed by bureaucracy and lack of leadership. Both nations are absorbed in domestic challenges at a moment that cries for reaching out, especially to developing countries. Our summit reminds us that as the Cold War dies, we must seek common security for our common global future.

In this year of dizzying change nongovernmental groups worldwide have shown new capacity to shape issues and mobilize the public. In this summit women leaders from the two superpowers will assess how to build more effective roles and shape more responsible national and international policy. While producing a document for our two Presidents, this summit also commits us to much more: WOMEN'S RIGHTS AS HUMAN RIGHTS; LINKING DISARMAMENT, DEVELOPMENT, ECOLOGY, EQUALITY; WOMEN AND POLITICS. Its themes will press us to the cutting edge of current and future power.

We are considering not only a common agenda but a collaboration, a commitment to move that agenda in the years ahead. We come together not just to talk but to listen, to respect differences, to find themes of consensus and cooperation. We come with expertise. We all come ready to respect and affirm the experience of others, to learn and find together what we could not find separately. Beginning with present reality, we are committed to find new paths to our future, to move safely together into the 21st century.

Every futurist agrees that the 1990's are a watershed decade, marking a transition from restrictions imposed in the 80's to the world we must build to survive. In 1980 a statistical snapshot from the United Nations measured the gulf between rich and poor: Women, who are one-half of the adult population and one-third of the paid workforce, perform two-thirds of all the worlds's work at one-tenth of its wages and own less than one percent of its wealth. The UN Decade for Women was a decade of global economic recession that struck hardest at those on the margin. Everywhere those most on the margin are women and children. In 1983 the world spent $1.5 million a minute on arms. Just 15 days and 15 hours at that rate matches the amount of aid invested that year in all developing countries. In the 80's debt and drugs linked North and South in new relationships of life and death, and democracy's stirrings sent ripples around the world.

In 1983 John Naisbett's book Megatrends became a U.S. best-seller, as a "field guide to the future." Naisbitt declared that understanding the present is our best guide to the future in a "world swarming with too much data and too little knowledge." He identified ten major shifts carrying us from an industrial to an information society and from a national to a

global economy, at the same time that traditional hierarchies are replaced by new participatory structures. In a later article Naisbitt admitted that he had missed one of biggest changes of all. There should have been eleven megatrends, he agreed, and the one he overlooked (the entry of women into the laborforce and the public forum) would continue to have unprecedented impact on social, economic and political institutions.

In 1984 I termed that missing megatrend the "feminization of power." (This term was borrowed by my colleague Ellie Smeal for a U.S. campaign urging women to run for office.) As a semanticist, I have analyzed why the term "feminization of power" makes so many men and women uneasy. The root of discomfort, I believe, has to do with two stereotyped definitions--one concerning feminists, the other about power. I'd like to review these stereotypes and offer alternatives.

What is a feminist? Someone male or female who believes the world cannot work well so long as there are separate and unequal distinctions based on sex; someone who believes that issues like poverty disproportionately affecting women and children today are as significant as the issues of wealth and weapons, which at this point in our history disproportionately engage men. Feminists are women and men who are tired of caricatured distinctions between the sexes which reinforce prototypes of macho strong men and passive female dependency. Feminists know that these stereotypes keep us from fulfilling our own potential and from recognizing others. And feminists know that until we utilize the creative capacity of half the human race which has been excluded from decision making, the world can never be whole.

Feminists recognize that this world faces a serious minority problem--that is, most decisions at this time in our history are made by a tiny minority of the world's population--white, middle-aged, middle-class males. Overwhelmingly, worldwide, policy and decision-making and the structures and processes which constrain them are dominated by that narrow perspective of human experience and values. As we look forward to issues as basic as human survival, we ask ourselves whether the perspectives which determine our directions and the power processes which control them are those we can still afford.

The body of international reports compiled for the UN Decade for Women acknowledge that one real area of progress worldwide is in the growth and efficacy of non-governmental organizations of women. But these reports also remind us that pressure from without rarely substitutes for power within. The decision-making process is informed by the experiences of those making the decisions. As priorities are set and policies established, decision-makers invariably and without malice promote goals which support their interests. The effect is obvious, inevitable, and worldwide. Women's interests and needs are not only not priorities; they have barely been acknowledged.

This brings me to a new definition of power. The "feminization of power" makes people uneasy when they understand power as that force which imposes upon or excludes others. In macho terms, power is something which is used to bully or exclude. But women and men must see power instead as the fuel which makes the system work, the sap which generates growth in plants, electricity which turns on the rural countryside. It is the creative human energy which we reflect and share with one another, in which we discover new and better ways of doing things. The truth about this kind of power is that only when it is shared is it real. This is the only kind of power which will carry us safely into the next century.

So the feminization of power need not be threatening. It means bringing women into a human partnership which recognizes and addresses our problems. We need to show that

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In 1990 John Naisbi
Patricia Aburdene.
are included. These

what have been called women's issues are vital human issues and that addressing them is in the pragmatic best interest of our nations and the world. We need to understand power and what it is not, how to use it, how to extend it, how to exploit its energy for everyone's benefit.

In 1990 John Naisbitt published another best-seller called, Megatrends 2000 with co-author Patricia Aburdene. It is subtitled "Ten New Directions for the 1990's." This time women are included. These megatrends are:

1. The Global Economic Boom of the 1990's
2. Renaissance in the Arts
3. The Emergence of Free-Market Socialism
4. Global Lifestyles and Cultural Nationalism
5. The Privatization of the Welfare State
6. The Rise of the Pacific Rim
7. **THE 1990'S: DECADE OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP**
8. The Age of Biology
9. Religious Revival of the Third Millennium
10. Triumph of the Individual

The chapter "1990's: Decade of Women in Leadership" emphasizes corporate structures and labor force changes which will increase the priority of work and family issues such as child care. However, its section on "Managing the External Environment" also addresses global and macroeconomic themes--1992 and the European Economic Community; the Pacific Rim; Global Environmental Concerns. The authors assert: "In the decade of the 1990's we are moving from **managing control** to **leadership of accelerated change**," and "Women and the information society--which celebrates brain over brawn--are a partnership made in heaven:" This chapter concludes with a short list of women heads of state and the statement: "In the first decades of the third millennium we and our children will look back at the later half of the 20th century and remark on how quaint were the days when women were excluded from the top echelons of business and political leadership, much as we today recall when women could not vote. How naive were the men and women of the 1980's, we will say, those people who believed in something called a 'glass ceiling' and thought it would forever exclude women from the top."

As was its predecessor, Megatrends 2000 is a highly derivative volume. Both owe much to the work of corporate consultant and Harvard Business School Professor Rosabeth Moss Kanter. Her 1977 book Men and Women of the Corporation first mapped out the points of impasse for women in male-model institutional hierarchies. She also showed how and why these institutional structures were dysfunctional, how they provided access and privilege for the few, while excluding the creative capacity of the majority.

Kanter's 1987 book The Change Masters focused on innovation and entrepreneurship in the American corporation. Her description of the characteristics of innovative organizations, however, has application to other institutions and to volunteer groups. Her analysis shows that the most innovative and productive organizations share the following characteristics:

- Responsibilities are defined by results, with flexibility in ways they are achieved;
- Resources (time or money) are available for projects beyond formal organizational job descriptions;

- Abundant and visible recognition is given for achievements, not just a few awards for superstars;
- Support is available for frequent continuing education, with special assignments to stretch minds and imaginations;
- Emphasis is placed on communication through all levels of the organization;
- Cross-fertilization of ideas is reinforced by opportunities to bring those ideas to fruition;
- A networking structure, with special teams and task forces, brings together people at various levels to deal with new concerns and issues;
- Frequent trials of new concepts and new ideas involve people and commit them to success of creative initiatives;

Kanter's 1989 book, When Giants Learn to Dance (Mastering the Challenges of Strategy, Management and Careers in the 90's), forms the basis for much that is also predicted in Megatrends, 2000. She documents the need to revitalize both institutions and management, making them "Focused, Fast, Friendly and Flexible." She describes the kind of organizing that promotes synergies (a whole which multiplies the value of the parts). She advocates the "new alliances" and "working partnerships" which link expertise to create "newstreams." She states, "To do more with less in the demanding context of the global Olympics means being able to capture and develop opportunities as they arise, to ensure that good ideas don't slip away and that new ventures are ready to lead the company in new directions". She predicts the "Coming Demise of Bureaucracy and Hierarchy" and that good corporate policy and good national policy will work together to address human aspirations and needs.

The works of Rosabeth Moss Kanter describe the feminization of power. Many in the U.S. women's movement have consciousiy or instinctively applied her principles to creating a national delivery system in the last ten years. A Council of Presidents of 50 national organizations meets monthly in Washington to strategize on implementation of the Women's Agenda for Congress and the Administration. In 35 state capitals diverse women's groups have created permanent flexible networks for lobbying their legislatures and governors. Principles in the 26-plank National Plan of Action for Women form an operating base of consensus for these groups. The federally-sponsored 1977 National Women's Conference led by Bella Abzug institutionalized the U.S. women's movement and connected it to the UN Decade for Women and the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies. It became the U.S. launching pad for the feminization of power.

To succeed, the Soviet-American Women's Summit must produce much more than one more document, however stirring its words. Women make wonderful statements on paper, which often have no power and go nowhere; they molder to dust in file cabinets or on library shelves. The documents which call for our new reality already exist, some buried and dusty, but all are officially acknowledged by our governments: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948); The Helsinki Final Act (1975); The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979); the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies (1985); the Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development ("Our Common Future," 1987); and the Concluding Document of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (1989).

Using our vision as fuel, this Soviet-American Women's Summit can become another launching pad, creating a new superpower delivery system connected to the needs of the world. This summit challenges us to find in ourselves the feminization of power and to use it to shape our common future. For today and for the world tomorrow, we must remember that we are our sister's keeper. At the heart of this summit is the promise to act to change the world beginning in our own backyards.

May 1990
University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire