

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	re: US Engagement in World Affairs possible meeting [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	b(6)
002. paper	Prospectus re: Starting a Policial Committee (6 pages)	01/1997	Personal Misfile
003. list	re: potential candidates for the Presidential Medal of Freedom (3 pages)	ca. 1998	b(6)

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**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
 First Lady's Office  
 Melanne Verveer  
 OA/Box Number: 20032

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

Foreign Affairs - Global Leadership: [Foreign Assistance and Engagement]

2013-0534-S

rc1532

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**RESTRICTION CODES**

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Free  
→ Program Review  
Engagement  
Creativity  
Contribution

INTEGRITY  
PRELIMINATION

# Bracy Williams & Company

DRAFT

March 30, 1998

TO: Jill Buckley  
Alicia Bambara

SENT VIA FAX: 216-3237

FR: Terrence Bracy *TB*  
Barry Blechman

RE: Building domestic support for foreign assistance

In the post-Cold War political environment, the public at large is severely disconnected from both the facts about and rationale behind foreign assistance. This fundamental lack of comprehension and ownership has led to repercussions up and down the political decision-making chain, endangering the level of federal support of foreign assistance. The Business Alliance for International Economic Development believes that a coordinated information campaign focusing on the aid/trade dynamic is critical to the long-term future of USAID.

To address this disconnect, we believe two key constituencies should be targeted on a grass-roots basis:

- ◆ The *business community* through an education campaign focusing on the aid/trade connection.
- ◆ The *youth of America* through development and distribution of curricula and related materials to inspire a new generation of outward-thinking entrepreneurial leaders.

A three part strategy will have a lasting effect on the future of the foreign assistance debate in the United States – without extensive use of staff resources or tax dollars:

1. Identify appropriate domestic organizations impacted by foreign assistance, and utilize their membership rolls and communications infrastructures as vehicles for information about foreign assistance.
2. Reshape existing content about foreign assistance into formats that are relevant, easily accessible to the target audiences, and effective uses of new communications technology.
3. Utilize public figures, like the First Lady, to promote these partnerships through creative use of various media outlets.

### **Business Community:**

The Business Alliance believes continued dissemination of the core aid/trade message is critical to engaging the business community. The question is how to augment the

Government and Public Affairs Consultants

601 Thirteenth Street, N.W. Suite 900 South Washington, DC 20005 (202) 783-5588 FAX (202) 783-5595

tremendous financial and staff commitment USAID and other organizations already make to further get the message out. Four action items are needed to engage the business community:

1. Further understand the public's misconceptions about foreign assistance through polling analysis and focus groups.
2. Package existing USAID information and materials in formats that the business community and industry trades will respond to, including white papers, web content and videotapes.
3. Identify appropriate partner organizations that will serve as conduits for information and facilitate the aid/trade discussion through existing organizational structures, including the US Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers and the Jaycees.
4. Creatively utilize the First Lady and other political leaders to draw attention and media coverage to the discussions taking place within these organizations.

How would this play out in reality? Research shows many in the business community are uninformed about the aid/trade relationship. Working with international organizations like the Chamber of Commerce and the Jaycees, the Business Alliance could foster a pilot project featuring ten local Chambers matched with ten USAID programs. The Chambers could study "their" program, begin email correspondence with USAID officials on-site, research the local impact of the project, then participate in a special panel during the Chambers' national conference exploring the findings of the pilot sites. With added participation of political leaders like Brian Atwood, a program like this would gain limited mainstream media coverage but significant internal coverage through the Chambers' internal communications vehicles. After a successful pilot, a second round of partnerships could begin in year two.

Other leaders, like the First Lady, can raise these partnerships' profiles through speeches to organizations like the Business Roundtable or visits to local branches involved in exchange programs.

### Reaching Out to Youth

The future of foreign assistance will be decided by the youth of America. It is critical that students have access to relevant information about the importance of these programs. To reach students, and the adults they come in daily contact with, it is important to identify effective distribution paths. As with the business community, partner student organizations will be the most effective way to connect with these students.

~~\*~~ Engaging students is by nature different than engaging the business community. Rather than focusing purely on dollar and cents issues, fostering several different partnership tracks can ensure that a wide range of students can become energized by the concept and goals of foreign assistance. At the same time, it is difficult to navigate educational

other Biz ideas:

State Biz offices  
Chambers of Commerce  
Membership Orgs

Kirwan's  
Rotary

> already  
have Int'l.  
progs.

bureaucracies to reach these students – particularly when high-profile political leaders are involved.

The solution is targeting two key constituencies:

1. National organizations that tend to attract motivated student-leaders.
2. Media outlets with national educational reach.

\* AFS. } USAID should target both what can be considered foreign assistance's natural constituency – the "Peace Corps" demographic – through organizations like Model ~~United Nations Clubs~~. Equally important, however, is to reach the new generations of young entrepreneurs through organizations like Junior Achievement, Future Business Leaders of America, 4H Clubs, Future Farmers of America, and many, many others. These organizations can help motivated, entrepreneurial students understand the foreign assistance argument.

Existing material from USAID programs can be re-shaped into on-line curricula, and the Internet can be used for communication between communities. For example, a Junior Achievement club in Iowa could market products manufactured by student-colleagues in Africa, creating a tangible, valuable education on the free market system and cultural exchange.

Getting the message out to students is both the greatest challenge of this program and our greatest opportunity. Beyond relying on the communications and membership structure of national organizations, USAID should target partnerships with Channel One or Cable in the Classroom to promote and facilitate this debate. Channel One, for example, reaches over 40% of the nation's high school students and would be thrilled to feature a major administration initiative – especially if that meant access to on-camera interview with the First Lady. We have a good relationship with Channel One, and could open a dialogue when it is appropriate. Other student-centered media outlets, including magazines and television programs, would be appropriate targets for an information campaign driven by political leaders.

We look forward to discussing these ideas with you further. Please contact us if you have any questions or would like to further these concepts. In addition, we asked Michael Bracy to contact Alicia Bambara to follow up. Michael joined Bracy Williams & Company this February after six and a half years with RXL Pulitzer, an educational communications firm in Seattle, and is an expert in creative use of the Internet, video, television and other communications technologies.

# Carnegie Corporation of New York

437 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 371-3200 • Fax: (212) 207-6342

David A. Hamburg, M.D.  
President Emeritus

August 10, 1998

Melanne Verveer  
Chief of Staff to the First Lady  
Office of the First Lady  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

**Fax: 202-456-6244**

Dear Melanne:

It was a wonderful visit on Friday! I always find these discussions so stimulating and encouraging – addressing great themes of our public life and the future of our democracy.

With this note, I am sending a draft letter of invitation to the international affairs meeting and also an updated invitation list in light of our discussion.

I will shortly send some substantive remarks that might contribute to the speech at the Foreign Policy Association and/or Hillary's opening remarks at our meeting on U.S. engagement.

In any event, all of this is clearly tentative. She will of course make good final decisions. My aim is warm up her circuits and to ease her tasks.

Once again, my deep appreciation for all the vital work you are doing.

With every good wish,

As always



P.S. What do you think about the Harvard human rights event?

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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- Dave Hamburg

B: Business

(b)(6) [COPI]  
(b)(6)

(Pm)

US ENGAGEMENT IN WORLD AFFAIRS

Possibilities for an Exploratory Meeting

Graham Allison - Harvard, Kennedy Dean  
Bldg. Democ Inst. in Russia  
main Russian reformers

Carol Bellamy  
John Bryant  
Warren Christopher

John Gardner  
Father Herburgh  
Jane Holl - exec dir Carnegie Comm. NSC

women  
Communi-  
cations

B James Johnson

B Helene Kaplan - Schultz So aff comm. - NYC lawyer

Nancy Kassebaum

Steven Kull - UMD survey researcher

Polling Expert

Joshua Lederberg - Rockefeller U.

B Sol Linowitz

B Vincent Mai AEA investor grew up in So aff.  
his is one of few white members of  
AEC.

Joseph Nye

B John Pepper CEO - Procter + Gamble - sensitive to  
indus. people

William Perry

Condi Rice

Eliot Richardson

David Hamburg:  
Sandy B. Rubin?  
Strobe & Pickering  
Attwood.  
Carol Bellamy

B David Rockefeller

Pat Schroeder

Colin Campbell

Joan Spero - Doris Duke Found'n

\* Gus Speth <UNDP> ???

Bryan Heber

M.C.  
Lee Hamilton

Marta Tienda

Cyrus Vance

*Elie Wiesel*

John Whitehead

B

James Wolfensohn

B John Young

B Alex Zaffaroni - Hi Tech - bio tech  
pioneer researchers

Communications  
m Kaeb?  
Crumble?

women

Joan Speke

Ellen Levine

Helene Kaye - corp. bonds

Business

Byron Wehr

Peter Hart

- Kelly?

- Pepper - Procter & Gamble

- John Bryant - Sealed

- Jim Johnson - Fannie Mae

- John Whitehead

- John Young - former CEO

Hewlett - Packard

# Carnegie Corporation of New York

437 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 371-3200 • Fax: (212) 207-6342

David A. Hamburg, M.D.  
President Emeritus

July 28, 1998

Melanne Verveer  
Chief of Staff to the First Lady  
Office of the First Lady  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Melanne:

You have been very kind and considerate lately. So what else is new? In any event, I am very grateful.

I was delighted to get word that we will have a session on US foreign policy engagement and the public sometime in September. I stand ready for that session -- and earlier if you want my help in planning it.

Thanks so much for sending the First Lady's speech in Shanghai. It is excellent. Indeed, I thought the whole trip went exceedingly well. Altogether, it changed the odds in favor of a mainly constructive, cooperative, progressive relationship between our country and China. I certainly hope so.

The President and First Lady held up their end of the bargain superbly well. The response in China and at home reinforces the inclination I expressed to you last month that it would be beneficial to make a similar visit to India and Pakistan toward the end of this year. It would be possible both to deepen our understanding of their predicament and to open their minds to our views about paths to a better future. I believe, the crucial nuclear problem should be put in the larger context of the socioeconomic development of the two countries and their integration into emerging international systems.

Congratulations on your role in the China trip. What a fascinating experience!

I look forward with pleasure to seeing you soon.

With very best regards,

As always,



**Recommended Participants List**

State - who  
Steinberg  
Blinken

*Graham T. Allison*  
Douglas Dillon Professor of Government  
Center for Science and International Affairs  
Harvard University  
John F. Kennedy School of Government  
79 John F. Kennedy Street  
Cambridge, MA 02138

yes

Attwood ?

Bellamy yes

Buckley no

*Terry Brace*  
601 13th Street, NW  
Suite 900 South  
Washington, D.C. 20005

yes

*John Bryant*  
Chairman & CEO  
Sara Lee Corporation  
Three First National Plaza  
Chicago, IL 60602

No

*Colin Cambell*  
President  
Rockefeller Brothers Fund  
437 Madison Avenue  
New York, NY 10022

- Susan Sechler

*David Hamburg*  
437 Madison Avenue  
New York, NY 10022

yes

*Congressman Lee Hamilton*  
Rayburn Office Building  
Room 2314  
Washington, D.C. 20515-1409

yes

*Peter Hart*  
Peter Hart and Associates  
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20009

?

Reverend Brian Hehir  
Harvard University Divinity School  
45 Francis Avenue  
Cambridge, MA 02138

no

James Johnson  
3900 Wisconsin Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20016

?

Craig Kennedy?  
Henry Kissinger yes

Professor Steven Kull  
7409 Fairfax Road  
Bethesda, MD 20814

yes

Ellen Levine  
Editor-in-Chief  
Good Housekeeping  
224 West 57th Street  
New York, NY 10019

yes

(Joe Lochort, McCann)

Newton Minnow  
Counsel  
Sidley & Austin  
One First National Plaza  
Suite 4800 Chicago, IL 60603

no

Karen Mulhauser  
Mulhauser and Associates  
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW  
Suite 712  
Washington, D.C. 20036

yes

John Pepper  
Proctor and Gamble  
1 Proctor and Gamble Plaza  
Cincinnati, OH 45202

?

Joan Spero  
President  
Doris Duke Charitable Foundation  
650 Fifth Avenue, 19th Floor  
New York, NY 10019

no

Spero yes?

John Whitehead  
16 Sutton Square  
New York, NY 10022

yes

*John Young*  
Former President & CEO  
Hewlett-Packard Company  
1501 Page Mill Road  
Palo Alto, CA 94305

*no*

### Possible Administration Appointments

~~Brian Atwood, USAID  
Jill Buckley, USAID (has been developing a coherent response on this issue)  
Sandy Berger  
Thomas Pickering or Strobe Talbott~~

Carol Bellamy  
UNICEF  
3 United Nations Plaza  
13th Floor  
New York, NY 10017

*yes*

James Gustave Speth  
Administrator  
United Nations Development Program  
One United Nations Plaza  
New York, NY 10017

*yes*



Antony J. Blinken  
09/10/98 06:45:34 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Katharine Button/WHO/EOP, Laura E. Schiller/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: First Lady's Speeches on International Engagement

FYI, in a meeting we held yesterday with NGOs to discuss how to secure public and congressional support for our international affairs budget, a few points came up that may be relevant to your upcoming speeches:

1. As a selling point, concrete success stories that show how our \$/assistance/advice/engagement are making a difference have real traction. Since the first Lady has probably seen more of these than any American in the course of her travels, she's in a good position to describe the real word effect of US engagement.
2. always worth reminding people that international affairs spending represents just 1% of our budget and that it has declined 50% in real terms over past decade. (Most people think its 15-20% of budget).
3. Also worth reminding people that, among major industrialized nations, US ranks dead last as provider of foreign assistance (as a percentage of GNP).

# OPINION

ST. PAUL PIONEER PRESS

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR  
345 Cedar St.  
St. Paul, Minn. 55101

FAX TO: LETTERS TO THE EDITOR  
Fax Number: 612-228-5564  
Internet: letters@pioneerpress.com

We welcome your letters. Make them exclusive to us. Please provide a full signature, city of residence and (for verification) your address and daytime phone. Preference goes to letters under 225 words. All letters are subject to editing. No more than one letter per writer every 60 days. Direct questions to 228-5545.

## Looking *the* Other Way

*The attitude that the rest of the world is irrelevant to U.S. concerns imperils democracy: Ignorance makes participation impossible.*

**D**espite increasing globalization, many Americans apparently do not see the importance and connection that international events have for their daily lives.

**PATRICIA ELLIS**  
GUEST  
COLUMNIST

A case in point: In 1997, the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press

reflect the belief that most Americans lack interest and understanding of world affairs. The exception to this is in times of impending U.S. involvement or crisis, as in the case of Iraq, when there is extensive press coverage in preparation for possible military action.

News executives should show leadership and be willing to give their audiences not only what they think they want, but also information they need to participate in our democracy. International news coverage should not be relegated to crisis coverage, but should be included on a regular basis with follow-ups to stories that are no longer major issues of the day.

reported that most Americans believe that events in Asia, Mexico, Western Europe and Canada have limited impact on them.

Ironically, there are more links today between domestic and international issues than ever before. They include trade and jobs, refugees, immigration, drugs, terrorism, U.S. troops overseas, American students abroad, global warming, the Asian financial crisis and U.S. policy toward Cuba.

Despite the long list of local and national connections on international issues, the public is not seeing these links. Educators and the media, the government, concerned citizens and organizations committed to global engagement share responsibility for making the American public recognize the extent and importance of global interconnectedness.

How can the situation be changed and who can make a difference?

The American educational system is a place to begin. Increased emphasis on history, diplomatic relations, language studies and especially geography provide a foundation for global awareness and should begin at an early age.

The media have a major role to play. News organizations, fiercely competing for viewers and readers for ratings and advertising, have cut back on foreign news coverage to

to university, labor, business, civic groups and the media.

Town meetings should be held on topics which get at the nexus of domestic and international concerns, such as drugs, global crime, immigration, the involvement of U.S. troops abroad and the im-

Local news organizations, especially television, where most people get their news, have a special responsibility. The news media can make special efforts to connect international stories with local concerns and interests. The issues and stories will vary from city to city or region to region depending on industries, ethnic make-up of the population, section of the country and proximity to U.S. borders.

The government needs to expand its efforts to engage the public. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright has set an excellent example. Her foreign policy speeches around the country, which explain the importance and relevance of foreign policy issues to Americans, have attracted public attention and media coverage. More senior officials from different government agencies working on international issues should be sent all over the country. The speakers should meet with as broad a cross-section of local communities as possible, from world affairs councils,



T. BRINTON

ILLUSTRATION BY TIM BRINTON

### POLICY FORUM

"Estrangement of Engagement: Local Responses to Global Challenges," at the University of Minnesota Humphrey Institute, runs from 7:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. today. General admission is \$80; call 625-8330 for more information.

On the agenda:

- 7:30 a.m., **BILL RICHARDSON**, U.S. ambassador to the U.N., speaks.
- 9:30 a.m., panel on globalization's impact.
- 12:30 p.m., ex-secretary of defense and energy **JAMES SCHLESINGER** speaks.
- 1:30 p.m., panel on engaging the public; Pioneer Press guest writer **PATRICIA ELLIS** will participate.

Asian financial crisis. Such meetings can attract different, diverse audiences with voices from domestic groups whose work has an international dimension and are not the usual participants in foreign policy meetings.

The concerned public — which includes foreign affairs professionals, world affairs council members, and representatives from universities, nonprofits, business, labor and politics — can play a key role by mounting pressure on the media to provide more and better international news coverage. The process begins by taking concrete steps to identify articulate spokespeople, making con-

tacts with reporters and editors, and writing articles and opinion columns.

A concerted effort is needed to prove to Americans how great an effect foreign policy matters and international events have on their daily lives. We live in an increasingly interdependent world. On the eve of the 21st century we cannot retreat from our commitment to global engagement. We must make global engagement a concept Americans can relate to and support.

Ellis is executive director of the Women's Foreign Policy Group. She covered foreign affairs for "MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour" and was a fellow at Harvard University's Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy.

WFPG,  
884-8597

August 25, 1998

Mr. John M. Doe  
Address Line 1  
Address Line 2  
City, State 20001-Zip

Dear John:

I would like to invite you to join me and a small group of national leaders to explore ways in which we can strengthen public support for the United States' engagement in international affairs in the post-Cold War political environment. In my travels abroad, I have been deeply impressed by the significance of our great nation throughout the world. Yet, I am concerned by the apparent gap between the importance of our nation's work abroad and public support for that work at home.

Around the globe, I have met many extraordinary Americans working creatively on behalf of our government, and with other countries on issues of development, security, education, science, humanitarian efforts and business. In addition, great numbers of Americans visit and study in faraway places.

We cannot afford to be indifferent in an era of unprecedented economic globalization and international cooperation. The dramatic technological advances in communication and transportation are drawing us together more than ever before.

I believe it is critical that we Americans exert effective leadership and function as productive partners in enterprises throughout the world. That means, among other things, that we must do our fair share in supporting foreign assistance programs and international organizations. As citizens, we must become better informed about the people and cultures of other countries. We must mobilize our intellectual, technical, and moral resources to earn respect, engage in commerce, and provide constructive leadership in a transforming world.

Please join me at the White House on September 16th at 2:00pm to consider how our nation can further engage the public on international issues in thoughtful, far-sighted and constructive ways, and how we might better take advantage of the opportunities now before us. I look forward to your participation in this meeting. Please call Katy Button in my office at 202/456-6266 to respond.

Sincerely yours,

To date, we have spoken by phone or met with the following:

Bill White	President, CS Mott Foundation
Maureen Smith	VP Programs, CS Mott Foundation
Judy Samelson	VP Communications, CS Mott Foundation Talked mostly about message, saliency and the importance of long-term, strategic communications. Thought a paid ad campaign would be the biggest (and most important) component.
Mark Gearan	Director, Peace Corps Thought that the Peace Corps could be a great asset in this initiative and that we could/should capitalize on its popularity.
Peter Fenn	Fenn & King Media producer with international experience. Tie to the President of the National Cable Television Association.
Jerry Klepner	Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healy Ties to Young & Rubicam and Burson Marsteller.
Jim Margolis	Greer, Margolis Worked with State and White House on Africa pre- and post-trip outreach ideas. Stressed need for long-term commitment.
Steven Kull	Director, Program on International Policy Attitudes, Center for International Security Studies, University of Maryland <i>Author of The Foreign Policy Gap--How Policy Makers Misread the Public and Americans and Foreign Aid--A Study of Public Attitudes.</i>
Susan Sechler	Aspen Institute <i>Author of Global Interdependence and the Need for Social Stewardship</i> report for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.
Priscilla Lewis	Rockefeller Brothers Fund Special Assistant to the President Director of Communications Currently working on a second collaboration with Susan Sechler.
✓ Terry Bracey	Bracey & Williams
Barry Blechman	Stinson Foundation Terry and Barry followed up our meeting with a plan outlining how they believe US business could be involved in this initiative.
Pat McGuinness	President, Council on Excellence in Government

Attch # 6

		Suggested The Partnership for a Drug Free America as a good case study and possible model. Also suggested the possibility of partnering with the current Peace Corps ad campaign.
Bunny Lester	Children's Television Workshop Assistant VP, Development, Marketing & Communications	Offered suggestions about creative fundraising and volunteered to help lead a fundraising campaign.
Sally Patterson	Winner, Wagner, Frances	Thought thematic outreach to small target audiences would be the best way to link our issues to the general public.
Joanne Eide	NEA International Affairs	
Jill Christiansen	NEA International Affairs	Stressed that the link to education is essential. Thought that certain messages could (and would) be well received and understood by children as young as elementary school age.
✓ Karen Mulhauser	Mulhauser Public Affairs	Suggested expanding the base of the Lessons Without Borders program as the umbrella organization to run this initiative.
Marlene Johnson	CEO, NAFSA: Association of International Educators	Thought an education component should continue through college.
Polly Donaldson	Director of Public Outreach, Partners of the Americas	Discussed the pros and cons of reaching out to the general public vs. the "elites."
Liz Schraye	President, Schraye & Associates Campaign Coordinator, Campaign to Preserve U.S. Global Leadership	Represents a coalition of over 300 businesses, including many Fortune 500 companies.
Theresa Loar	State/ President's Interagency Council on Women	As we expected, she had good ideas and contacts for us to follow up in the future.
✓ Peter Hart	Peter Hart Research Associates	
Jim Moody	President, Interaction	

Julia  
Taft

Gus  
Speth

Lee  
Hamilton

Henry  
Kissinger

John  
Whitehead

Ellen  
Levine

Jamie  
Rubin

Marsha  
Berry

Susan  
Sechler

Prof.  
Graham  
Allison

Tony  
Blinken

Karen  
Mulhauser

Steven  
Kull

Terry  
Bracey

Jill  
Buckley

Melanne  
Verveer

Mike  
McCurry

David  
Hamburg

Brian  
Atwood

HRC

Thomas  
Pickering

Carol  
Bellamy

Joe  
Lockhart

**MEETING ON ENGAGEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**  
**The Diplomatic Reception Room**  
**Wednesday, September 16, 1998**  
**2:00 p.m.**

**TALKING POINTS**

- Thank you for coming -- I'm very grateful to each and every one of you for making time on your busy schedules to be here today. We have among us in this room leaders who truly understand the importance of America's world leadership, and the need to strengthen public support for our continuing engagement in the post-Cold War world. [Might mention your travels, how you have seen first-hand the payoffs of our engagement, etc.]
- At this time, there are so many critical issues before Congress - funding for the IMF, UN, international family planning, the State Department and USAID, the terrorism supplemental bill and adequate funding for development assistance. Africa economic proposal??
- It is a singularly important time to address this topic: the dramatic end of the Cold War has brought with it drastic changes involving people in every country around the world, especially relating to global commerce; the world has been further transformed by rapid and extensive innovations in science and technology, especially telecommunications; serious threats are posed every day by growing terrorism, civil wars of great devastation, diseases without borders and environmental hazards.
- Unfortunately, in the face of all these challenges, the U.S. is retreating in its support for international engagement. Yet, the data I am familiar with shows a large majority of Americans support U.S. involvement in international affairs. There is a misconception among many policy makers that Americans do not see the connection between international and their daily lives. [Steven Kull from the University of Maryland will make a brief presentation later in the meeting on survey data he has gathered on public opinion on a range of issues, from the UN to development assistance.]
- We will need to develop creative approaches to educate the public, mobilize key constituencies and persuade reluctant partners. This strategy will necessarily involve the government, the media and the public, as well as business, education and community groups active in civil society. We need to energize the silent majority in our country that is too often shouted down by a highly-active and vocal minority.
- [You might repeat here the remarks you made at Davos about the disengaged business community:  
  
"...It is imperative that those of you that understand the global economy, who visit and do

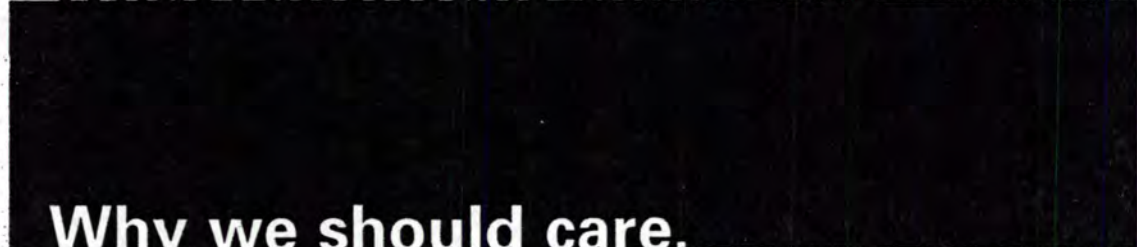
business in many countries, share your knowledge of what you of what you see occurring around the world -- with members of Congress, with leaders of your community, with anyone you can reach -- because we cannot build a consensus for American engagement of the American business community is not a strong supporter of that engagement... (American businesses should be) saying, 'we know what faces the United States around the world and we understand how important it is for America to lead and be engaged, and we therefore raise our voices on behalf of American support for the United Nations, IMF and other multilateral institutions.'"



**global issues**  
**AMERICAN OPINIONS**



**What Americans think. GLOBAL**



**Why we should care.**



**What you can do.**

## Do Americans care about the **DEVELOPING WORLD?**

### **Most politicians and news executives don't think so.**

In recent years, Congress has slashed development aid to record lows. Many media outlets have dramatically reduced their ability to cover important world news. They cite the conventional wisdom: Americans are isolationists whose compassion and interest stops at the border.

Are they right? Or are we more interested in the rest of the world than they think? There are no simple answers. Americans' views are as varied and complex as the world itself: they reflect our experiences and values, get distorted by misinformation and change focus with events and time.

To help us sort it all out, we asked four pollsters known for their work on global issues to review recent survey data and exchange views on what the numbers mean. As you'll see, they don't always agree, but the discussion itself is a model for the kind of open and searching dialogue these issues so urgently require.

Throughout this piece, we have also included the views of influential Americans — some well-known, others less so — on why we should care about the developing world. At the end, you'll find ideas for how you can continue the conversation in your own community.

I hope that you find it all as interesting as I do, and that it sheds new light on your own opinions.



Marvin T. Jones

Dr. Cherri D. Waters  
Vice President,  
InterAction

"It takes all of us. We have to work with all of the world's people to win this fight for humanity. That's why I support those who are trying to deal holistically with these problems. We cannot save the United States without saving the whole world."

*This publication was produced by InterAction — an association of more than 150 US-based nonprofits involved in relief, development and refugee work in 160 countries — with support from The Pew Charitable Trusts and The Tides Center.*

## OUR PANEL OF POLLSTERS:



MODERATOR:  
**Nancy Belden**  
Partner,  
Belden & Russonello  
Research and  
Communications



**Kathy Frankovic**  
Director,  
The CBS News Poll



**Ron Hinckley**  
President,  
Research/Strategy/  
Management



**Steven Kull**  
Director,  
Program on International  
Policy Attitudes  
University of Maryland

"At the turn of the century, we went greedy and God. During the Cold War foreign policy. Today, a new "g-w" forces us to rethink our interests in the world. It's not just trade and finance that are important, but also crime, environmental problems and our own interest to help the developing world become a stable, healthy and prosperous home."

— Dr. Jessica Mathews, President

Nancy: Much public opinion research has shown that Americans are pretty evenly divided on the question of foreign assistance. They are concerned about keeping adequate resources in the US to deal with domestic problems, and yet they want to help people everywhere who are in need. Faced with what seem like contradictory findings, many pollsters struggle with the question of how much Americans care about the developing world. What light can you shed on this?

Steven: There really is no question that the majority of Americans do feel some concern about what happens in developing countries, and think that the US has a role to play in addressing the problem of poverty. Surveys show that 80% or more think the US should give some aid to countries in great need, and I have found that only 8% want to eliminate foreign aid. At the same time, it's true that Americans do not pay a great deal of attention to what happens in other countries, and that support for

over the vast majority  
ght for the survival of  
United Nations. They  
all the world's prob-  
tates in the long haul

ted Turner, Vice Chairman, Time Warner Inc.

overseas to serve glory,  
geostrategy ruled our  
rd" — globalization —  
à-vis developing coun-  
t are globalizing: so are  
other risks. It's in our  
world become a more  
to 78% of humanity."



Chad Evans Wyatt

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

needy countries is more a latent value than an urgent concern. Also, Americans greatly overestimate how much the US spends on foreign aid, which might contribute to a feeling that we should do less.

Kathy: In our news polling, we have consistently reported the American public's lack of interest in foreign affairs. After the Gulf War, many in the media believed that the "Vietnam syndrome" had ended, and that Americans would begin a wave of international involvement. But later that year, a CBS poll showed that half the public rejected the role of peacekeeper, and 40% denied that the US had a responsibility to provide economic assistance to countries that need aid. But keep in mind that I'm guided by the needs of the news media, and that foreign affairs were deemed more important to ask about in the 1980s than they are today. We've asked relatively few questions about international issues in recent years.

Ron: The US has a long history of avoiding international involvement. The Constitution's emphasis on defense and George Washington's admonishment to "avoid entangling alliances" established an essentially threat-oriented, defensive view of the rest of the world. This still holds true today. A recent study by the Pew Research Center found that only one in four people gives top priority to positive foreign policy goals like promoting democracy (22%), improving living standards (23%) and promoting human rights (27%). Defensive goals were ranked much higher: protecting American jobs (77%), preventing nuclear proliferation (70%) and stopping drug traffic (67%). (See "What the Public Thinks" at right.) We're most likely to support aid that we see as countering a threat.

Steven: Ron and Kathy are right — American interest in foreign affairs has always been low, and there are some signs that it has gotten even

"If the developing world does well only if we care about social and economic conditions — if people are treated justly — paid adequate wages, have decent working and housing conditions — if the environment is treated well, ours included — if we all breathe the same air, our oceans are protected, and the world circulates around the globe. I hope we can all move forward where we respect and learn from each other and move forward together."

— S



## WHAT THE PUBLIC thinks

Percentage saying that a "top priority" of US foreign policy should be:

Protecting American Jobs	77%
Preventing Spread of Nuclear Weapons	70%
Combating Drugs	67%
Insuring Energy Supply	58%
Improving Global Environment	50%
Reducing Trade Deficit	42%
Reducing Illegal Immigration	42%
Strengthening the United Nations	30%
Defending Human Rights	27%
<b>Helping improve living standards in developing nations</b>	<b>23%</b>
Promoting Democracy	22%
Aiding US Business Interests	16%
Protecting Weaker Nations	16%

Source: *America's Place in the World II*, Pew Research Center For The People & The Press, October 1997.

"American businesses have a tremendous impact on the rest of the world. This is obvious at Starbucks — we have a presence in nearly every business I can think of, from coffee shops to clothes, the food in your supermarket, the computer. What we sometimes dismiss as a side effect is in fact an integral part of our economy. Supporting these markets for millions of products. Support is not charity — it's an investment. And it's a good one."

— Howard Schultz, CEO of Starbucks

lower since the end of the Cold War. But this does not necessarily indicate what kind of foreign policy we want. Studies show that attentiveness and support are not the same thing.

Ron: The key is not interest, but the perception of threat. This point is dramatically underscored by opinion leader surveys. As fear of the Soviet Union dissipated from the 1970s to the 1990s, the number of elites saying that helping improve the standard of living in developing nations is "very important" dropped significantly — from 68% in 1978, to 46% in 1986, to 28% in 1994.<sup>2</sup>

Nancy: You seem to agree that the level of interest in foreign affairs and assistance is mild. Do Americans find that the developing world has any impact on their lives?

...we all do well — but economic justice. If people are given acceptable opportunities, we all benefit. If their needs are met, we all will thrive. We all need to mingle, our weather is for a unified world and other and can move



Ron Sayles Belton, Mayor, Minneapolis MN



is stake in the developing  
th coffee from around the  
E — but it's also the case  
Check the labels in your  
r the components in your  
as the 'Third World' is in  
supplying materials and  
rting global development  
it's the right thing to do."



irman and CEO, Starbucks Coffee Company

Steven: In general economic terms, definitely. A 1993 study<sup>3</sup> found that four out of five Americans thought Third World economies have at least some effect on the US economy; a 1996 poll I conducted found that 68% agreed that "helping Third World countries to develop is in the economic interest of the US."

Ron: The recent Pew study provides evidence that Americans do not grasp the relevance of what happens in other countries, not to mention developing countries. People were asked how much their lives were affected by what happens in the following places:

	Great Deal	Fair Amount	Not Very Much	None At All
Western Europe	8%	28%	36%	25%
Mexico	13%	29%	32%	23%
Asia	9%	26%	36%	25%
Canada	8%	23%	39%	27%

A small percentage see a great deal of impact. But with the exception of Mexico, almost three times as many people don't perceive any impact at all. It's hard to imagine that people would attach a greater importance to developing nations than they do to these regions.

Kathy: It seems that Americans look at foreign assistance as a zero-sum project — they think that what goes on elsewhere detracts from the US. Americans who reject international assistance often do so by saying that the needs of people in the US should be dealt with first.

Steven: True, Americans often argue that the US should place a higher priority on its own problems than on giving foreign assistance. But when asked to distribute a pool of resources, they overwhelmingly propose giving resources to foreign aid — and usually more than we are actually giving. When, in a recent poll<sup>4</sup>, I asked how anti-poverty funds should be split between domestic and international programs, the median response was 80% in the US and 20% abroad. The actual ratio is 97% to 3%.



Nancy: Let's talk about differences in the level of concern. My research finds that higher-income people tend to be considerably more inclined to support assistance to other countries, but that variation by gender and political party is not great. Also, Hispanics seem to be among the strongest supporters of foreign aid. Do you agree?

Kathy: Our polls have shown that the most internationalist opinions tend to be held by well-educated, well-off, Republican men from the western part of the country. The major exception is when people identify with the group in need — African-Americans were more likely to support food aid to Somalia and US actions in Haiti. One striking difference in 1994: only 17% of white

"The earth is a web of interconnected items: our atmosphere, oceans, river communities. What people in developed countries do, how they feed and clothe themselves and participate in the global economy affects the world and vice versa. If we are to live in a global world, we all must work in partnership to solve our problems wisely, fairly and sustainably."

— Deborah Moore, S

Americans believed Haiti was very important to US interests, compared with 42% of black Americans.

Ron: In my data, African-Americans tend to be isolationist, and oppose foreign assistance generally on the grounds that such aid could be put

## WHAT OPINION LEADERS think

Percentage of each group saying that "helping improve living standards in developing nations" should be a "top priority" foreign policy goal:

	1993	1997
Religious Leaders	43%	72%
Union Leaders	—	46%
Academics/Think Tanks	24%	37%
Scientists/Engineers	26%	34%
Foreign Affairs Leaders	25%	31%
State/Local Govt. Officials	19%	27%
News Media	15%	23%
Business and Finance	9%	14%
Capitol Hill Policy Staff	—	13%
Security	13%	12%

Overall, the number of opinion leaders who think helping developing nations is a top priority has risen in the last four years. But only religious leaders, academics and scientists rank it among their top five priorities. Members of the news media are most in tune with the general public, 23% of which also rates this a top priority.

Source: *America's Place in the World II*, Pew Research Center For The People & The Press, October 1997.



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healthy and peaceful  
p to use our resources



Senior Scientist, Environmental Defense Fund

to better use among our own poor. Hispanics — many of whom have recently come from underdeveloped countries and send some of their earnings to relatives still there — appear to be more supportive of US aid. As Nancy and Kathy note, elites tend to be more supportive of foreign aid than the general public. (See "What Opinion Leaders Think" at left.)

Steven: I disagree that African-Americans are isolationist. If anything, recent research shows them to be marginally more supportive of foreign aid. But all of these differences between demographic groups is very marginal. Much more significant is the factor of misperception. Three out of four Americans think that the US spends too much on foreign aid, but this is based on an extreme overestimation. Asked how much of the federal budget goes to foreign aid, most people say 15-20%. Asked what the amount should be, they say 5-10%.



The actual amount is less than 1%. At the same time, we overestimate how our aid budget compares to that of other countries.

Nancy: How do the people who are most concerned about the world come to feel that way?

Steven: I think the primary influence is the value system that they are bred into; religious training is critical, it seems. The degree of exposure to foreign countries determines how much attention one gives the issue, but not the underlying values themselves.

Kathy: I was shocked to discover that the most knowledgeable and most attentive people when it came to Japan were not college graduates, as is usually the case with international issues, but rather a group of elderly men, most of them not college-educated, who had been in the military during WWII. Not all of them served in the Pacific,

"We have seen and heard about t  
ing countries. Countless TV shot  
children come to mind. But there  
who can say 'Wait... isn't that my  
street?' Look around and you'll s  
poverty are not just here, not jus  
Communities around the world  
same isolation and lack of power  
from each other?"

— Dileepan Si





but they had a reason to find out something about Japan and to continue to pay attention to it even after the war was over. I'm sure many of us have anecdotal information about the long-term effects of some international experience or educational training.

Ron: I agree that a person's value system is the key factor in determining his/her foreign policy attitudes, and my own studies bear this out. Contact with others is not a telling factor. The Peace Corps, for instance, attracts people whose values predispose them toward this sort of other-oriented program — it doesn't create those attitudes.

Nancy: Does support vary depending on what kind of assistance programs we ask about?

Kathy: Perception is of critical importance. Opinions about this topic depend largely on how the question is framed. Foreign assis-

"Not only is it in our strategic and share our resources by investing in stability across the globe — it is in our best interest as well. Judaism, Christianity and Islam share a common vision: that as much as we must share God's wealth with the less fortunate than we; that our role enjoins us to be a light to the nations."

— Rabbi David Saperstein, Director

tance is currently framed as something that takes away from the US. But it could conceivably get re-framed as something that benefits the US.

Ron: Even though Americans aren't interested in foreign issues, this doesn't mean that they're totally opposed to foreign aid. When people are asked specifically about types of foreign assistance, there is large support for humanitarian aid: 86% support giving food and medicine to needy countries; 76% want to help their economies; 68% support family planning.<sup>5</sup> So Americans do support various forms of humanitarian aid in the abstract. But whether they are willing to commit the resources to address those concerns is something else altogether. In other words, the zero-sum game mentioned by Kathy outweighs Steve's findings that Americans care.

problems in developing poor, malnourished too many Americans? Could that be my that the problems of here, but everywhere. struggling with the how can we *not* learn



...thasundaram, Student Leader, UC Berkeley





... economic interest to  
 ... peace, democracy and  
 ... our highest moral inter-  
 ... and many other faiths  
 ... ral people and nations  
 ... those of God's children  
 ... as prophetic witnesses  
 ... s."



Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism

Nancy: Taking off my moderator hat for a minute... Polls frequently probe the types of foreign assistance Americans support, and a pattern is usually repeated. Humanitarian efforts top the list, followed by environmental and economic development aid, health and welfare issues and then military aid to our allies. Some of the figures might move around, depending on media coverage, but the general pattern stays in place.

Steven: I asked people in a 1995 survey whether they wanted to increase, maintain or cut spending for different types of global programs. Child survival programs scored highest, followed by the Peace Corps, humanitarian relief and environmental aid. Support for maintaining or increasing spending on these items was very strong even when respondents were told how much goes to each, both in terms of total dollars and dollars paid by the average taxpayer.

Nancy: What about Ron's point that Americans don't always put their money where their mouths are? Even if most people agree that we should be involved in the world and support development assistance, do we have the political will to really make it happen?

Ron: Where awareness and salience are low, there can be no political will. If Americans aren't paying attention to foreign issues and don't rate them as very important, they aren't going to do much about them. Focusing on particular issues only tends to highlight ideological differences and fracture whatever will does exist. Media coverage is crucial: it builds support for global engagement by boosting awareness and salience. The timeframe issue is very real — chronic conditions may attract public attention for a while, but not for long. Natural disasters and other acute overseas crises attract interest and support because the media and public can

"The developing world isn't a remote  
 ... ders — not something I left behind  
 ... [Kyrgyzstan 95-97]. As a 9th grade ES  
 ... City, I teach in a school population  
 ... Dominican. Their problems and exp  
 ... disrupted educations and violence hav  
 ... with. Their problems are very literall  
 ... are their strengths and contributions I

— Linda Lesué Barth, Teacher





focus on concrete, measurable efforts to intervene and assist the victims. People see results and feel a sense of resolution when life gets back to "normal." To build political will, one needs a galvanizing event.

Kathy: Building political will is the key issue. There's not a well-organized minority that is against international involvement, so the question is how you translate public concern and sympathy into action. You need at least four things to do this: majority support, belief in the issue's importance, strong national spokespeople and supportive media coverage. Time is also a factor. Americans are very supportive of crisis assistance — it's long-term commitments that are a problem. Again, how you frame the issue matters greatly. Politicians still talk about the "US economy," not the "global economy." Opposition to immigration here in California still emphasizes us-versus-them thinking. The US

media still report much more about the US than about all other countries combined.

Steven: When you come right down to it, the problem is not so much that the public does not support aid, but that the minority that opposes it is so much more vocal. When we asked policymakers about public attitudes on global issues, they told us that the most vocal constituents tend to oppose foreign aid. The support of the silent majority is not heard.

#### NOTES

- 1, 5: *America's Place in the World II*, Pew Research Center For The People & The Press, Oct. 1997.
- 2: *American Public Opinion and US Foreign Policy 1995*, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 1995.
- 3: *Evaluation of the Development Education Program*, Intercultural Communications, Inc. for USAID, Oct. 1993.
- 4: *An Emerging Consensus*, Program on International Policy Attitudes, University of Maryland, July 1996.

#### RESOURCES

*America's Place in the World II* (1997). Available gratis from The Pew Research Center For The People & The Press, 1875 I Street NW, Suite 1110, Washington DC 20036. 202-293-3126 or [www.people-press.org](http://www.people-press.org).

*The Foreign Policy Gap* (1997) by Steven Kull, IM Destler and Clay Ramsay. Available for \$12 from the Program on International Policy Attitudes, 11 Dupont Circle, Suite 610, Washington DC 20036. 202-232-7500.

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*American Public Opinion and US Foreign Policy 1995*, edited by John E. Reilly. Available for \$5 from the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 116 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago IL 60603. 312-726-3860.

*Beyond the Beltway: Engaging the Public in US Foreign Policy* (1994), by Daniel Yankelovich and IM Destler. Published by WW Norton & Co. Available in bookstores.

place beyond our border in the Peace Corps. I'm a teacher in New York that is more than 90% experiences with poverty, we become ours to cope by ours. Fortunately, so our communities."



and Columbia University Peace Corps Fellow



# CONTINUING THE conversation



**A FEW SUGGESTIONS TO HELP YOU EXPLORE THESE ISSUES  
IN GREATER DEPTH:**



**Dig deeper.** Be sure to visit the new Global Connections website ([www.interaction.org](http://www.interaction.org)) for a more in-depth look at opinion polls about global issues. While you're there, go to the Global Connections Forum and exchange views with other opinion leaders from across the nation.



**Conduct a straw poll.** Ask your family, friends and colleagues to share their opinions: What should our top foreign policy goals be? Should helping developing nations be one of our priorities? What percentage of the federal budget is spent on foreign aid? What percentage should be?



**Ask why.** Explore how people came to hold their beliefs. Have these evolved over time or changed in response to a particular event? What is the foundation for your own beliefs? What information or experiences cause people to change their minds?



**Draw connections.** The "What the Public Thinks" chart shows that helping developing nations is a lower priority than fighting drug trafficking, illegal immigration and environmental degradation. But might helping poor nations be an effective way to address these other problems? Americans often say that we should focus on our "own" problems before we help other nations with "theirs." But in our global society, can we really distinguish between the two?



**Debate the issues.** Roll up your sleeves and grapple with some of the tough ones: Does the US have a moral responsibility to help people in poor nations? Should we always help Americans first? Should we be motivated more by humanitarian concern or national interest? Start a discussion group. Talk about these issues with friends and colleagues, or put them on the agenda for your next meeting.



**Voice your opinion.** Members of Congress say they hear only from critics of foreign aid and global engagement. News executives cut international coverage because they think no one cares about it. If you feel differently, don't keep it to yourself. Write a letter to your elected officials or to the editor of your local paper. Tell them you understand our future is a global one, and that you support international involvement. Your voice matters.

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## POLLS AND PUBLIC OPINION

### *A Sampling of Excerpts from Opinion Surveys on Foreign Assistance and International Engagement*



**From:                    America's Place in the World  
                              Pew Research Center  
                              October 1997**

*(Pew conducted a four-year trend survey that compared the opinions of influential Americans – journalists, foreign affairs experts, scholars, business leaders, etc. – with those of the general public. The poll included 600 influentials and 2,000 members of the general public.)*

#### Opinion Leaders

Influential Americans are much more confident about this country's place in the world now compared to four years ago when they were anxious about the future in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. They are also much more satisfied with the way things are going both in the world and in the United States.

Twice as many Americans in leadership positions believe the United States plays a more important role in the world today than thought so in 1993 when the Center conducted its first poll in this series. Four out of five still prefer a shared leadership role for the nation, but several influential groups are now more inclined to say the United States should be the single world leader.

Far more are willing to keep defense spending the same than four years ago, 50 percent vs. 31 percent, with even some greater sentiment for actually increasing it, despite the lack of an enemy that structured the overarching national strategy

of Cold War years. Most of the Influentials surveyed support the current level of preparedness as consistent with U.S. strategy of being able to fight two wars, in Europe and in Asia, at the same time.

#### The Public Differs

*The public, in contrast, does not see a more rosy world. Whereas four years ago the public and the Influentials were essentially in lock-step in their sour evaluation of world conditions (only 28 percent and 25 percent satisfied, respectively), the public today remains unchanged in its assessment (29 percent satisfied) while the Opinion Leaders register 58 percent satisfaction.*

The American public does not think the United States today plays a greater global role than it did a decade ago. It is no more inclined to have the United States act as single world leader than before, nor any more generous with money for the military

(although support for keeping spending at current levels remains high at 57 percent). It is also no more willing to use U.S. forces abroad in potential trouble spots than it was four years ago.

#### How Things Are Going

The reversal of assessments by the Influentials compared to four years ago is striking. Every group of Opinion Leaders has gone from overwhelming dissatisfaction with the way things were going in the world and the nation to overwhelming satisfaction. The great anxieties of the post-Cold War world, led by nuclear proliferation and anarchy in the former Soviet bloc, have not materialized so far. The conflicts in Bosnia, Somalia and Haiti have faded from the forefront of concerns. And the American economy is experiencing unprecedented growth and stability. From the American perspective, "This terrible century has -- or appears to be having -- a happy ending," as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. writes.

#### Satisfaction

On average, almost six out of ten Influentials are satisfied with conditions in the world today, whereas two out of three were dissatisfied in 1993. Most satisfied now are Capitol Hill staffers and Business leaders; least are Religious leaders -- for whom protecting human rights and improving living standards in developing nations continue to be matters of primary concern -- and Governors and Mayors.

Even greater satisfaction exists with conditions in the United States. Three out

of four Influentials are satisfied now, whereas two out of three were dissatisfied four years ago. Most satisfied are Capitol Hill staffers and Academicians; again, Religious leaders express least satisfaction, although even in this group, a majority is satisfied.

*The public remains dissatisfied with the way things are going in the world -- 65 percent now, 66 percent in 1993 -- as well as with things in the United States, although here it admits to considerable improvement in the state of the country. Four years ago, fully 75 percent of Americans said they were dissatisfied with conditions in the country, down to 49 percent now. Women are significantly more dissatisfied than men regarding conditions both in the world and the nation. Politically, Republicans and Independents are more dissatisfied with conditions in the country, but no more or less dissatisfied with conditions in the world.*

**From: Public Opinion and the U.S. Retreat  
from International Social Stewardship  
Rockefeller Bros. Fund  
Global Interdependence Initiative  
November 1997**

*(In October 1996, at the Pocantico Conference Center of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Fund joined with the World Bank to host foundation executives, leaders of major NGOs and officers of large multilateral institutions in an effort to "Build a Constituency for Global Interdependence." The following are excerpts from the recently released report that grew out of that meeting.)*

If public support for cooperative engagement was an artifact of the Cold War, what has become of that support since the fall of the Berlin Wall? Conventional wisdom holds that Americans have little interest in international issues and that the end of the Cold War has eroded what little support existed for cooperation with other nations. For example, a recent survey of policymakers, journalists, and other opinion leaders found that most thought the American public prefers isolationism to international engagement. But careful analysis reveals a great deal of latent support for engagement — especially to promote social stewardship.

Americans have real doubts about the motives and methods of current U.S. programs abroad. Most reject a hegemonic role for the United States: "Who are we to tell them what to do?" is a common refrain in focus groups. A high percentage believes that foreign assistance is wasted, ineffective, and/or fails to reach its intended beneficiaries. In one poll, 83 percent agreed that "There is so much waste and corruption in the process of giving foreign

aid that very little actually reaches the people who need it."

The perception of ineffectiveness substantially diminishes support for foreign assistance. In the classic ethical allegory, one must always jump into the water to save a drowning person — unless one cannot swim. Americans may care about the "drowning" people overseas, but they doubt whether foreign aid programs can swim.

The news media contribute to the perception of U.S. ineffectiveness abroad. War, famine, and disaster dominate the scant news coverage of less-developed countries, while success stories — such as dramatic improvements in infant and child health — are rarely deemed newsworthy. *By accentuating the negative, the news media foster an impression that poor countries are unsalvageable. (Private charitable groups may unwittingly contribute to this state of affairs, with fund-raising appeals that present the citizens of less-developed countries as helpless victims.)* Moreover, as arbiters of salience (the degree of

importance given to issues and events) the news media have helped diminish the attention given to international issues. International news coverage is declining, as many news organizations are closing their foreign bureaus.

Skepticism about U.S. programs abroad also stems from diminished faith in the public sector generally. Indeed, confidence in government is at an all-time low. One recent survey found that only 20 percent believed that the federal government can be trusted to do "what is right" most of the time -- down from 76 percent in 1964. It follows that Americans would doubt that the U.S. government, which is widely perceived as failing its own citizens, is capable of solving international or global problems.

However, opinion research shows that the American public does support cooperative engagement if properly conceived and executed. Polls consistently show that most Americans want the United States to play an active role in international affairs, both for moral reasons and because they believe engagement serves domestic interests. A strong majority of 80 percent believes the United States should give some foreign aid, while just 8 percent want aid programs eliminated. The United Nations and other multilateral institutions still enjoy broad support: a 1994 poll by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations found that 84 percent of Americans included "support for strengthening the United Nations" as a "somewhat" or "very" high foreign policy goal of the United States- the highest level of support for that goal in twenty years.

*When concerns about unfairness, corruption, and inefficiency are addressed, support for cooperative engagement rebounds. Indeed, when told how much the United States actually spends on foreign assistance, most favor sustaining or even increasing that amount. Given assurances that other nations are carrying their fair share, Americans favor U.S. participation in multilateral efforts to keep the peace, promote economic development, and provide humanitarian assistance. Most (58 percent) say they would even pay more in taxes for foreign assistance if they could be sure the aid really went to those in need.*

Although the data are far from conclusive, there are indicators that Americans reject the military-security dominated framework of national interests in favor of a framework that emphasizes social stewardship.

**From:                   How Policymakers Misread the Public**  
**The Center for International and Security Studies at the**  
**University of Maryland**  
**October 1997**

*(This poll highlighted the difference between policymakers and the general public in foreign affairs. The study was carried out in several stages. First, interviews were conducted with 83 Members of Congress, staffers, Executive Branch officials and journalists. Then a series of public focus groups were held and existing poll data was reviewed. Lastly, 2,400 respondents were polled.)*

### The Foreign Policy Gap

A significant gap exists between the U.S. foreign policy community's perceptions of public attitudes and the results of polls that ask Americans what role the U.S. should play in the world. Members of the policy community -- especially in Congress and the media -- perceive the public as going through a phase, in the wake of the Cold War, of wanting to disengage from the world. However, a comprehensive analysis of polls shows that the majority of Americans support a foreign policy of broad global engagement, provided that the U.S. is not playing the role of dominant world leader (or "world policeman") and is contributing its "fair share to multilateral efforts to resolve international problems."

Contrary to policy practitioners' perception that most Americans dislike foreign aid because they would prefer to spend those resources at home, an overwhelming majority supports aid in principle and only a small minority would eliminate it.

Focus group participants reacted to real foreign aid spending in much the same manner as survey respondents. Overall,

there was some disbelief that the actual amounts could be so low. Learning the actual percentage prompted many to readjust their perspectives and view foreign aid more favorably, even among those who had been initially vitriolic on the subject. As a Baltimore man said, "Let's put this in perspective, okay? This is peanuts! It's nothing. In relation to the whole pie, it's a small piece." A New Jersey woman who initially said that America needs to put itself first more and cut back foreign aid reacted by saying, "One percent sounds pretty low. Sounds like we need to get our act together in America, start making money in America or in other countries, so that we can support other countries better."

### Public Attitudes

Eighty percent of those polled for PIPA's January 1995 study agreed that "the United States should be willing to share at least a small portion of its wealth with those in the world who are in great need." (There was no significant difference between Republicans and Democrats.)

### Sources of Support -- Self-Interest

Most Americans see giving foreign aid as serving American self-interest, or the national interest, not merely as humanitarian. Majorities embrace the ideas that giving foreign aid helps the U.S. to develop trade partners, preserve the environment, limit population growth, and promote democracy.

### Developing Trading Partners

Consistent with this perception of interdependence, large majorities see efforts to help the Third World develop as good for the global economy, including the American economy. In the 1993 ICI study, 77 percent agreed that "helping the Third World to develop will pay great and lasting dividends to us all," while 84 percent thought that such help would have a great or some positive effect on "improving world prosperity."

### Sources of Support -- Altruism

When asked to consider possible reasons for giving foreign aid, most Americans embrace altruistic or moral ones in and of themselves. Sixty-seven percent agree that: "As one of the world's rich nations, the United States has a moral responsibility toward poor nations to help them develop economically and improve their people's lives" (PIPA, January 1995). A 1994 Belden and Russonello poll found that 62 percent of respondents agreed that: "Each of us has a personal responsibility to help improve the lives of those in developing countries."

### Overestimation

*A November 1995 Washington Post/Kaiser Foundation poll asked respondents to give their "best guess" about what percentage of the federal budget was spent on foreign aid. The median estimate was 20 percent, the mean 26 percent, and only 1 percent of the sample guessed the amount to be less than 1 percent.* In an October 1993 Louis Harris poll, the average estimate was 33 percent. In an April 1995 CBS/New York Times poll, the median estimate was in the 10-20 percent range, with just 9 percent guessing an amount less than 5 percent.

When Americans are asked to set an appropriate level for U.S. foreign aid spending they set a level much higher than the actual level. This suggests that the reservations that the Americans have about foreign aid and the feeling that the U.S. spends too much on it are largely a reaction to the perceived amount of foreign aid, not to foreign aid in principle. In the 1995 PIPA poll, after making their estimate of spending on foreign aid, respondents were asked what they thought an "appropriate" amount would be. The median response was 5 percent of the federal budget -- five times present spending levels.

### Response to Correct Information

When respondents are asked to respond to correct information about the current level of foreign aid spending, an overwhelming majority find it unobjectionable. This further confirms that misperceptions play a critical role in the reservations about the U.S. foreign aid program and the feeling that the

U.S. spends too much on it.

#### Self-Reliance

In the PIPA poll, an overwhelming majority saw promoting development as a way of avoiding the need for humanitarian relief. Eighty-six percent agreed that: "Americans are a generous people, so it is natural for them to provide relief when people are suffering from a disaster such as a famine. But the really intelligent thing to do is to help poor countries develop so that their economies are strong enough to cope with adversities."

**From: Highlights from a Review of Existing Survey Data Regarding  
American Views on U.S. Leadership and Foreign Assistance  
Belden & Russonello  
May 1994**

*(This report reviewed 28 polls on U.S. views toward U.S. leadership and foreign assistance between 1988 and 1994 culled from public opinion data at the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.)*

**Summary Findings**

Americans see the interests of the regions of the world as connected, particularly in the areas of economics, population, and environment... For example... Americans believe that improving the economies of other nations would have a positive effect on the U.S. economy. They also see a growing world population as impacting the global environment and their own lives negatively.

*However, moving from a recognition that we are interdependent to a commitment to working to improve conditions elsewhere is another story... At present, there is no clear mandate against foreign assistance from the American public, with support continuing to outweigh opposition since 1986 when a majority (54 percent) approved of our involvement in economic assistance.*

Even though Americans are uncertain or divided on the question of foreign aid in general, they do agree there are some compelling needs and/or reasons that may justify their support. The top reasons are humanitarian, and then environmental and economic rationales. In recent years, these have replaced Cold War security

concerns as the top reasons to provide aid... In addition, Americans possess a sense of responsibility to help developing nations.

Disaster relief and feeding the hungry and poor are the most widely supported kinds of assistance... Americans also support assistance that: protects the environment; helps prevent the spread of AIDS; deals with drug trafficking; and provides family planning and birth control.

**Detailed Findings**

Americans see the interests of the countries of the world as connected, particularly in the areas of economics, population, and environment. Americans feel the world is becoming increasingly interdependent and that this will affect their lives in the future... Americans' perception of Third World economies affecting the U.S. has grown in recent years. In a 1986 study, 74 percent of Americans said that Third World economies affect the U.S. economy, while in 1993, 83 percent of Americans said so... Regarding population and environment issues, Americans do see themselves connected to the world globally... 52 percent said the growth in population will worsen their quality of life,

and fully 73 percent said it will have a negative effect on the global environment.

There has been a growth in the number of Americans who believe that the economies of the Third World affect the U.S. economy a great deal... In 1986, 74 percent claimed so, and in 1993, that number had grown to 83 percent.

Americans also strongly believe that if Third World countries become strong economically: U.S. business opportunities in the Third World will be impacted positively (80 percent), U.S. sales and exports will grow (73 percent), the U.S. economy will benefit (72 percent), jobs in the U.S. will benefit (66 percent), national security will benefit (64 percent), you, your family and your community will benefit (64 percent), and the environment in the U.S. (54 percent).

The American public also believes strongly that helping Third World countries to develop will have an effect on: improving world prosperity (84 percent), improving world peace (80 percent), and improving democracy in the world (76 percent).

The impact of world population growth is also evident. A 1994 poll by Pew/GSI cited 73 percent of Americans having the opinion that an increase in world population is likely to have a negative impact on the global environment and 52 percent cited it would worsen the quality of life for them and their families.

#### Should We Provide Foreign Aid?

There has been a slight decline in support

since the mid-1980s... In 1986, 54 percent of Americans said they favor economic assistance, while in 1994, 47 percent supported aid with 44 percent opposing. General election voters are slightly more likely to favor economic assistance than non-voters, as are well-educated Americans and those with upper incomes.

Public support over the years for U.S. aid has been generally favorable. Beginning in 1956 support peaked with some 71 percent supporting economic aid. Generally, support over the years has been between 50 percent to 58 percent on average with only a recent drop since 1992 to below 50 percent. Still, more Americans favor U.S. economic assistance than oppose.

#### Why Should We Be Involved?

Americans agree there are some compelling needs and/or reasons that may justify support... humanitarian tops the list, followed by environmental and economic rationales. In fact, in recent years these concerns have replaced security concerns for reasons to provide aid. When Americans think about priorities for foreign aid, humanitarian and economic concerns overshadow past concerns about international security. This has changed dramatically since 1986 when security was the number one reason over humanitarian and economic for providing aid -- while in 1992 security placed last among those three reasons. Americans overwhelmingly agree (89 percent) that "wherever people are hungry or poor, we ought to do what we can to help them."

## Reasons for Supporting Aid

Saving the global environment was the strongest argument for foreign aid programs... "Helping other countries become economically stable means more trade and prosperity for the U.S." had strong support. And, "aid to post-communist countries to keep them peaceful and to help them become solid democracies" and, "creating new democracies and supporting shaky democracies" also had more support than opposition.

In 1988, 88 percent of American voters approved (59 percent strongly) that the U.S. should send humanitarian aid such as food, clothing and medical supplies as an option for U.S. involvement in conflicts in the Third World... and in 1993, 72 percent of Americans favored the U.S. giving humanitarian aid to developing countries.

## U.S. Leadership?

In both 1992 and 1986 a majority of Americans polled believed that the U.S. government is doing the right amount or less than it should to fight poverty in other parts of the world. In fact, only 35 percent in 1986 and 46 percent in 1992 thought the U.S. was doing too much. A 1993 ABC news poll showed 70 percent of Americans supporting the U.S. taking a leading role in providing humanitarian aid to victims of wars or natural disasters. And 56 percent went so far as to support the use of U.S. troops to prevent famine or mass starvation.

## Threats to U.S. National Security

With the demise of the Soviet Union and end of the Cold War the public still perceives nuclear proliferation as the greatest critical threat (63 percent) to our security. However, the second and third greatest threats are:... The "loss of rain forests and their animal or plant species" (59 percent critical) and the "loss of ozone in the earth's atmosphere" (56 percent critical) show international environmental concerns to be major concerns to Americans... Economic factors, individually and as a group, rank surprisingly low.

**From: Mixed Messages: Public Opinion & Development Assistance  
Ian Smillie, Paper Delivered to Organization for Economic  
Cooperation and Development (OECD)  
October 25, 1994**

Despite a strong sense of 'compassion fatigue' within the international development community, the evidence from dozens of recent and past opinion polls shows that the public support for international aid programs has remained consistently and surprisingly high for three decades... downward trends (in aid support) are debatable, transitory, or they are simply false...

It will require leadership that can inspire ordinary people... that itself understands and conveys the message that long-term self-interest lies in long-term disaster prevention rather than short-term crisis management. It requires leadership that has faith in what hundreds of opinion polls and simple common sense tell governments about people – that they do care, that they want to help, and that they will make sacrifices if they understand them to be in the genuine interest of a better and more secure life for their children.

**From: National Security, Volume 1, No. 1  
The Gallup Public Opinion Monitor  
July 1993**

*(Sample size – 1,002 adults)*

**Purpose of Foreign Policy: National  
Interests or Human Values?**

A majority (54 percent) of the public said the purpose of U.S. foreign policy is to realize human values. Furthermore, this opinion is held strongly by three in ten (31 percent) of Americans. Those with the greatest tendency to support a human values-oriented foreign policy are baby-boomers (35-54 years old), the younger generation (18-24 years old), those with moderate education and income, minorities, housewives, students, and singles. Internationalists take this position most often...

the interests of other nations (53 percent -- a multilateral or cooperative stance) or "pursue its national security interests regardless of the interests of other nations," (17 percent -- a unilateral position).

**Americans Favor International Involvement  
over Isolation**

Three main popular positions define public attitudes on foreign affairs: isolation vs. involvement; independent (unilateral) involvement; and the use or non-use of military force in pursuit of foreign policy objectives. Only one in four Americans (27 percent) are isolationists and say the U.S. should "avoid becoming involved with other nations as much as possible." This proportion is lower than in the mid-1980s when three in 10 Americans consistently took this position.

The remainder (70 percent) indicate that the U.S. should either "modify its national security interests to take into consideration

**From: The Harris Poll #55, Public Believes Government Spends as  
Much on Foreign Aid as on Social Security and Health Care  
November 1, 1993**

*(Sample size -- 1,254)*

*The public believes 20 percent of government spending goes to foreign aid, a figure 20 times higher than the actual amount.*

Most people believe there is lots of waste and inefficiency in government that could be slashed without cutting services. The great majority believes more than 20 percent of spending is waste that could be cut painlessly... it should be remembered that what the public believes to be true is real in its consequences -- in this case, fueling public support for cutting foreign aid. It has often been noted that foreign aid has no political constituency. However, if the public was better informed as to how little is spent on foreign aid, hostility to such spending would certainly diminish.

**SEE ALSO:**

*U.S. Public Opinion About Foreign Aid 1980-1995  
Doble Research Associates, March 1996*

*Foreign Assistance, Civil Society and America's Role in the World: What People Think Before and After Learning More  
Doble Research Associates, March 1996*

*Findings From a Research Project About Attitudes Toward Government  
Hart Teeter, March 1997*

*Americans' Attitudes Toward Africa  
Peter D. Hart Research, August 1997*

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. paper	Prospectus re: Starting a Policial Committee (6 pages)	01/1997	Personal Misfile

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
First Lady's Office  
Melanne Verveer  
OA/Box Number: 20032

### FOLDER TITLE:

Foreign Affairs - Global Leadership: [Foreign Assistance and Engagement]

2013-0534-S

rc1532

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Howard L. Berman

# Trifling With U.S. Security

Post-Cold War complacency has dangerously weakened one of America's premier defenses against foreign military and economic threats. Morale in this government department has plummeted. Senior officers are retiring or being forced to retire in droves. Junior officers and support personnel also are quitting. Dramatic budget cuts result in poorly maintained and outdated equipment, prone to failure in moments of extreme urgency. The heart is being hollowed out of our country's first line of defense.

If this were the Defense Department, one congressional committee after another would be vigorously investigating the question of what sold out America's security. Instead, committees are joining in the attacks. These attacks were against our military officers, they would be condemned as unpatriotic. But they are not denounced, nor are there any investigations into who is responsible for damaging our nation's security. Why? Because the agency involved is not the Department of Defense but the Department of State.

Unfortunately, the activities of the State Department and our other international agencies seldom are equated with national defense. America's Foreign Service officers provide an early warning system to prevent problems and resolve conflicts before military intervention becomes necessary. Our diplomats abroad now work closely with foreign police to keep criminals, narcotic traffickers and terrorists from our shores. Despite these efforts, however, many political leaders refuse to support the State Department.

Politicians think the public does not want to spend money on foreign aid, yet polls show that public opposition is based on the misconception that we are spending 20 percent of our budget on foreign affairs, rather than the true level of one percent. According to a poll by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, two-thirds of the American public want the

United States to remain a world leader. They think we should be spending five times more on foreign aid than we are. But since the 1980s, international affairs spending has declined by nearly 50 percent in real terms.

Congress isn't listening to the public. The 1996 congressional budget-balancing resolution cuts international spending by an additional 30 percent over six years. By any measure, this reduction would profoundly reduce America's stature as a world power. For example:

- Either aid to the Middle East would be greatly reduced, affecting Israel's military capability and the peace process, or foreign aid to almost every other country would have to be eliminated.
- Either 12 of our largest embassies or 100 of the smallest would have to be closed.
- Support for U.S. business overseas through the Export-Import Bank and other international economic agencies would diminish.
- Funding for nonproliferation, counter-narcotics and aid for the environment, democracy and population planning would be decimated.
- And our information services such as Voice of America and Radio Free Asia would have to cease operation or cut back broadcasting.

This downward trend must be reversed.

While the Defense Department has a "two-conflict" budget, the international affairs programs of State, AID, USIA and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency are funded for a "no crisis" world. Because of funding constraints, the United States has been forced to rob Peter to pay Paul when a crisis erupts.

For example:

- To aid the West Bank and Gaza, funds for the Central American peace agreement were diverted.
- To fund Cambodian elections, funds for all the rest of the world were reduced.
- To fund the peacekeeping effort in Haiti, aid to Turkey was cut.
- To meet Rwanda refugee needs, funds for the rest of Africa were drained.
- And when \$2 million was needed to monitor the now-failed cease-fire between the Kurdish factions in northern Iraq, there was no money.

Funding problems also have an immediate impact on any American citizen traveling or living abroad. Worldwide, in the remotest area, our embassy "duty officers" can be contacted 24 hours a day. Most other embassies have a recording. When someone dies or is injured, the U.S. Embassy is called first. Often these are not easy deaths. A consular officer had to travel to Mount Kenya to retrieve and identify the bodies of two young Americans who fell while climbing. An officer in Manila had to identify Americans in the morgue after a hotel fire.

In today's world, staying at home does not prevent the world's problems from knocking at America's door. AIDS—along with other infectious diseases such as malaria—terrorism, narcotics trafficking and chemical weapons all have found their way to America.

Likewise, the fallout from political and social unrest abroad ends up at our front door in the form of refugees, an increased demand for military intervention and declining market for American goods. Eighty percent of our "foreign" aid is eventually spent on goods and services in the United States. This investment translates into 200,000 jobs and helps export of American goods.

International-affairs funding should be increased from \$19 billion in 1997 to \$21 billion in 1998—a net increase of about one-tenth, one percent of the entire FY 1997 federal budget and about four-tenths of one percent for the total discretionary budget, according to a group of foreign-policy experts.

President Clinton must personally address this issue. He and the Republican-led Congress must bite the budget bullet and make the case to the American public that too few funds today will mean we are too late to meet tomorrow's threat around the globe. National security depends upon adequate funding for the diplomatic corps as well as the military corps.

*The writer, a Democratic representative from California, is a member of the House Committee on International Relations.*

*Staying home doesn't prevent the world's problems from knocking on America's door.*

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HEADLINE: Americans want a place in global village

BYLINE: STEPHEN S. ROSENFELD

BODY:

THE overlooked story of American foreign policy is that the public may be out in front of the experts when it comes to coping in a balanced internationalist way with the confusions of the post-Cold War world.

For instance, a group of foreign-policy regulars setting up shop as the "Commission on America's National Interests" checked in recently with a grave diagnosis of a "troubling public schizophrenia." The leading symptom is a quest for "withdrawal from the world even as communications, trade and technology make America the capital of a global village." The group's prescription: to make a hierarchical ranking of national interests from "vital" through "extremely important" and "just important" to "less important," with policies to

*n. match*

Meanwhile, the University of Maryland's Center for International and Security Studies is out with its latest taking of the public pulse. The study is the stronger for confirming others' studies. Its prime finding: "Among the American public there is an emerging consensus that rejects both isolationism and the idea that the United States should be the dominant world leader. Most Americans feel the United States should stay engaged in international efforts to maintain peace and promote human welfare, but that the U. S. role should be limited to its 'fair share' and should primarily be in cooperation with other countries, and where possible, through the United Nations."

The difference between the dark premonitions of a "troubling schizophrenia" and the cheerful prospects of an "emerging consensus" (granted, one not yet "fully crystalized") may be no greater than an analyst's hunch. What strikes me most, however, is the subtlety and discrimination evident in the Maryland study's poll and focus-group responses. They suggest that more public space is available for a - careful and considered - internationalist policy than many political practitioners, Democrats as well as Republicans, have seemed to believe.

The Houston Chronicle, July 26, 1996

Take some of the Maryland specifics:

If you correct for the widespread misperception that the United States is carrying a much-greater international burden than it actually is, then Americans are ready to carry more of a load (for foreign aid, the United Nations and the State Department) than they do now.

Asked to write a federal budget, a majority maintains or increases spending on all international programs except defense, which is cut deeply. "As Americans get more information about the actual level of defense spending, the majority shifts from wanting modest cuts to wanting deep cuts.

Philosophically, there is also majority support for shifting some resources from military to diplomatic and other non-military approaches to security. "

A solid majority, though it feels the United States is contributing more than a fair share in Bosnia, would support American peacekeepers there now and after December, while an overwhelming majority would arrest the defiant Bosnian Serb leaders even if this puts American troops at risk. A solid majority would contribute some troops to U.N. peacekeeping, if it came, in Burundi.

A strong majority would let American soldiers choose whether to join U.N. peacekeeping but still feels the Pentagon has a

t to compel participation.

↳ right

Tugged to raise domestic aid, many Americans still would give foreign aid - on the dual basis that self-interest must be balanced by moral considerations and that it is in the long-term American interest to treat global instability.

Democrats scarcely can hide their satisfaction to find the public comfortable with both candidates on foreign policy. As presidential aide Tony Lake told the National Journal: "If either of the two parties had fallen into the hands of the isolationists, we might have had a historic debate on foreign policy this year. I think the news of really historic significance is that in both parties, the issue was resolved in favor of those who want to remain engaged in the world. "

President Clinton has been wary of trying to fill up all the internationalist space that these polls indicate may be out there waiting for him - or for some president, anyway. But if Clinton, currently leading in the race for president, has reason to hang back, then former Sen. Bob Dole, trailing, may have reason to move forward. Says Maryland's Steve Kull:

"Dole keeps trying to make headway on foreign policy by emphasizing a more unilateralist posture, increased defense spending and a rejection of multilateralism, but polling data cate that on most of these issues Clinton is much closer

## Foreign Policy Legislative Update

IMF funding -- It's in the Senate ForOps bill at full amount with livable conditions; it's no where on the House side. Effort to add the \$18B with authorizing language (from House Banking Committee bill) failed in ForOps committee mark up vote. Still some question about whether to offer as floor amendment should some version of ForOps make it to floor at some point; might also be agreed to in conference, absent a House floor vote. Strategy on what route is best/most likely to be successful unclear. (Being worked by Treasury and WHLA.)

UN arrears and family planning issues -- family planning (i.e., Mexico City policy) increasingly again appears to be tied to IMF as well as UN. Wicker amendment accepted in ForOps Committee markup. Includes language which prohibits assistance to organizations that either perform abortions or lobby to alter laws or policies related to abortions in foreign countries. The language allows the President to waive the prohibition on performing abortions but not the prohibition on lobbying. It further defines lobbying quite broadly to include activities such as "sponsoring... conferences and workshops on the alleged defects in abortion laws, as well as the drafting and distribution of materials or public statements calling attention to such alleged defects." (Administration has a veto threat against this provision.)

CEDAW -- In the Senate, not moving anywhere before end of the session, no hope that it will. Unlikely to move while Jesse Helms remains SFRC chair.

Foreign Ops Budget -- Overall, still short (by about a billion) of the Administration's request in the Senate, and thus far in the House. In addition to trouble with IMF funding, specific shortfalls include KEDO funding, which has been eliminated in the Committee markup, and GEF funds have also eliminated.

? Roger Altman    Julia Taft    Gus Speth    Lee Hamilton    Henry Kissinger    John Whitehead    Ellen Levine    Jamie Rubin

Steven Kull

Marsha Berry

Terry Bracey

Alan Blinder ?

~~Mike McCurry~~

Susan Sechler

Jill Buckley

Prof. Graham Allison

Melanne Verveer

Tony Blinken

Sandy Berger

David Hamburg

Brian Atwood

HRC

Thomas Pickering

Carol Bellamy

~~Joe Lockhart~~

Karen Mulhauser

**Table 1. External Financing of Five Asian Countries, 1994-98\***

Billions of dollars

Item	1994	1995	1996	1997 <sup>b</sup>	1998 <sup>c</sup>
Current account balance	-24.6	-41.3	-54.9	-26.0	17.6
External financing (net)	47.4	80.9	92.8	15.2	15.2
Private inflows (net)	40.5	77.4	93.0	-12.1	-9.4
Equity investment	12.2	15.5	19.1	-4.5	7.9
Direct	4.7	4.9	7.0	7.2	9.8
Portfolio	7.6	10.6	12.1	-11.6	-1.9
Private creditors	28.2	61.8	74.0	-7.6	-17.3
Commercial banks	24.0	49.5	55.5	-21.3	-14.1
Nonbank	4.2	12.4	18.4	13.7	-3.2
Official inflows (net)	7.0	3.6	-0.2	27.2	24.6
International institutions	-0.4	-0.6	-1.0	23.0	18.5
Bilateral creditors	7.4	4.2	0.7	4.3	6.1
Resident lending and other (net) <sup>d</sup>	-17.5	-25.9	-19.6	-11.9	-5.7
Reserves change, excluding gold <sup>e</sup>	-5.4	-13.7	-18.3	22.7	-27.1

Source: Institute of International Finance, "Capital Flows to Emerging Market Economies," January 29, 1998.

a. Table entries are sums over data for Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines.

b. Estimate.

c. Forecast.

d. Includes resident net lending, monetary gold, and errors and omissions.

e. A negative value indicates an increase.

**Table 16. IMF and Market GDP Growth Rate Forecasts for Indonesia, Korea, and Thailand**

Percent

Country and forecast source	Date	Growth forecast	
		1997	1998
<u>Indonesia</u>			
IMF, first program	Oct. 31, 1997	5.0	3.0
IMF, second program	Jan. 15, 1998		0.0
IMF, third program	Apr. 10, 1998		-5.0
IMF, <i>World Economic Outlook</i>	Apr. 1998		-5.0
Market forecast	Feb. 1998		-8.8
<u>Korea</u>			
IMF, first program	Dec. 4, 1997	6.0	2.5
IMF, third program	Feb. 7, 1998		1.0
IMF, <i>World Economic Outlook</i>	Apr. 1998		-0.8
Market forecast	Feb. 1998		-2.5
<u>Thailand</u>			
IMF, first program	Aug. 20, 1997	2.5	3.5
IMF, second program	Nov. 25, 1997	0.6	0.0 to 1.0
IMF, third program	Feb. 24, 1998		-3.0 to -3.5
IMF, <i>World Economic Outlook</i>	Apr. 1998		-3.1
Market forecast	Feb. 1998		-6.0

Source: International Monetary Fund forecasts are from various IMF press releases and IMF (1998c). Market forecast is a simple average of forecasts by Goldman Sachs and two other investment banks operating in the region.

## **Attendees for Discussion on US Engagement September 16, 1998**

- 1) **Professor Graham Allison**  
Douglas Sillon Professor of Government, Center for Science and International Affairs  
JFK School of Government, Harvard University  
*- Former head of the Kennedy School, foreign policy expert*
- 2) **Mr. Brian Atwood**  
Administrator, Agency for International Development
- 3) **Ms. Carol Bellamy**  
Executive Director, UNICEF
- 4) **Mr. Tony Blinken**  
Special Assistant to the President for Strategic Planning, NSC
- 5) **Mr. Terry Bracey**  
Bracey & Williams Law Firm  
*- the business alliance for international development  
(A business coalition to support foreign assistance)*
- 6) **Ms. Jill Buckley**  
Assistant Administrator for Legislative and Public Affairs,  
Agency for International Development
- 7) **Mr. Steve Grand**  
Director of the Policy/Opinion Leaders Program, German Marshall Fund
- 8) **Dr. David Hamburg,**  
Carnegie Corporation of New York
- 9) **Rep. Lee Hamilton (tentative)**  
US House of Representatives
- 10) **Mr. Henry Kissinger**
- 12) **Professor Steven Kull,**  
University of Maryland  
*- Survey expert of international policy attitudes, author of "The Foreign Policy  
Gap: How Policy Makers Misread the Public, and Americans in Foreign Aid."*
- 13) **Ms. Ellen Levine**  
Editor in Chief, Good Housekeeping

- 14) **Mr. Joseph Lockhart**,  
Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy Press Secretary
- 15) **Mr. Michael McCurry (tentative)**  
Assistant to the President and White House Press Secretary
- 16) **Ms. Karen Mulhauser**  
Mulhauser & Associates  
*- Developed strategies for greater public support of foreign aid*
- 17) **Mr. Thomas Pickering**  
Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs
- 18) **Jamie Rubin**,  
Assistant Secretary of Public Affairs, US Dept. of State
- 19) **Ms. Susan Sechler**  
Vice President, Aspen Institute
- 20) **Mr. James "Gus" Speth**  
Administrator, United Nations Development Program
- 21) **Ms. Julia Taft**  
Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees & Migration, US Dept. of State
- 22) **Mr. John Whitehead**

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

Mr. John Whitehead  
16 Sutton Square  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Whitehead:

I would like to invite you to join me and a small group of national leaders to explore ways in which we can strengthen public support for the United States' engagement in international affairs in the post-Cold War political environment. In my travels abroad, I have been deeply impressed by the significance of our great nation throughout the world. Yet, I am concerned by the apparent gap between the importance of our nation's work abroad and public support for that work at home.

Around the globe, I have met many extraordinary Americans working creatively on behalf of our government, and with other countries on issues of development, security, education, science, humanitarian efforts and business. In addition, great numbers of Americans visit and study in faraway places.

We cannot afford to be indifferent in an era of unprecedented economic globalization and international cooperation. The dramatic technological advances in communication and transportation are drawing us together more than ever before.

I believe it is critical that we Americans exert effective leadership and function as productive partners in enterprises throughout the world. That means, among other things, that we must do our fair share in supporting foreign assistance programs and international organizations. As citizens, we must become better informed about the people and cultures of other countries. We must mobilize our intellectual, technical, and moral resources to earn respect, engage in commerce, and provide constructive leadership in a transforming world.

Please join me at the White House on September 16th at 2:00pm to consider how our nation can further engage the public on international issues in thoughtful, far-sighted and constructive ways, and how we might better take advantage of the opportunities now before us. I look forward to your participation in this meeting. Please call Katy Button in my office at 202/456-6266 to respond.

Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. list	re: potential candidates for the Presidential Medal of Freedom (3 pages)	ca. 1998	b(6)

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
First Lady's Office  
Melanne Verveer  
OA/Box Number: 20032

### FOLDER TITLE:

Foreign Affairs - Global Leadership: [Foreign Assistance and Engagement]

2013-0534-S  
rc1532

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Melanne -  
Good ideas!

THE WHITE HOUSE

October 28, 1998

Mr. John C. Whitehead  
Chair  
United Nations Association of the  
United States of America  
801 Second Avenue  
New York, New York 10017-4706

Dear John:

Thank you for your suggestions for possible activities I might participate in to support the work of the United Nations. I appreciate your following-up on our discussion and will share copies of your letter with appropriate staff for consideration. It was good to hear from you again.

With warm regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

  
Hillary Rodham Clinton

cc: Melanne Verveer, Chief of Staff ✓  
Patti Solis Doyle, Director of Scheduling

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801 Second Avenue  
New York, NY 10017-4706  
Tel.: 212 907-1300  
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Chair of the Association  
John C. Whitehead

Chair, Board of Governors  
William J. vanden Heuvel

Chair, Executive Committee  
Michael W. Sonnenfeldt

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Elliot L. Richardson  
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Ved Nanda  
Leo Nevas  
Louis Perlmutter  
Carroll Petrie  
Betty Sandford  
Jack Sheinkman  
Edwin J. Wesely  
Richard S. Williamson  
Milton A. Wolf

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION  
of the United States of America



*Cc: Melanne*

September 28, 1998

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Hillary:

I hasten to take you up on your September 16 request to suggest some things that you might do to broaden the American public's interest in foreign affairs, especially the multilateral dimensions on which cooperation with other countries on global problems depends. As you know, my particular interest, as Chairman of the United Nations Association, is in encouraging Americans to support the UN, certainly one of the key parts of an effective foreign policy.

I have the following ideas and would welcome further discussion with you about them:

- Sponsor and organize a bipartisan White House conference of eminent diplomats, scholars, labor leaders, NGO representatives, businessmen and young Americans on the importance of foreign policy and how a strong United Nations is greatly in the interest of the United States. Perhaps this could be supplemented by a Model UN Program – simulated UN debates – by students at the White House. (I understand that Chelsea participated in Model UN programs in high school.)
- Agree to speak at the UNA-USA Annual dinner on October 27 in New York City where Bob Rubin and Kofi Annan will be our honorees.
- Agree to serve as national Chair for our Annual United Nations Day program, October 24, in the year 1999. Many states have their own state chairs; the duties of this office are limited and UNA staff would assist you fully.
- Establish a First Lady's Advisory Committee with UNA on United Nations issues and American policy, especially on how we should educate young Americans about the situation in the world around us, both as it is now as well as what it will be like in the next millennium.

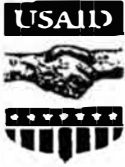
These are just a few ideas which came readily to mind. Your interest represents a magnificent opportunity for all Americans who understand the importance of foreign affairs and trade, especially to our young people whose jobs and welfare will depend increasingly on what happens beyond our borders.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

John C. Whitehead


JCW:kr



U. S. AGENCY FOR  
INTERNATIONAL  
DEVELOPMENT

**MAY 7 1998**

TO: Interagency Working Group

FROM: Jill Buckley   
Assistant Administrator  
USAID Bureau for Legislative and Public Affairs

RE: TV/Public Education and Outreach Initiative

We want to update you on the progress of our TV/Public Education and Outreach Initiative. Following our first meeting, and subsequent conversations with the First Lady's Office, we moved forward to meet with outside groups to gather ideas, gauge levels of interest in direct participation, and measure support for this effort.

We plan to follow up in the next few weeks to give you a summary of our options and the goal, action items and timeline for the initiative. We will welcome your comments and ideas.

The groups we have met with fall into three main categories: groups with similar goals (e.g., Mott Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers, etc.); people with skills and technical expertise dealing with broadcast media; and groups that might be interested in funding this initiative.

From our two months of meetings, six main themes consistently emerged:

- **Television and paid advertising:**

PSAs work well as part of very focused campaigns for a limited audience. Effective television outreach to a broad-based audience, however, would need to be based on a long-term, multiyear paid advertising strategy, not just PSAs. Most people believe that a paid ad campaign would be the biggest (and arguably the most important) component of any public education and outreach initiative.

The timing is good to investigate creative programming opportunities (and to take advantage of new FCC children's programming regs) as well as stand-alone spots. Reaching out to cable TV, network TV, the motion picture industry, and experts in children's television would also broaden our technical base.

- **Saliency, message & audience:**

There seems to be a uniform long-term concern about saliency -- international engagement is not seen by most people as relevant to their lives.

There is very good survey research available on this, as well as new compilations of data. Most of the polling has been on attitude, not message, and, clearly, follow-up focus groups to narrow down and test messages would be essential.

There has not been consensus on audience. Some believe the target should be a broad, mass-market general audience. Others think a smaller target would show more easily measurable results. There are audiences that may be good to begin with -- people who are not part of our traditional constituency but have natural international interests (e.g., ethnic groups with ties to a country, people who travel, people in international clubs, foreign language press, international business organizations, etc.).

- **Reaching youth:**

The key to changing attitudes is reaching people when they are young. Youth, generally, appears to be an untapped audience and international affairs a somewhat neglected area in curricula. Reaching into schools has great potential and could be achieved several ways through new, interactive school curriculum development and school service clubs (e.g., Junior Achievement, 4-H, Future Farmers, Key Club, American Field Service, Operation Day's Work - USA, etc.).

Reaching youth in school would also be a way to reach families and a good foundation for extended community outreach. The link to education is essential, not only youth in school, but higher education as well.

- **Internet:**

The potential to "bring the world right into the classroom and home" is enormous, and innovative use of the Internet could reach a very wide general audience. An interactive Web site has the potential to be a "seamless" extension, from an in-school curriculum component to the home, as well as part of ongoing community outreach. Outside technical expertise would be essential in developing a cutting-edge, interactive Web site.

- **Organization:**

Clearly, there needs to be a grassroots component to this initiative to ensure its success and long-term sustainability. Most people do not believe there needs to be a new organization, rather a way to tie the existing ones together.

There also is great interest on the part of the business community (Chambers of Commerce, Business Alliance, Campaign to Preserve U.S. Global Leadership, etc.), but the level of buy-in needs to be heightened and the saliency issue addressed. There are competing interests, but most people believe the business community could be brought together quickly in support of this initiative.

- **Funding:**

This initiative would need to be a privately funded, multiyear, concerted effort to ensure long-term sustainability and reach the broadest base audience with repeated, consistent, relevant messages.

Throughout our meeting process, it also became clear that there are many people out there thinking about the potential of organizing around this goal, and we found almost everyone willing to be part of a core group to work with us on this initiative.

To date, we have spoken by phone or met with the following:

Bill White	President, CS Mott Foundation
Maureen Smith	VP Programs, CS Mott Foundation
Judy Samelson	VP Communications, CS Mott Foundation Talked mostly about message, saliency and the importance of long-term, strategic communications. Thought a paid ad campaign would be the biggest (and most important) component.
Mark Gearan	Director, Peace Corps Thought that the Peace Corps could be a great asset in this initiative and that we could/should capitalize on its popularity.
Peter Fenn	Fenn & King Media producer with international experience. Tie to the President of the National Cable Television Association.
Jerry Klepner	Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healy Ties to Young & Rubicam and Burson Marsteller.
Jim Margolis	Greer, Margolis Worked with State and White House on Africa pre- and post-trip outreach ideas. Stressed need for long-term commitment.

Steven Kull Director, Program on International Policy Attitudes, Center for International Security Studies, University of Maryland  
 Author of *The Foreign Policy Gap--How Policy Makers Misread the Public and Americans and Foreign Aid--A Study of Public Attitudes.*

Susan Sechler Aspen Institute  
 Author of *Global Interdependence and the Need for Social Stewardship* report for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Priscilla Lewis Rockefeller Brothers Fund  
 Special Assistant to the President  
 Director of Communications  
 Currently working on a second collaboration with Susan Sechler.

Terry Bracey Bracey & Williams  
 Barry Blechman Stinson Foundation  
 Terry and Barry followed up our meeting with a plan outlining how they believe U.S. business could be involved in this initiative.

Pat McGuinness President, Council on Excellence in Government  
 Suggested the Partnership for a Drug-Free America as a good case study and possible model. Also suggested the possibility of partnering with the current Peace Corps ad campaign.

Bunny Lester Children's Television Workshop  
 Assistant VP, Development, Marketing & Communications  
 Offered suggestions about creative fundraising and volunteered to help lead a fundraising campaign.

Sally Patterson Winner, Wagner, Frances  
 Thought thematic outreach to small target audiences would be the best way to link our issues to the general public.

Joanne Eide NEA International Affairs  
 Jill Christiansen NEA International Affairs  
 Stressed that the link to education is essential. Thought that certain messages could (and would) be well received and understood by children as young as elementary school age.

Karen Mulhauser Mulhauser Public Affairs  
 Suggested expanding the base of the Lessons Without Borders program as the umbrella organization to run this initiative.

Marlene Johnson CEO, NAFSA: Association of International Educators  
 Thought an education component should continue through college.

Polly Donaldson Director of Public Outreach, Partners of the Americas  
 Discussed the pros and cons of reaching out to the general public vs. the "elites."

Liz Schraye President, Schraye & Associates  
 Campaign Coordinator, Campaign to Preserve U.S. Global Leadership  
 Represents a coalition of over 300 businesses, including many Fortune 500 companies.

Theresa Loar

State/President's Interagency Council on Women

As we expected, she had good ideas and contacts for us to follow up in the future.

We have also scheduled meetings with:

Tony Blinken	NSC
Jeff Meer	United Nations Foundation
Peter Hart	Peter Hart Research Associates
Barbara Shaller	AFL-CIO, International Relations
Karen Nussbaum	AFL-CIO, Women's Issues
Jim Moody	President, Interaction
Gibby Waitzkin	Gibson Creative
Jeff DaPuzzo	American Express
Richard Bates	Buena Vista / Disney
Jack Valenti	President & CEO, Motion Picture Association of America
Rick Delano	Scholastic, Inc.

# Business Alliance for International Economic Development

601 13th Street, N.W., Suite 900-S, Washington, DC 20005

George C. Burrill,  
*Steering Committee Chair*

October 2, 1998

Alliance to Save Energy  
American Seed Trade Association  
Association for International  
Agriculture & Rural Development  
Citizens Network for  
Foreign Affairs  
Coopers & Lybrand  
International Executive  
Services Corp  
National Association of State  
Universities and Land-Grant  
Colleges  
Pacific Basin Economic Council - US  
Pioneer Hi-Bred International  
Professional Services Council  
US - ASEAN Business Council

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton  
Office of the First Lady  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

On behalf of the Business Alliance for International Economic Development, I am pleased to submit some ideas for how you could help re-establish the domestic constituency for international economic development.

In the attached document we outline our belief that there are three critical audiences which could be motivated and educated through your leadership.

- First, the stakeholders need to be refocused and re-energized. As the pie of money continues to shrink, the very organizations that stand to benefit from development assistance -- not to mention the world's poor -- fall into the trap of infighting and lack of coordination. You have the ability to bring together representatives of these different sectors (including education, agriculture, infrastructure, health, environmental technology, tourism and institutional reform) and focus them on the fact that the foreign assistance community will succeed or fail together.
- Second, the American public needs to become more informed about the necessity of international engagement. We recommend convening four to six regional conferences, chaired by you, which would bring together the stakeholders named above. The purpose of these conferences is to shift attitudes by focusing on the benefits that foreign assistance brings to the domestic economy.
- Third, the long-term future of foreign assistance is in the hands of America's youth. We recommend a coordinated effort targeting student leadership organizations by using national communication tools, like *Channel One* or *Cable in the Classroom*.

Terrence L. Bracy,  
*Executive Director*  
James C. Benfield,  
*Associate Director*

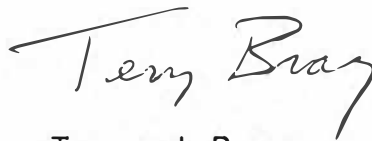
(202) 783-5588 FAX 783-5595

<http://www.milcom.com/alliance/>

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton  
October 2, 1998  
page 2

By nature, the attached memo focuses on top level concepts rather than specific implementation. We do, however, have ideas for how these concepts could play out with your leadership, and we would be happy to provide more detail if you are interested.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Terrence L. Bracy". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Terrence L. Bracy

enclosure

cc J. Brian Atwood  
Samuel R. Berger  
Thomas R. Pickering

## Building Domestic Support for Foreign Assistance

In the post-Cold War political environment, the public at large is severely disconnected from both the facts about and rationale behind foreign assistance. This fundamental lack of comprehension and ownership endangers the future of federal support for foreign assistance. The Business Alliance for International Economic Development believes that a coordinated information campaign focusing on the aid/trade dynamic is critical to the long-term future of USAID and foreign assistance in general. To that end, the Business Alliance has published two reports: *Foreign Assistance: What's In It For Americans?* and *Global Markets and Foreign Assistance: Is the United States Losing Ground?*

In the short term, the key stakeholders need to coordinate and articulate a clear rationale for foreign assistance without resorting to parochial infighting. Too often, representatives from different sectors (including education, agriculture, infrastructure, health, tourism and institutional reform) attempt to elevate their priorities at the expense of others.

The NGOs and the private sector need to understand that the short term success of restoring foreign assistance funding depends on their willingness to create a consensus for the common goal. An example of where these interests converge is environmental technologies that serve not only basic human needs and promote sustainability in developing countries, but also provide export opportunities for U.S. companies.

To address the foreign assistance disconnect on a long-term basis, we believe two key constituencies should be targeted with a grassroots education and involvement strategy:

- The **business community**, through an education campaign focusing on the implications of the aid/trade connection on basic bread and butter issues.
- The **youth of America**, through development and distribution of curricula and related materials to inspire a new generation of outward-thinking leaders.

A three part campaign will have a lasting effect on the future of the foreign assistance debate in the United States – without extensive use of staff resources or tax dollars:

1. Leverage your leadership to promote foreign assistance through creative use of various conferences and media outlets. Primarily, the key stakeholders of foreign assistance should be encouraged to work together in articulating an overarching rationale for foreign assistance. This could be kicked off by a small, focused White House meeting that would bring key players to the table and then be reinforced through four to six regional conferences that would bring the core message to the public at large.
2. Identify appropriate domestic organizations affected by foreign assistance and utilize their membership rolls and communications infrastructures as vehicles for information about foreign assistance.

3. Reshape existing content about foreign assistance into formats that are relevant, easily accessible to the target audiences and make effective use of new communications technology.

### **Targeting the Business Community:**

The Business Alliance believes continued dissemination of the core aid/trade message is critical to engaging the business community. The question is how to augment the tremendous financial and staff commitment USAID and other organizations already make to further get the message out. Four action items will lead to improved engagement from the business community:

1. Further understand the public's misconceptions about foreign assistance through polling analysis and focus groups.
2. Utilize political leadership creatively to re-energize the core constituencies – including national security interests, business community, and humanitarians – and draw attention and media coverage to the discussions taking place within these organizations.
3. Identify appropriate partner organizations that will serve as conduits for information and facilitate the aid/trade discussion through existing organizational structures, including the US Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers and the Jaycees.
4. Package existing USAID information and materials in formats to which the business community and industry trade media will respond, including regional conferences, white papers, web content and videotapes.

We believe a White House conference could be an effective jumping off point, especially if the conference were small and focused, with an emphasis not on media coverage but rather a personal enjoiner to find common ground in articulating the case for foreign assistance.

## Reaching Out to Youth:

In our post-Cold War, post-Vietnam environment the future of foreign assistance will be decided by the youth of America. Engaging students is, by nature, different than engaging the business community. Rather than focusing purely on dollar and cents issues, fostering several different partnership tracks can ensure that a wide range of students can become energized by the concept and goals of foreign assistance. At the same time, it is difficult to navigate educational bureaucracies to reach these students.

The solution is targeting two key constituencies:

1. National organizations that tend to attract motivated student-leaders.
2. Media outlets with national educational reach.

Advocates of foreign assistance should certainly target what can be considered a natural constituency – the “Peace Corps” demographic – through organizations such as Model United Nations Clubs. Equally important, however, is to reach the new generations of young entrepreneurs through organizations like Junior Achievement, Future Business Leaders of America, 4H Clubs, Future Farmers of America and many, many others. These organizations can help motivated, entrepreneurial students understand the foreign assistance argument.

Existing material from USAID programs can be reshaped into on-line curricula, and the Internet can be used for communication between communities. For example, a Junior Achievement club in Iowa could market products manufactured by student-colleagues in Africa, creating a tangible, valuable education on the free market system and cultural exchange.

Beyond relying on the communications and membership structure of national organizations, advocates should target partnerships with *Channel One* or *Cable in the Classroom* to promote and facilitate this debate. *Channel One*, for example, reaches over 40 percent of the nation’s high school students and would be thrilled to feature a major administration initiative – especially if that meant an on-camera interview with the First Lady. This potentially could result in a week’s worth of stories focusing on different aspects of foreign assistance building up to an interview or even a “national meeting” on the future of foreign assistance. Other student-centered media outlets, including magazines and television programs, would be appropriate targets.

31ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1998 The New York Times Company  
The New York Times

April 18, 1998, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 13; Column 5; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 734 words

HEADLINE: Foreign Affairs;  
Techno-Nothings

BYLINE: By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

DATELINE: PALO ALTO, Calif.

BODY:

I don't think I like Silicon Valley.

Here's why: I'm as impressed as anyone with the technologies that Silicon Valley is producing and the way they are changing how we must think about economic power and how nations interact. But what is so striking about Silicon Valley is that it has become so enamored of its innovative and profit-making prowess that it has completely lost sight of the overall context within which this is taking place. There is a disturbing complacency here toward Washington, government and even the nation. There is no geography in Silicon Valley, or geopolitics. There are only stock options and electrons.

When I asked an all-too-typical tech-exec here when was the last time he talked about Iraq or Russia or foreign wars, he answered: "Not more than once a year. We don't even care about Washington. Money is extracted from Silicon Valley and then wasted by Washington. I want to talk about people who create wealth and jobs. I don't want to talk about unhealthy and unproductive people. If I don't care enough about the wealth-destroyers in my own country, why would I care about the wealth-destroyers in another country?"

What's wrong with this picture is that all the technologies Silicon Valley is designing to carry digital voices, videos and data farther and faster around the world, all the trade and financial integration it is promoting through its innovations, and all the wealth it is generating, is happening in a world stabilized by a benign superpower called the United States of America, with its capital in Washington D.C.

The hidden hand of the global market would never work without the hidden fist. And the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technologies to flourish is called the United States Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps (with the help, incidentally, of global institutions like the U.N. and the International Monetary Fund). And those fighting forces and institutions are paid for by all the tax dollars that Washington is "wasting" every year.

Because of the intense competition here among companies, and the continuous flood of new products, there is a saying in Silicon Valley that "loyalty is just one mouse-click away." But you can take that too far. Execs here say things like: "We are not an American company. We are I.B.M. U.S., I.B.M. Canada, I.B.M. Australia, I.B.M. China." Oh yeah? Well, the next time you get in trouble in

*foreign policy support*

The New York Times, April 18, 1998

China, then call Li Peng for help. And the next time Congress closes another military base in Asia -- and you don't care because you don't care about Washington -- call Microsoft's navy to secure the sea lanes of Asia. And the next time the freshmen Republicans want to close more U.S. embassies, call America Online when you lose your passport.

Harry Saal, a successful Silicon Valley engineer, venture capitalist and community activist -- an exception to the norm -- remarked to me: "If you ask people here what their affiliation is, they will name their company. Many live and work on a company campus. The leaders of these companies don't have any real understanding of how a society operates and how education and social services get provided for. People here are not involved in Washington policy because they think the future will be set by technology and market forces alone and eventually there will be a new world order based on electrons and information."

They're exactly half right. I've had a running debate with a neo-Reaganite foreign-policy writer, Robert Kagan, from the Carnegie Endowment, about the impact of economic integration and technology on geopolitics. He says I overestimate its stabilizing effects; I say he underestimates it. We finally agreed that unless you look at both geotechnology and geopolitics you can't explain (or sustain) this relatively stable moment in world history. But Silicon Valley's tech-heads have become so obsessed with bandwidth they've forgotten balance of power. They've forgotten that without America on duty there will be no America Online.

"The people in Silicon Valley think it's a virtue not to think about history because everything for them is about the future," argued Mr. Kagan. "But their ignorance of history leads them to ignore that this explosion of commerce and trade rests on a secure international system, which rests on those who have the power and the desire to see that system preserved."

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**PAPER NO. 1**

**GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE  
AND THE NEED FOR  
SOCIAL STEWARDSHIP**



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SOCIAL STEWARDSHIP**

*Laurie Ann Mazur & Susan E. Sechler*

**RB**

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## PREFACE

On October 7–8, 1996, at the Pocantico Conference Center of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Fund joined with the World Bank to host an unusual gathering of foundation executives, leaders of major humanitarian and environmental NGOs (nongovernmental organizations), and officers of large multilateral institutions. The meeting was entitled “Building a Constituency for Global Interdependence,” and its agenda reflected a deep sense of shared concern about the apparent waning of public and political support (in the United States but also in other developed nations) for the policies, programs, and agencies of cooperative international engagement. Despite considerable talk about the globalization of the economy and the unifying effects of communications technology, there has been a growing and worrisome tendency on the part of governments, the general public, and private funders to withdraw or withhold their support from international development, exchange, and capacity-building initiatives that reflect the reality and implications of global interdependence. A serious lack of funding, commitment, and vision—the resources on which effective cooperative engagement depends—now threatens to undermine the capacity of nations and peoples to collaborate in building a just and sustainable global community.

The U.S. retreat from international cooperative engagement has been widely reported. Once the world leader in aid to developing nations, the United States now ranks at the bottom of the list of donor nations in the percentage of gross national product devoted to foreign aid. In recent years, the United States has also failed to honor its commitments to such multilateral agencies as the United Nations and the International Development Association (the branch of the World Bank that provides low- and no-interest loans to the world’s poorest countries) and has shifted its aid priorities, to a large extent, from long-term development assistance to short-term disaster relief. But the origins and extent of this retreat are poorly understood. Why, and among whom, is commitment diminishing? Has commitment waned for all forms of international engagement, or only for some? What can be done to reverse this trend? These questions were at the heart of the October 1996 Pocantico workshop.

In a lively and open discussion, participants reviewed what is known, guessed, and still unknown about the nature and causes of reduced

support for cooperative engagement. The public's lack of confidence in public institutions, including governments and international agencies, received extensive attention. NGO leaders then offered practical case studies of constituency-building in their own areas of interest: health, women's rights, environmental conservation, humanitarian aid, and emergency relief. Participants explored the potential differences between constituency-building on behalf of specific issues or causes and constituency-building on behalf of cooperative engagement more generally. A variety of strategies to bolster public and policymaker support for international cooperation was proposed and vigorously debated, with an emphasis not only on increasing financial support but also, and primarily, on changing the climate of opinion. Central to this discussion was a consideration of the need for renewed political leadership if the climate of opinion is to be altered in any meaningful fashion. Implicitly and occasionally explicitly, the gathering posed the question of how a group of foundations, NGOs, and multilateral institutions might work collaboratively, drawing on their respective and complementary strengths, to help build a broader understanding of global interdependence and a stronger commitment to cooperative engagement.

This meeting cannot be said to have produced a consensus, either on how to define the problem or on how to try to solve it. The discussions at Pocantico did, however, illuminate the need for more nuanced information about the beliefs and perceptions of Americans regarding their country's role in an interdependent world, and about the efforts that are already under way by NGOs and other organizations to educate various audiences about the challenges and opportunities presented by global interdependence. Above all, the meeting illuminated the need for a new conceptual framework for cooperative engagement in the post-Cold War era—a framework that would not only guide U.S. foreign policy and galvanize political leadership on behalf of international engagement, but also inform broad public education efforts on global issues and encourage greater public involvement and trust in the cooperative engagement process. These are needs that a collaboration of concerned foundations, NGOs, and multilateral institutions might well seek to address by engaging in some shared thinking and by developing some shared resources. It is this possibility which is now being explored—through informal conversations and meetings of a smaller working group—by the participants in the October 1996 workshop.

The paper that follows draws in part on the rich array of ideas voiced at Pocantico to describe one possible and persuasive new framework for cooperative engagement. It begins by explaining the need for cooperation if interdependent nations are to advance their common interests in three areas: economic growth; military security; and what the authors call social stewardship, which involves the promotion of health, social stability, and human potential. The United States, the authors argue, has fallen far

behind in this last arena. The second section of the paper traces the history of political and public support for social stewardship and discusses its current falling-off. In so doing, the paper provides valuable new information on American attitudes toward cooperative engagement generally and social stewardship in particular, suggesting that the constituency-building challenge is a complex one, involving not so much a lack of awareness about global issues, but rather the low priority assigned to those issues and the absence of a compelling policy context in which to address them. The third section begins to lay out messages and methods (including reform of the vehicles for cooperative engagement) that might help generate a renewed commitment to social stewardship among policymakers and opinion leaders, key constituencies, and the general public. Finally, the authors argue for a model of cooperative engagement in which social stewardship, economic growth, and military security are seen as mutually reinforcing expressions of American interests and values.

In its effort to articulate the importance of social stewardship and locate it in an overall framework for international involvement, and in its emphasis on the need for leadership as well as constituency if support for cooperative engagement is to be increased, this paper can certainly be seen as an outgrowth of the October 1996 Pocantico meeting. Many of its particulars, though, have been drawn or developed from other sources and subsequent discussions. In presenting this essay to the public, then, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the World Bank are not reporting on a particular workshop. Instead, we seek to convey something of the underlying concern and conviction that brought a diverse and sometimes divergent group of organizations together around a single issue; to offer a first example of the kinds of information and resources such a group might work together to provide; and to help spark a much larger conversation about the purpose, principles, and agents of American engagement overseas.

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## INTRODUCTION

In a world made smaller by global commerce and communication, cooperative engagement among nations is more possible—and more necessary—than ever before.

“Cooperative engagement,” in this context, refers to the complex of policies, programs, treaties, investments, and regimes by which nations collaborate to advance common interests. Those interests fall into three broad categories: military security, economic growth and trade, and what might be called social stewardship—the promotion of health, social stability, and human potential. The United States is the world leader in efforts to ensure military security and has intensified efforts to open international markets and foster economic growth. But, as this paper will elaborate, the United States has fallen far behind in the realm of social stewardship.<sup>1</sup>

The term “social stewardship” is, admittedly, an awkward one. In public discourse, “stewardship” is most often used to describe the responsible use of natural resources—resource use that meets the needs of current generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs. But intergenerational concern should extend to the social realm as well. To meet the needs of current and future generations, it is also necessary to act as good stewards of human resources. Accordingly, social stewardship includes not only the careful use of natural resources, but also long-range efforts to improve public health, such as immunization and nutrition programs, basic sanitation, and reproductive health care. It includes efforts to promote greater social stability by fostering democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and more equitable distribution of resources. And it includes investments in human potential, such as public education and micro-credit initiatives. The package of objectives that we call “social stewardship” is closely related to the objectives of “human development,” “social development,” and “human security.” In the international sphere, these objectives are now mostly pursued through bilateral and multilateral aid agencies, although many other private- and public-sector actors contribute to social stewardship.

Social stewardship is increasingly recognized as a component of national—and global—security. With the end of the Cold War, there is a growing understanding of non-military threats to peace and social stability. Intranational problems, such as resource scarcities and wide

gaps between rich and poor, have the potential to destabilize nations and even precipitate military aggression. Successful social stewardship efforts can address intranational problems before they metastasize into larger threats.<sup>2</sup>

Social stewardship is also valued as a building block of economic growth. Certainly, people who are healthy and educated are better prepared to seize economic opportunity than those who are sick, malnourished, or illiterate. A clear illustration of the economic benefits of social stewardship can be found in Costa Rica, where U.S. development assistance helped the government to provide basic health care, safe drinking water, and free primary and secondary education to all of its citizens.<sup>3</sup> These efforts reaped impressive gains: adult literacy rates in Costa Rica are now at 94 percent, and infant mortality dropped from sixty-two deaths per one thousand births in 1970 to thirteen in 1996, which is close to the level in most industrialized countries.<sup>4</sup> Investments in human well-being have catalyzed strong economic growth—Costa Rica's per capita income is now among the highest in Latin America—and reduced dependence on foreign assistance. Indeed, in 1996 Costa Rica “graduated” from receiving U.S. foreign aid.

And social stewardship has a moral value that cannot be quantified. Our moral and religious traditions teach us to care for the poor, the marginalized, the “least among us.” Embedded in this teaching is a recognition of the dignity and worth of each human being. Social stewardship is an expression of our common humanity and of the value we place on each human life.

Still, the strategic, economic, and moral importance of social stewardship is not yet reflected in the U.S. budget (the most visible, but not the only meaningful measure of commitment). In fact, social stewardship now consumes a smaller share of international spending than at any time in the last thirty years. Since 1962, U.S. defense spending has fallen by 15 percent in constant 1997 dollars, while non-military international spending, including social stewardship, plummeted by 43 percent.<sup>5</sup>

Bilateral development assistance (more commonly known as “foreign aid”) has sustained the deepest cuts. The United States, for decades the largest aid donor, is now in fourth place behind Japan, France, and Germany.<sup>6</sup> Real spending on development assistance peaked at \$51 billion (in 1997 dollars) in 1947, when the Marshall Plan to rebuild Europe was in full stride. Spending has fallen steadily since then, with steeper drops in recent years, to \$14 billion in 1997.<sup>7</sup> The U.S. ratio of official development assistance (ODA)<sup>8</sup> to Gross National Product (GNP) is now at its lowest level since 1950. Indeed, the United States devotes a smaller percentage of national income to development assistance than nearly any other developed nation—less than one-tenth of one percent (.1 percent), compared

to .97 percent for the Danes, .89 percent for the Swedes, .55 percent for the French, and .31 percent for the Germans.<sup>9</sup> Even in *absolute* terms, if we exclude U.S. aid to Israel and Egypt, the United States—with 265 million people—spends less on development assistance than Denmark, a nation of five million.

The United States has also reduced its contributions to multilateral aid efforts. In recent years, the United States has not fully honored its commitments to United Nations agencies and peacekeeping activities, nor to the International Development Association (IDA), the branch of the World Bank that provides low- or no-interest loans to the poorest of the world's countries. Although there is a movement under way to pay those accumulated debts, it is not clear what the outcome will be.<sup>10</sup>

Deeper cuts may be in store for U.S. funding of bilateral and multilateral agencies. Until recently, defense spending and non-military international spending were linked together as "privileged" accounts within the discretionary budget, meaning that they both enjoyed some protection from budget-cutting pressures. But in recent years, the linkage has been broken. Non-military international spending is now part of a broad "non-defense discretionary" category. This means that international spending—diplomacy, support for multilateral organizations, and bilateral development assistance—must compete for funds with domestic programs such as education, health care, and prisons. Given the stronger constituencies for domestic programs—and the lack of understanding about the impact of international problems on domestic well-being—policymakers often choose to cut international programs instead.<sup>11</sup>

Political and budgetary constraints combine to limit U.S. support for bilateral and multilateral aid efforts. But social stewardship requires more than cash; it also requires a commitment to cooperative engagement with other nations. In international fora the United States still tends to assume a hegemonic role, which may undercut cooperative partnerships. For example, the United States has unilaterally called for changes in the United Nations system and threatened to withdraw support if those conditions are not met. "The U.S. knows how to be the team captain, and it knows how to sit on the bench," says Jessica Mathews, president of the Carnegie Endowment, "but it's not very good at being a team player."<sup>12</sup>

The United States has also shifted its aid priorities from long-term development assistance to short-term disaster relief. The shift away from social stewardship may be short-sighted; long-term aid can help poor countries prevent crises by developing their economies and social infrastructure, which can obviate the need for expensive disaster relief. "American policy," according to a recent report by the Overseas Devel-

opment Council, "is, in effect, borrowing peace from the future to deal with crises in the present."<sup>13</sup>

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On October 7–8, 1996, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the World Bank co-hosted a meeting of foundation executives, leaders of major humanitarian and environmental NGOs (nongovernmental organizations), and officers of large multilateral institutions, who gathered to discuss the apparent waning of America's commitment to social stewardship and what might be done about it. This meeting, entitled "Building a Constituency for Global Interdependence," took place at the Fund's Pocantico Conference Center. The meeting was inspired, in part, by the RBF's longstanding interest in the theme of global interdependence and its recent grantmaking experience in a world where the rapid pace of globalization is blurring the distinctions between domestic and international concerns. For the World Bank, sponsorship of the meeting reflected an institutional mandate to foster cooperative engagement, as well as a renewed commitment to program reform and to collaboration with foundations and nongovernmental organizations.

At the Pocantico meeting, participants agreed that the United States has made a sharp retreat from some forms of social stewardship—notably bilateral and multilateral development assistance efforts. But the Pocantico participants raised several questions about which there was less certainty. For example, does the retreat from development assistance signify a broader retreat from social stewardship? Is it possible to achieve social stewardship through other means, such as a greater reliance on market mechanisms? What is driving the current retreat, and how might it be reversed?

In the pages that follow, these questions are explored and others are raised. Section I, "The Challenge of Global Interdependence," explores the need for cooperative engagement to solve the problems and seize the opportunities presented by globalization. Section II, "The Retreat from Social Stewardship," reviews the history of political support for international social stewardship and the reasons for the current retreat. Section III, "Building Support for Social Stewardship," puts forth a three-part framework for approaching the challenge of rebuilding support.

The authors of this paper, in an attempt to reflect and expand upon the views of the Pocantico participants, have drawn a few preliminary conclusions. First, it is clear that bilateral and multilateral development assistance is a necessary, but not sufficient, component of social stewardship. Second, while it is important to rebuild support for these traditional mechanisms of stewardship, it is also necessary to develop new ways to harness the transformative powers of globalization to improve human well-being. Third and most important, it is essential to promote a renewed national dialogue about the goals and methods of U.S. engagement with other nations.

We live in an era of stark contrasts. The global economy produces wealth on a previously unimaginable scale—gross world product has grown by more than 40 percent since 1980<sup>14</sup>—yet the absolute number of people in poverty continues to rise, and the chasm between rich and poor is widening in many countries.<sup>15</sup> With the end of the Cold War, the threat of nuclear annihilation has diminished, yet bloody civil conflicts erupt with frightening frequency and intensity. Medical science has conquered diseases that plagued humanity for millennia, yet millions die each year because they lack basic sanitation, nutrition, and health care. Our capacity to shape the environment to meet human needs has brought comfort and convenience to many, as well as unforeseen side effects—climate change, species loss, soil erosion, water shortages—that may threaten the planet's ability to sustain life itself.

The world is both expanding and contracting: expanding with the rapid growth of the human population and economy; contracting as the forces of globalization draw more tightly the bonds that connect us. An increasingly global marketplace is redrawing the map of alliances, forging new ties of economic, political, and social interdependence among people and nations.

#### **Interdependence Calls for International Problem-Solving**

Interdependence means that global trends have greater effects at the local level. As more producers and consumers are linked to the worldwide economic grid, more communities are affected by events beyond their borders.<sup>16</sup> For example, as farmers complete the transition from self-provisioning to production for export, their markets (and profits) grow. But so does their vulnerability to price shifts. At the same time, many governments have abandoned costly price supports (which encourage market inefficiency and poor land use practices), so farmers have less protection from the vicissitudes of the market.

Interdependence also means that what appear to be local problems can have international causes and effects. For example, the proximate causes of Mexico's 1994 peso crisis were local: budget deficits, hidden inflation, the destabilizing Chiapas rebellion, and the assassination of a prominent politician. But its underlying causes were, in a sense, global: a result of Mexico's foreign debt and disadvantaged position in the world economy.

And repercussions of the crisis were felt far beyond the Mexican border: the United States, Canada, and other nations risked billions to protect their own economies from the peso's slide.

In an interdependent world, environmental degradation, disease, terrorism, and organized crime do not respect national borders. So, to solve local problems, it is often necessary to think and act globally. To protect their forests from acid rain, Canadians must work with the United States to address industrial pollution in the American Midwest. To stop the spread of AIDS and other diseases, health officials must grapple with political and economic chaos in Africa, which provides a fertile breeding ground for globe-trotting microbes.<sup>17</sup> To prevent climate changes that threaten agriculture and ecosystems worldwide, environmentalists must influence patterns of energy use and transportation in the industrialized world as well as in the developing countries, which will produce the lion's share of carbon dioxide emissions in the next century.<sup>18</sup>

For Americans, prosperity and quality of life are increasingly entwined with conditions in other countries. Exports account for an increasing share of our nation's economic growth, and developing countries are among the fastest-growing markets for U.S. products. This means that more U.S. jobs depend on purchasing power and political stability overseas. These are generally high-paying jobs: industries that produce goods for export pay wages that are 13 percent above the national average.<sup>19</sup> Imports benefit Americans, too, by stocking our stores with inexpensive goods that keep the cost of living down.

But strengthened economic ties with developing nations impel us to consider the moral and practical implications of our new trading relationships. What does it mean to trade with nations that pay workers much less than American workers receive, and that have lower standards for worker protection and human rights? It means, for example, that American children play with inexpensive soccer balls stitched together by their peers in Pakistani sweatshops. Recently, consumer revulsion has prompted boycotts and other efforts to improve working conditions in developing countries. But some charge that boycotts are misguided: by purchasing products from developing countries, they say, it may be possible to foster growth that will ultimately lead to better working conditions.

And the practical implications of trade with developing countries may include job insecurity and lower wages for young and less-skilled American workers. The actual economic effects are relatively small, but they are politically significant. Most economists agree that trade with developing countries accounts for only about 20 percent of wage declines among less-skilled workers; the remainder is due to a host of factors, including technological changes and the dwindling strength of

unions.<sup>20</sup> Still, over the last two decades, about 6 percent of U.S. manufacturing jobs have been lost as corporations moved operations overseas to cut labor costs, and salaries of less-skilled workers have declined steadily.<sup>21</sup> As a result, many Americans remain wary of economic ties with developing nations, and there is ample evidence that protectionist impulses are gathering force.

Should we, then, decline to trade with nations whose labor standards are lower than ours? Should we shield American workers from wage declines through protectionist measures? The integration of developing-country workers into the world economy may indeed depress wages for less-skilled workers everywhere. However, the costs of *not* integrating those workers could be even higher: a widening gap between the world's rich and poor, political instability, and an incalculable waste of human potential. The challenge is to find mechanisms that can raise global standards for both wages and working conditions, while preserving and creating as many jobs as possible. This is a formidable but important task.

### **Interdependence Presents Opportunities to Raise Living Standards**

Of course, opportunities as well as challenges now transcend national boundaries. In a globalized economy, capital moves more freely among nations. This quickening flow of resources offers an extraordinary opportunity to improve human well-being, especially in the impoverished countries of the developing world. Since private flows of capital now dwarf the spending of bilateral aid agencies and multilateral organizations, many believe that markets, not governments, will hasten development and raise the quality of life worldwide.

The shift from public to private investment has been dramatic. A decade ago, most capital flows to developing countries were in the form of loans or aid from official development institutions, supplemented by a trickle of private investment. That trickle has become a flood: private capital flows to developing countries rose from \$5 billion in 1970 to \$100 billion in 1981. Then, after a steep drop-off in the 1980s (when Mexico defaulted on its bank loans, and other debtor nations threatened to follow suit), private investment in developing countries rebounded to an unprecedented \$285 billion in 1996, and now accounts for four-fifths of total capital flows to those countries.<sup>22</sup>

Ideas also move more freely in an interdependent world. Global trade has been accompanied by a parallel expansion of communications technologies. Today, people throughout the world are linked by a dense network of fiber-optic cables and are bathed in the common glow of an increasingly global popular culture. The worldwide commerce in ideas offers the potential to improve the quality of political and economic life by univer-

salizing higher standards for human rights, democracy, and environmental protection. For example, communications technologies—notably the electronic information systems that connect computer users across the globe—can serve as powerful tools of democratic reform. They can be used to spark dialogue among advocates, challenge the hierarchical control of information, and expose oppression and corruption. These technologies have helped nongovernmental organizations from the industrialized and developing countries form partnerships to raise international norms on a wide variety of issues, from environmental protection to women's rights.

The cross-pollination of cultures can also bring an end to age-old practices of oppression and discrimination. The censure of the global community (together with a strong indigenous human rights movement) helped bring down apartheid in South Africa. Other practices, such as female genital mutilation in North Africa and dowry murders in India, may ultimately wither in the glare of the international spotlight.

But the transformative process of globalization is still in its early stages. While private investment has lifted many into the ranks of the middle class and sparked a revolution of rising expectations, it has not produced appreciable benefits for most of the world's poor. According to the World Bank, three-quarters of developing-country investment goes to just a dozen countries, while the poorest countries—which are home to 42 percent of the developing world's population—received just 6 percent of all private investment.<sup>23</sup> In those countries, one billion people live on the knife edge of survival, lacking basic nutrition, sanitation, and health care. Even within countries experiencing rapid economic growth, gains are often distributed so unevenly that they do not benefit the majority of people.

Why do the benefits of global trade “trickle down” in some cases, but not in others? Government policy is key: where governments are committed to equal opportunity—especially for women—and invest in domestic social stewardship programs like education and public health, economic gains are usually more widely distributed. Conversely, the poorest countries are often saddled with governments that are corrupt and unresponsive to the needs of their people.<sup>24</sup> This raises thorny questions for U.S. trade policy and cooperative engagement more generally. Should the United States attempt to use its economic leverage to promote good government in the developing countries? If so, how can this be done without challenging the sovereignty of other nations?

Currently, there is vigorous debate in foreign-policy circles about the larger purposes of U.S. trade policy. During the Cold War, the U.S. deployed trade sanctions and rewards in the effort to contain Soviet Communism. This meant that the interests of individual businesses were sometimes sacrificed to the larger national interest. For example, during

the grain embargo of the late 1970s, agribusiness sustained major losses, albeit involuntarily, in order to punish the Soviets for the invasion of Afghanistan. Today, in the absence of overarching strategic objectives, the interests of U.S.-based companies are given greater priority. Indeed, U.S. trade policy now seeks primarily to secure market access in foreign countries, even those that engage in questionable conduct. Proponents of this approach, termed “commercial diplomacy,” believe that unfettered trade alone will promote peace by fostering economic interdependence, and that growth will help democratize authoritarian states through improved living standards and contact with open societies.

Most analysts agree that robust trade and investment are essential to global prosperity and stability. But critics from both sides of the political spectrum charge that current U.S. trade policy places short-term business advantage ahead of long-term strategic and moral interests. Others question whether “commercial diplomacy” will bring about democratization.<sup>25</sup> Current conditions in Singapore and China (and the recent histories of South Korea and Chile) suggest that brisk economic growth and authoritarianism can coexist. Indeed, Lee Kuan Yew, the former prime minister of Singapore, has argued that authoritarianism is a necessary precondition for economic growth. The relationship between economic growth and the pursuit of broader social goals—such as human rights and equity—is complex and has generated considerable debate. The substance and outcome of this debate will have far-reaching implications for the future of cooperative engagement.

Another debate is raging over the potential impact of standards for global commerce. Multilateral trade organizations are now working to “level the playing field” for commerce by articulating international standards for consumer, labor, and environmental protection. But those standards are typically less stringent than the laws of the United States and other G-7 countries. Furthermore, because trade standards are set by small groups of officials who are effectively insulated from the democratic process, they raise many troubling questions. Who sets the standards for global commerce, and at what level? How can we ensure that those standards are in accordance with public values as well as private-sector interests? How can trade organizations become more transparent and accountable?

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National interests are increasingly bound up with international concerns, and cooperation among nations is necessary to advance human well-being in an interdependent world. There is no turning back from international engagement: our nation’s vital interests overseas prohibit a retreat into isolationism. As a recent report by the Overseas Development Council concludes:

In the end, the principal issue for U.S. foreign policy is not whether the United States will be engaged in the world but the terms of that engagement: whether it will exercise an effective voice in crafting the rules, norms, and structures that will govern the evolving system, and whether U.S. policy will attend to more than the short-term bottom line.<sup>16</sup>

The “terms of engagement” for international affairs will, to a large extent, determine the prospects for peace, prosperity, and human well-being in the next century. What might the terms be? What purposes and principles should guide international relations? Which combination of military security, economic growth, and social stewardship will best advance human well-being in an era of global interdependence? And, what is our nation’s role in international cooperative engagement? Is it enough to ensure military security and economic growth, or do our values and interests compel us to act as social stewards as well?

These questions deserve wide and rigorous public debate, but that debate is not taking place. Instead, without public input, the United States has retreated from its long-standing commitment to many institutions of social stewardship. If cooperative engagement is to serve the public interest, then international policy choices must be made with meaningful participation by the American people and with leadership that is informed by an understanding of the practical realities of global interdependence. And those choices must be guided by moral principles that reflect our nation’s values as well as its interests.

### Containment As a Rationale for Social Stewardship

To understand declining political support for bilateral and multilateral development agencies, it is helpful to review the history of that support. In the United States, support for those institutions is a product of the Cold War years, when containment of Soviet Communism was the overarching rationale for U.S. foreign policy. During that era, the United States implemented the Marshall plan, helped create and fund the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions (the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund), and launched the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

Public support for these institutions did not materialize quickly or spontaneously. In the early years of the Cold War, President Truman, in concert with policymakers and other opinion leaders, persuaded Americans that Soviet Communism posed a profound threat to national interests and that social and economic investments overseas would help contain that threat by diminishing the appeal of Communism in poor and war-torn nations. Truman and his contemporaries did not shape policy to match opinion polls. Instead, they crafted a rationale and a strategy, then showed the public how the policy protected American interests and values. The emphasis on values—especially democracy and political freedom—was key. In the words of Columbia University historian John Ruggie, they succeeded by linking “the pursuit of American interests to a transformative vision of world order that appealed to the American public.”<sup>27</sup>

Truman and others saw containment as the central objective of U.S. foreign policy. Accordingly, military security concerns dominated the spending and priorities of cooperative engagement with other nations. The other elements of engagement—economic growth and social stewardship—were judged important largely because of their relationship to containment. Humanitarian and economic aid programs were justified as a means to promote both social stability and market economies in developing countries.

Despite (or, some would argue, because of) this emphasis on military security, the Cold War period saw dramatic gains in social stewardship. Since the end of World War II, child mortality rates worldwide have fallen by 50 percent, helping to raise life expectancy in the developing

countries by 50 percent. These gains are due, in part, to the efforts of bilateral and multilateral aid agencies in partnership with developing-country governments and NGOs, and to strong economic growth.<sup>28</sup>

Bilateral and multilateral aid agencies played an important role in reducing child mortality rates, and their success illustrates the special niche these agencies occupy. For example, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and USAID helped promote a potent method of saving children's lives: oral rehydration salts (ORS). ORS, a simple mixture of water, salt, and sugar, offers an extraordinarily effective means to combat the dehydration caused by diarrhea. When cholera swept through refugee camps during the 1971 Bangladesh war of independence, 96 percent of the victims treated with ORS survived.<sup>29</sup> But were it not for bilateral and multilateral aid agencies, this medical advance might not have gained wide usage. Market mechanisms probably would not have worked: because its ingredients are inexpensive and widely available, pharmaceutical companies would have little incentive to market and distribute ORS.

Despite these and many other successes, critics have noted that the Cold War imperatives of containment sometimes conflicted with social stewardship objectives. For example, in the process of rewarding allies with aid, bilateral agencies sometimes overlooked the needy and bolstered oppressive and/or corrupt regimes. This tarnished their credibility in the developing world, where many still view these institutions as agents of foreign "imperialism." Moreover, these institutions often employed top-down management methods that undermined local initiative. And, because their usefulness was measured in strategic terms, these institutions were not always judged by their success (or lack thereof) in fostering social stewardship.

In the post-Cold War era, bilateral and multilateral aid agencies are at a challenging impasse. Freed from the imperatives of containment, they now have a greater opportunity to promote social stewardship. Accordingly, these agencies have begun slowly to adapt their programs to the new era by forging new partnerships with citizens' groups and by emphasizing market-based interventions and democratizing reforms.

However, now that they have lost their Cold War rationale, the institutions of social stewardship are losing political support. Containment was a flawed rationale for promoting stewardship, but it did at least offer a coherent framework for understanding our interests in the developing world: during the Cold War, every nation had strategic importance as a potential ally or enemy. Today, it is more difficult to articulate U.S. interest in countries such as Mali or Bangladesh. As a result, the institutions of social stewardship have lost their strategic compass—and much of their political base of support.

## Public Opinion and the U.S. Retreat from International Social Stewardship

If public support for cooperative engagement was an artifact of the Cold War, what has become of that support since the fall of the Berlin Wall? Conventional wisdom holds that Americans have little interest in international issues and that the end of the Cold War has eroded what little support existed for cooperation with other nations. For example, a recent survey of policymakers, journalists, and other opinion leaders found that most thought the American public prefers isolationism to international engagement.<sup>30</sup> But careful analysis reveals a great deal of latent support for engagement—especially to promote social stewardship.

Although few researchers have probed Americans' understanding of global interdependence, there are indicators of awareness among the general public. In a 1995 poll conducted by the Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA), for example, 63 percent agreed that "the world economy is so interconnected today that, in the long run, helping Third World countries to develop is in the economic interest of the U.S."<sup>31</sup>

However, polls show that Americans have significant misunderstandings about U.S. programs abroad, which erode support for development assistance. For example, most think federal spending on international programs, as a percentage of the federal budget, is many times greater than it is in fact. Another poll found that 75 percent of Americans think the United States spends "too much" on foreign assistance. However, when asked to guess the amount now spent on aid, the average estimate was about 15 percent of the federal budget—although the actual number is less than one percent. And Americans believe that, compared to other developed countries, the United States carries a much larger share of the burden of helping the world's poor than it actually does.<sup>32</sup>

Americans have real doubts about the motives and methods of current U.S. programs abroad. Most reject a hegemonic role for the United States—"Who are we to tell them what to do?" is a common refrain in focus groups. A high percentage believes that foreign assistance is wasted, ineffective, and/or fails to reach its intended beneficiaries. In one poll, 83 percent agreed that "There is so much waste and corruption in the process of giving foreign aid that very little actually reaches the people who need it."<sup>33</sup>

The perception of ineffectiveness substantially diminishes support for foreign assistance. In the classic ethical allegory, one must always jump into the water to save a drowning person—unless one cannot swim. Americans may care about the "drowning" people overseas, but they doubt whether foreign aid programs can "swim."

The news media contribute to the perception of U.S. ineffectiveness abroad. War, famine, and disaster dominate the scant news coverage of less-developed countries, while success stories—such as dramatic improvements in infant and child health—are rarely deemed newsworthy. By accentuating the negative, the news media foster an impression that poor countries are unsalvageable. (Private charitable groups may unwittingly contribute to this state of affairs, with fund-raising appeals that present the citizens of less-developed countries as helpless victims.<sup>34</sup>) Moreover, as arbiters of salience (the degree of importance given to issues and events) the news media have helped diminish the attention given to international issues. International news coverage is declining, as many news organizations are closing their foreign bureaus.<sup>35</sup>

Skepticism about U.S. programs abroad also stems from diminished faith in the public sector generally. Indeed, confidence in government is at an all-time low. One recent survey found that only 20 percent believed that the federal government can be trusted to do “what is right” most of the time—down from 76 percent in 1964.<sup>36</sup> It follows that Americans would doubt that the U.S. government, which is widely perceived as failing its own citizens, is capable of solving international or global problems.

However, opinion research shows that the American public does support cooperative engagement if properly conceived and executed. Polls consistently show that most Americans want the United States to play an active role in international affairs, both for moral reasons and because they believe engagement serves domestic interests. A strong majority of 80 percent believes the United States should give some foreign aid, while just 8 percent want aid programs eliminated.<sup>37</sup> The United Nations and other multilateral institutions still enjoy broad support: a 1994 poll by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations found that 84 percent of Americans included “support for strengthening the United Nations” as a “somewhat” or “very” high foreign policy goal of the United States—the highest level of support for that goal in twenty years.<sup>38</sup>

When concerns about unfairness, corruption, and inefficiency are addressed, support for cooperative engagement rebounds. Indeed, when told how much the United States actually spends on foreign assistance, most favor sustaining or even increasing that amount. Given assurances that other nations are carrying their fair share, Americans favor U.S. participation in multilateral efforts to keep the peace, promote economic development, and provide humanitarian assistance. Most (58 percent) say they would even pay more in taxes for foreign assistance if they could be sure the aid really went to those in need.<sup>39</sup>

Although the data are far from conclusive, there are indicators that Americans reject the military-security dominated framework of national interests in favor of a framework that emphasizes social stewardship. In a

recent poll conducted for the International Women's Health Coalition, voters were asked whether they preferred a foreign policy that "emphasize[s] the security of people around the world, by focusing on poverty, the environment, health care, education and human rights," or one that "emphasize[s] the security of nations around the world, by focusing on trade, military defense, and nuclear arms control." Fifty-nine percent chose the people-centered approach, while just 25 percent voted for the nation-centered view.<sup>40</sup> While the distinction between "people" and "nations" may seem artificial to some, the poll suggests an important feature of public opinion about cooperative engagement.

Still, public opinion does not readily translate into policy, for a simple reason: international issues still have low salience for most people. Although Americans will state their support for social stewardship when asked, few petition their members of Congress to protest cuts in development assistance. Americans generally do not base their votes on international concerns, and when asked to rate the nation's biggest problems, international issues do not even make the top-ten list.<sup>41</sup>

#### **Leadership: The Key to Raising Salience**

As the Marshall Plan illustrates, political leadership is necessary to raise the salience of international issues and to galvanize public support for cooperative engagement. Why, then, have today's leaders failed to articulate a new vision for U.S. engagement overseas? The most obvious explanation is that they simply don't have a vision—perhaps because the complexities of global interdependence confound attempts to craft a single, comprehensive strategy. And today's policymakers are less concerned (and perhaps less informed) about foreign policy issues than at any time in the last twenty years.<sup>42</sup>

A second explanation is that leaders feel no political pressure to take action. There is no organized constituency for social stewardship, so policymakers derive no political benefit from championing it. In fact, they may incur political *costs*. For example, legislators who support aid to family-planning programs in developing countries are targeted for defeat by anti-abortion groups. In recent years, there has been a marked proliferation of vocal single-issue groups—made possible, in part, by new technologies that facilitate organizing and communication. Although many of those organizations (including the anti-abortion groups) do not represent majority opinion, they are often able to magnify their political impact through skillful organizing. Policymakers often choose to sidestep political minefields by avoiding positions that might anger powerful single-interest groups.

Leaders may also be reluctant to take action because they mistake their constituents' frustration with current aid programs as a rejection of

cooperative engagement more generally. Many policymakers are unaware that their constituents do, in fact, support cooperative engagement. In part, this is because opponents of engagement are far better organized than supporters. For example, PIPA conducted a study of four Congressional districts whose representatives had voted to withdraw from the United Nations and opposed foreign assistance. The members' staffs reported a steady stream of calls and letters from constituents who opposed the United Nations and foreign assistance, which was interpreted as representing majority opinion. But a random telephone survey of those districts found that constituents were broadly in *favor* of United Nations support and foreign assistance: only 18–21 percent favored withdrawing from the United Nations, and just 7–8 percent wanted to eliminate foreign assistance.<sup>49</sup> In politics, a vocal minority is often more powerful than a silent majority.

Policymakers may misread their constituents because there is so little public discourse on the relationship between national and global concerns. Political campaigns rarely spotlight international issues or turn on the candidates' foreign policy views. More importantly, there is no structured consensus-building process on international engagement. There are few fora (besides the voting booth) for the general public to communicate priorities to policymakers; and, as noted above, most Americans do not base their votes on international issues.

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The Cold War framework for cooperative engagement evolved in a very different epoch, and that framework has not yet been reconfigured for the era of global interdependence. As a nation, we lack sufficient capacity—as measured in leadership, constituency, and institutional effectiveness—to solve problems and seize opportunities in an interdependent world. Meanwhile, the challenges increase in magnitude, and faith in collective problem-solving declines. That loss of faith diminishes political support for existing institutions of social stewardship. But without political support, those institutions cannot retool for the new era. In this way, falling support and limited capacity form a self-perpetuating cycle.

The cycle of reduced capacity for social stewardship can be broken if a critical mass of Americans generates the political will to do so. Generating political will requires both leadership and constituency: leaders must articulate a compelling vision of our nation's role in the world, and an organized constituency representing many sectors of the public must spur policymakers to action. Generating political will also requires the institutions of cooperative engagement to retool their premises, purposes, and methods in order to advance and promote social stewardship in an era of global interdependence.

**Encourage the Leaders to Lead**

During the Cold War, leaders persuaded a key segment of the American public that Soviet Communism posed a threat to their common interests and that cooperative engagement would help keep that threat at bay. Today's leaders must make the case for social stewardship in an interdependent world. Their challenge is more daunting: instead of an easily demonized "evil empire," there is a complex web of health, environmental, and social problems. Instead of the unifying goal of containment, there are dozens of interrelated objectives—including expanded democracy, improved public health, environmental sustainability, more equitable distribution of wealth, and universal access to primary education. Instead of the challenge of dealing with a constant threat, there is the very different task of managing rapid change. And instead of an orderly system of client states, policymakers confront a fragmented power structure of state and non-state actors.

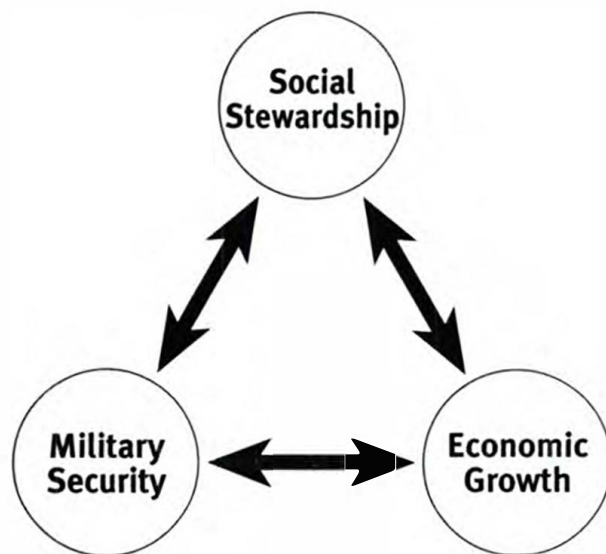
To build support for social stewardship, leaders must appeal to Americans' interests and values. First, they must demonstrate a compelling reason to take action, by articulating a sophisticated new model of national interests. The new model must acknowledge the threats and opportunities that result from global interdependence, and clarify U.S. strategic interests.

While it may be difficult to show the strategic importance of a single developing country, it may be more productive to view those nations as a bloc. What are the potential benefits of expanding markets throughout the developing world? And what are the potential dangers if developing nations remain on the margins of the world economy? "If

we look at conventional strategic and economic interests, there are probably no more than twenty-five nations that the U.S. should care about,” says the Reverend J. Bryan Hehir, professor of the practice of religion in society at Harvard University and counselor to Catholic Relief Services. “But what if one hundred countries were to remain outside the global economy? When you consider the cumulative and synergistic effects of underdevelopment in dozens of countries, it changes the strategic calculus. And beyond purely strategic interests, there is an abiding moral responsibility not to allow one hundred countries and their people to remain marginal in the shaping of the next century.”

The new framework should reflect the importance of social stewardship as a crucial goal in its own right, not just as an instrument of military security. At the same time, it might depict the three points of the cooperative engagement “triangle”—military security, economic growth and trade, and social stewardship—as interdependent and mutually reinforcing.

This model rests on a solid foundation of empirical evidence. History shows that even a strong military cannot maintain peace in the absence of broad-based economic growth and social stewardship.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, human well-being and prosperity are not secure without protection from military attack. And economic growth, if unaccompanied by social stewardship measures that promote equitable development, may exacerbate instability by widening gaps between rich and poor.<sup>44</sup> This new model of cooperative engagement shows that social stewardship is integral to security and prosperity, and therefore firmly establishes both its claim to resources and its legitimacy as a rationale for economic and even military policy decisions:



*A new framework for international cooperative engagement in which social stewardship, economic growth, and military security are seen as mutually reinforcing.*

The appeal to Americans' interests must address means as well as ends. Leaders must show the public that proposed remedies will work, by publicizing success stories about effective social stewardship. And they must provide reassurance that the means employed will be consistent with mainstream beliefs. Opinion research suggests that Americans prefer strategies that are non-hegemonic, that involve private as well as public actors, and that provide demonstrable benefits to people at the grassroots level.

Second, an effort to build support for social stewardship must speak to Americans' "hearts" by crafting messages that resonate with core values. Public opinion data suggest that support for cooperative engagement will not emerge from military security concerns alone; Americans want a foreign policy that represents their values as well as their interests. Opinion research shows that there are broad areas of agreement about the values that should guide cooperative engagement, including, for example: environmental stewardship, democracy and political freedom, equal opportunity, government accountability, international burden-sharing, and protection of children.

#### **Organize a Broad-based Constituency for Social Stewardship**

Leadership and constituency are the yin and yang of politics: the public needs leadership to articulate goals and spearhead policy change; but leadership cannot (or will not) take action without strong backing from the public. While encouraging leaders to take action, it is also necessary to consolidate a powerful constituency for social stewardship among the American people.

Nongovernmental organizations would be central to any constituency-building effort. A rapidly proliferating network of NGOs now mediates the relationship between leaders and the public in many nations, and affects policy on a wide range of international issues. Multilateral organizations, which are forging international NGO networks, may serve as vehicles to reach NGOs in the United States and overseas.

NGOs can identify areas of public consensus and spur policymakers to action. For example, the International Women's Health Coalition (IWHC) helped ensure that women's concerns were reflected at the 1994 United Nations International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD). IWHC began by reaching out to women's NGOs around the globe, identifying consensus positions and drafting a substantive agenda to improve women's lives. Endorsed by the United States and several European delegations, IWHC's message became a cornerstone of the ICPD document.

In many other cases, U.S. NGOs have helped steer foreign policy. For example, InterAction's "Just 1%" campaign helped inform policymakers about the true costs and benefits of development assistance, short-circuiting attempts to use the budget deficit as a rationale to cut foreign aid. In a related effort, CARE volunteers and staff met with Congressional leaders, voicing their moral and practical support for foreign assistance.

Yet, while they are growing in number and influence, NGOs have limited ability to build a broad-based constituency for social stewardship. Many lack the capacity to reach and mobilize the general public. And most are special-interest groups with a mandate to advance a single issue. It is unclear whether a series of targeted, single-issue campaigns could add up to more than the sum of its parts: a real constituency for social stewardship.

An effective constituency-building effort, therefore, must reach beyond the "usual suspects" of NGO members with a known interest in some aspect of social stewardship. It is important to enlist the support of those who are in a position to advance—or obstruct—the social stewardship agenda. This could be accomplished, for example, by involving community opinion leaders in foreign policy debates to a far greater degree. The effort could begin by encouraging leaders to reach out to pivotal segments of the general public. These segments might include:

- **Women:** Polls show a "gender gap" on social stewardship; women are generally more supportive than men.
- **People of faith:** Religious Americans give generously to charities that work overseas, yet represent a largely untapped source of support for U.S. programs of social stewardship.
- **Youth:** Young people are more idealistic and more likely to "think globally" than their elders, but many are unsure whether the United States can afford cooperative engagement.
- **Educators:** Educators can bring credibility and legitimacy to a long-term public education effort.
- **Business people:** The business community has access to policymakers and can help develop "rules of the road" that set normative values for the globalization of economic life. Businesspeople are often concerned about international issues and have a vested interest in establishing a stable environment for trade.
- **Labor union leadership:** Labor leaders have a clear interest in stewardship to improve conditions and wages for workers worldwide. And labor leaders often have a better understanding of economic interdependence than the general public.
- **Media owners and employees:** The news media shape people's experience of the world. Yet, although they have unparalleled access to Americans' hearts and minds, most reporters and editors have only a superficial understanding of international issues and the need for social stewardship.

- **Foundation staff and trustees:** Private foundations provide leadership, priority-setting, and funding for NGO efforts. Because they often have more flexibility than public donors, they may have greater capacity for innovation in crafting approaches to social stewardship.

An effort to build constituency must also work to close the gap between policymakers and the public. Perhaps as a legacy of the Cold War, foreign policy decisionmaking is often shielded from the spotlight of public scrutiny. As a result, U.S. policies of cooperative engagement are not in tune with the public's instincts, and a wide gap exists between the priorities of leaders and the public.

To close the gap, it is necessary to create mechanisms for ongoing dialogue between policymakers and the public. The values and objectives that guide cooperative engagement should be refined in a national process of consensus building. But currently, there is no process under way to build—or even reveal—that consensus.

It may be possible to jump-start that process by creating regular, structured opportunities—such as Internet chat groups or town meetings—for policymakers to listen to the public's concerns. Another approach might seek to improve the circulation of information between policymakers and the public by, for example, educating policymakers about the nuances of public opinion on cooperative engagement. Yet another might work to broaden and deepen mainstream media coverage of international issues, with an emphasis on neglected success stories about social stewardship efforts.

### **Retool Mechanisms of Cooperative Engagement**

The existing mechanisms of cooperative engagement—multilateral organizations and bilateral aid agencies—were originally geared to the exigencies of a different era. These institutions must be retooled to meet the challenges of global interdependence by assuming new responsibilities, ensuring a greater degree of transparency and accountability, and crafting new models of engagement.

The realities of global interdependence call for a robust multilateral system. Some efforts have been made in this area: in recent years, multilateral organizations have been assigned broad new responsibilities to oversee international agreements on the environment, population growth, and women's rights, to name just a few. But the growing power of multilaterals is viewed with ambivalence by governments, which hand multilaterals new responsibilities while reining them in with limited funding and mandates.<sup>46</sup> At the same time, multilaterals lack the authority to enforce international standards of conduct and in some cases are weakened by inefficient and unresponsive bureaucracies.

Limiting the funding for multilateral organizations will not ensure that they use their new authority in a responsible way. Instead, it is necessary to ensure that multilateral organizations are *transparent*, which guarantees that their processes and mechanisms can be fully monitored; and *accountable*, which means that those institutions are responsive to the needs of aid recipients and donors alike. It will be no small feat to ensure the transparency and accountability of international organizations that employ a diverse range of approaches. Indeed, this will be a central challenge for cooperative engagement in the next century.

If multilateral institutions are strengthened, do bilateral aid agencies still have a role to play? At Pocantico, the answer, at least for the United States, was a qualified yes. It is clear that U.S. development assistance programs have the accumulated expertise and program infrastructure (especially in family planning, disease control, and agricultural research) that would be difficult, if not impossible, to replace. And, for a nation guided by values as well as interests, it is important to maintain an independent capacity for social stewardship.

But in order to garner broad political support, bilateral development assistance must also be retooled for the new era. In the absence of Cold War imperatives, social stewardship should be the exclusive objective of development assistance programs. To function effectively, development assistance programs must have a clearer framework of goals and strategies. That framework should fit into the larger design of U.S. foreign policy and be consistent with the aims of the countries in which bilateral programs work. By clarifying goals and strategies, these programs will be able to act proactively, rather than merely respond to disasters as they arise.

Bilateral development programs could also achieve greater impact by specializing in social needs that market mechanisms do not address. For example, while funding for infrastructure development is now more widely available from private investors, public subsidies are still necessary to broaden access to education and health care.

For both multilateral and bilateral institutions, new models of engagement could greatly enhance effectiveness. Top-down, hegemonic models of operation are not suited to the current challenges. Instead, these institutions must learn to harness broader forces—such as markets and social trends—to advance social stewardship. And they must learn to cultivate partnerships with a broad range of actors.

By working directly with NGOs, multilateral and bilateral institutions can bypass corrupt governments and support locally-designed initiatives. This model is gaining wide acceptance: NGOs now deliver more official development assistance than the entire UN system (excluding the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund).<sup>47</sup> However, like multilateral

organizations, NGOs have been given significant new responsibilities that are not always matched by funding and other support. And NGOs have limitations of their own. As noted above, many are special-interest groups with little capacity for large-scale action, and they lack the accountability of democratically elected governments.

Public-private partnerships are another promising alternative to traditional aid programs. Unlike government aid, the scope of which is limited by the size of donor-country budgets, public-private partnerships gain leverage by shaping the fundamental rules that govern economic life. For example, an alliance of garment and athletic-shoe manufacturers is working to develop codes of labor practices for their contractor firms overseas, with the aim of eliminating sweatshop working conditions.<sup>48</sup> And a new effort launched by U.S. policymakers and corporations seeks to prohibit bribery in international trade. But these approaches have built-in limits as well. For example, it is often difficult to enlist the private sector in meeting social needs that markets do not value.

To reorient the mechanisms of cooperative engagement, it is important to recognize that there is no “magic bullet” that will solve the problems or consolidate the gains of global interdependence. Mechanisms of cooperative engagement—including bilateral and multilateral agencies—must be nimble, flexible, and creative enough to harness the capacities of a broad range of actors, including governments, NGOs, corporations, trade associations, and educational institutions.

Again, leadership is key. Institutions cannot be expected to transform themselves from within; policymakers and opinion leaders must first shape a vision of cooperative engagement and devise an appropriate reform agenda for bilateral and multilateral institutions.

## CONCLUSION

For decades, the containment of Soviet Communism served as the guiding principle of U.S. foreign policy, and military security was the central task of cooperative engagement. Today, cooperative engagement is increasingly focused on promoting trade and investment. Both approaches are vitally important, and their achievements—the end of the Cold War, a global economy that produces unprecedented wealth—are impressive. But both are incomplete: human well-being is not reliably produced as a byproduct of military security or aggregate economic growth.

At the Pocantico meeting, participants agreed on the need for a renewed emphasis on social stewardship to complement military security and economic growth. In an interdependent world, they determined, social stewardship is a crucial component of peace, prosperity, and human well-being.

Yet today, the U.S. government is retreating from commitment to the existing mechanisms of social stewardship—bilateral and multilateral development agencies—and has yet to design new ones. The American public is not leading the retreat: public support for social stewardship exists, although in latent form. For that support to become manifest, it is necessary to achieve a broad consensus about the meaning of national interests and values in an era of global interdependence and to energize a constituency for new models of social stewardship. That consensus will not take shape without the vision and commitment of leadership.

As the twenty-first century nears, it is time to recognize that prosperity and security are closely connected to human well-being. In a world where boundaries are porous, where everything—people, ideas, capital, weapons, and disease—moves easily across national borders, we cannot afford to turn our backs on the world. Instead, we must strengthen our ties with the people of other nations and work together to create a world that invests in the potential of each of its citizens.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Of course, there is considerable overlap among the three areas of cooperative engagement, both in objectives and outcome. But for the purposes of this paper "cooperative engagement to promote social stewardship" refers only to instruments with an explicit mandate to promote health, equity, and human potential.
- <sup>2</sup> Thomas Homer-Dixon and Valerie Percival, *Environmental Scarcity and Violent Conflict: Briefing Book* (Washington, D.C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1996).
- <sup>3</sup> Caroline Wheal, "Family Life and Health in Costa Rica," *Calypso Log* (August 1994).
- <sup>4</sup> *1996 World Population Data Sheet* (Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau, 1996); and Jon Mitchell, "Costa Rica Graduates from U.S. Foreign Aid," *Christian Science Monitor* (August 28, 1996).
- <sup>5</sup> *National Defense Budget Estimates for FY97* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Defense, 1997) Figures are given in constant 1997 dollars, using Department of Defense "deflators."
- <sup>6</sup> But cuts are threatened in other nations as well. For example, the Japanese government recently announced a plan to reduce contributions to international organizations by 20 to 50 percent, in order to effect a 10 percent reduction in development assistance in fiscal 1998.
- <sup>7</sup> *The Role of Foreign Aid in Development* (Washington, D.C.: The Congress of the United States, Congressional Budget Office, 1997).
- <sup>8</sup> The Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development defines "official development assistance" as grants or loans that one government or multilateral organization gives to a developing country to promote economic development and welfare. ODA also includes technical cooperation assistance, for example, in agriculture and development.
- <sup>9</sup> "Financial Flows to Developing Countries in 1995: Sharp Decline in Official Aid; Private Flows Rise," Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) News Release (June 11, 1996).
- <sup>10</sup> *Lending Credibility: New Mandates and Partnerships for the World Bank* (Washington, D.C.: World Wildlife Fund, 1996).
- <sup>11</sup> Letter from David F. Gordon, Director of U.S. Policy Programs, Overseas Development Council, to Mark Malloch Brown, Vice-President, External Affairs, The World Bank, September 9, 1996.
- <sup>12</sup> Comments made at Core Group/Experts Group Meeting sponsored by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund "Project on World Security" and the Aspen Institute "Global Stewardship Initiative," Aspen, Colorado, August 14-15, 1997.

- <sup>13</sup> Barry M. Blechman, William J. Durch, David F. Gordon, and Catherine Gwin, *The Partnership Imperative: Maintaining American Leadership in a New Era* (Washington, D.C.: Henry L. Stimson Center and Overseas Development Council, 1997).
- <sup>14</sup> World Bank and International Monetary Fund data, cited in Lester Brown, Christopher Flavin, and Hal Kane, *Vital Signs 1996: The Trends That Are Shaping Our Future* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996).
- <sup>15</sup> *Human Development Report 1996* (New York: United Nations Development Program, 1996).
- <sup>16</sup> Of course, globalization and interdependence are not new phenomena; international markets have been a feature of economic life for centuries, if not millennia. What is new is the extent, and sometimes instantaneous impact, of globalization. Today, few communities remain fully outside the global web of commerce and communication, and trends and impacts resonate rapidly throughout the world.
- <sup>17</sup> Jeffrey Goldberg, "Their Africa Problem—And Ours," *The New York Times Magazine* (March 2, 1997).
- <sup>18</sup> U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, "The Greenhouse Effect," Slide presentation, Internet: [http://www.epa.gov/global\\_warming/sub1/gh\\_slide/01.htm](http://www.epa.gov/global_warming/sub1/gh_slide/01.htm)
- <sup>19</sup> U.S. Commerce Department, "Preliminary Data Release: U.S. Jobs Supported by Exports of Goods and Services" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commerce Department, 1996).
- <sup>20</sup> Dani Rodrik, "Sense and Nonsense in the Globalization Debate," *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1997).
- <sup>21</sup> Dale Belman and Thea M. Lee, "International Trade and the Performance of U.S. Labor Markets," in *U.S. Trade Policy and Global Growth: New Directions in the International Economy*, ed. Robert A. Blecker (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1996).
- <sup>22</sup> *Global Development Finance 1997* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1997); *Human Development Report 1995* (New York: United Nations Development Programme, 1995); Blechman, *et al.*, *The Partnership Imperative*.
- <sup>23</sup> *Global Development Finance 1997*.
- <sup>24</sup> *Human Development Report 1996* (New York: United Nations Development Programme, 1996).
- <sup>25</sup> See, for example, Lawrence F. Kaplan, "The Selling of American Foreign Policy," *The Weekly Standard* (April 28, 1997); and Amartya Sen, "Human Rights and Asian Values," *The New Republic* (July 14-21, 1997).
- <sup>26</sup> Blechman *et al.*, *The Partnership Imperative*.
- <sup>27</sup> John Gerard Ruggie, "The Past as Prologue? Interests, Identity and American Foreign Policy," *International Security* (Spring 1997).
- <sup>28</sup> *The State of the World's Children 1996* (New York: UNICEF, 1996); and Carl Haub and Martha Farnsworth Riche, "Population by the Numbers: Trends in Population Growth and Structure," in *Beyond the Numbers: A Reader on Population, Consumption and the Environment*, ed. Laurie Ann Mazur (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1994).
- <sup>29</sup> *The State of the World's Children*.

- <sup>30</sup> Steven Kull and I.M. Destler, *The Foreign Policy Gap: How Policymakers Misread the Public* (College Park, Maryland: Center for International and Security Studies of Maryland, 1997).
- <sup>31</sup> Steven Kull, "What the Public Knows that Washington Doesn't," *Foreign Policy*, no. 101 (Winter 1995-96).
- <sup>32</sup> Steven Kull and I.M. Destler, *An Emerging Consensus: A Study of American Public Attitudes on America's Role in the World* (Maryland: Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, Program on International Policy Attitudes, 1996).
- <sup>33</sup> Steven Kull, *Americans and Foreign Aid: A Study of American Public Attitudes* (Washington, D.C.: PIPA, 1995).
- <sup>34</sup> Anne Winter, *Is Anyone Listening? Communicating Development in Donor Countries* (Geneva: United Nations Nongovernmental Liaison Service, 1996).
- <sup>35</sup> Garrick Utley, "The Shrinking of Foreign News: From Broadcast to Narrowcast," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 1997).
- <sup>36</sup> *Why Don't Americans Trust the Government?* The Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University Survey Project (Menlo Park, CA: The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, 1996).
- <sup>37</sup> Kull, *Americans and Foreign Aid*.
- <sup>38</sup> John Reilly, *American Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy 1995* (Chicago: Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 1995).
- <sup>39</sup> Kull and Destler, *An Emerging Consensus*; National Issues Forums Institute, *Mission Uncertain: Reassessing America's Global Role* (New Jersey: John Doble Research Associates, 1996).
- <sup>40</sup> Lake Sosin Snell & Associates, "A Women's Lens on Foreign Policy," (Washington, D.C.: International Women's Health Coalition, 1997).
- <sup>41</sup> Reilly, *American Public Opinion*.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>43</sup> Kull and Destler, *The Foreign Policy Gap*.
- <sup>44</sup> Examples from history include: Somoza's Nicaragua, Mobutu's Zaire, South Africa under apartheid, and current-day Israel.
- <sup>45</sup> See, for example, *Enhancing U.S. Security Through Foreign Aid* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Budget Office, 1994). This study found "a fairly striking correlation between economic malaise on the one hand and domestic unrest and political instability on the other."
- <sup>46</sup> Jessica Mathews, "The Age of Nonstate Actors," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 1997).
- <sup>47</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>48</sup> Robert A. Senser, "To End Sweatshops: Workers' Rights in a Global Economy," *Commonweal* (July 18, 1997).

Henry Kissinger

# Perils of Globalism

*The IMF is no longer suited for dealing with economic crises.*

What began 15 months ago as a currency crisis in Thailand and then spread across Asia now threatens the industrialized world.

No government and virtually no economist predicted the crisis, understood its extent or anticipated its staying power. A series of IMF rescue packages has not arrested its spread and threatens the political institutions implementing them. In Indonesia a regime tainted by cronyism has been overthrown. But in Brazil, the crisis threatens one of the most reform-minded governments in decades.

What was treated at first as a temporary imbalance is becoming a crisis of the world's financial system. In the past 20 years, two Mexican crises, in 1982 and 1994, spread to most of Latin America; the Asian crisis of 1997 has already infected Eastern Europe, South Africa and Latin America. Each crisis has been more extensive and has spread more widely than its predecessor.

Free-market capitalism remains the most effective instrument for economic growth and for raising the standard of living of most people. But just as the reckless laissez-faire capitalism of the 19th century spawned Marxism, so the indiscriminate globalism of the 1990s may generate a worldwide assault on the concept of free financial markets. Globalism views the world as one market in which the most efficient and competitive prosper. It accepts—and even welcomes—that the free market will relentlessly sift the efficient from the inefficient, even at the cost of periodic economic and social dislocation.

But the extreme version of globalism neglects the mismatch between the world's political and economic organizations. Unlike economics, politics divides the world into national units. And while political leaders may accept a certain degree of suffering for the sake of stabilizing their economies, they cannot survive as advocates of near-permanent austerity on the basis of directives imposed from abroad. The temptation to seek to reverse—or at least to buffer—austerity by political means becomes overwhelming. Protectionism may prove ineffective in the long term, but for better or worse, political leaders respond to more short-term cycles.

**In Indonesia, a currency crisis, having been transmuted into an economic crisis, has become a crisis of political institutions.**

Even well-established free-market democracies do not accept limitless suffering in the name of the market, and have taken measures to provide a social safety net and curb market excesses by regulation. The international financial system does not as yet have these firebreaks. Nor is there much of a recognition that it needs them.

Ours is the first period experiencing a genuinely global economic system. Markets in different parts of the world interact continuously. Modern communications enable them to respond instantaneous-

ly. Sophisticated credit instruments provide unprecedented liquidity. Hedge funds, the trading departments of international banks and institutional investors possess the reach, power and resources to profit from market swings in either direction, and even to bring them about. It is market stability that they find uncongenial.

Broadly speaking, direct foreign investment benefits from the well-being of the societies in which it operates; it runs the risks and is entitled to the benefits of the host country. By contrast, modern speculative capital benefits from exploiting emerging trends before the general public does. It drives upswings into bubbles and down cycles into crises, and in a time frame that cannot be significantly affected by the kind of macroeconomic remedies being urged on the political leaders.

For example, when Asian creditworthiness began to fall, financial institutions and fund managers holding the debt were tempted to sell Asian currencies short, thereby accelerating devaluation and compounding the difficulty of repaying debt. Speculators were acting rationally, but the result was a deeper, more vicious and more intractable crisis.

To maintain their overall performance, speculators, as losses mounted in Asia, were driven to cash in their holdings in Latin America and thereby spread the crisis. The capacity of smaller countries to deal with these massive capital flows is not equal to the temptations offered by the system. Regulators in the United States, Europe and Japan have not succeeded in dampening the increased volatility of the market. And small and medium-sized countries are defenseless in the face of it.

The speculators will argue that they are only exploiting weaknesses in the market, not causing them. My concern is that they have a tendency to turn a weakness into a disaster. If Brazil is driven into deep recession, countries such as Argentina and Mexico, heretofore committed to free-market institutions, may be overwhelmed.

The crisis in Brazil is a case in point. Despite a reform-minded and, on the whole, efficient government, Brazil faces a crisis partly because, as one of the largest and most liquid emerging markets, it is one of the easiest from which to withdraw. If these trends are not arrested, global flows of capital will be impeded by a plethora of national or regional regulations, a process that has already begun.

The International Monetary Fund, the principal international institution for dealing with the crisis, too often compounds the political instability. Forced by the current crisis into assuming functions for which it never was designed, the IMF has utterly failed to grasp the political impact of its actions. In the name of free-market orthodoxy, it usually attempts—in an almost academic manner—to remove all at once every weakness in the economic system of the afflicted country, regardless of whether these caused the crisis or not. In the process, it too often weakens the political structure and with it the precondition of meaningful reform. Like a doctor who has only one pill for every conceivable illness, its nearly invariable remedies mandate austerity, high interest rates to prevent capital outflows and major devaluations to discourage imports and encourage exports.

The inevitable result is a dramatic drop in the standard of living, exploding unemployment and growing hardship, weakening the political institutions necessary to carry out the IMF program.

The situation in Southeast Asia is a case in point.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1998

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Crony capitalism, corruption and inadequate supervision of banks were serious shortcomings. But they did not cause the immediate crisis; they were a cost of doing business, not a barrier to it. Until little more than a year ago, Asia was the fastest growing region in the world, its progress underpinned by high savings rates, a disciplined work ethic and responsible fiscal behavior.

What triggered the crisis were factors largely out of national or regional control. The various countries had exchange rates linked to the U.S. dollar. When China devalued in 1994, the dollar appreciated significantly starting in 1995, and the yen fell sharply. Southeast Asian exports became less competitive and export earnings fell. At the same time, the dollar pegs created unprecedented opportunities for speculation. It was possible to borrow dollars in New York and lend them locally for at least twice the cost of borrowing—at no apparent currency risk. The borrowers invested in real estate and excess plant capacity, creating a dangerous bubble. Local currency became overvalued and local currency holders converted into dollars, inviting speculative raids—all without significant warnings from international financial institutions.

The U.S. Treasury, convinced that the matter could be dealt with regionally and gun-shy after congressional reaction to the bailout of Mexico, refused to participate in the first round of the crisis. But when the crisis spread to Indonesia, the largest country of Southeast Asia, the threat to the global system could no longer be ignored.

At U.S. urging, the IMF intervened in both situations with its standard remedies, leading to massive austerity. Thailand's democratic institutions have so far proved relatively resilient. But for how long can it sustain interest rates of more than 40 percent, a negative growth of 8 percent and a 42 percent devaluation of its currency?

In Indonesia—a rich country with vast resources and an economy that was praised by the World Bank in July 1997 for its efficient management—the IMF, advised by an administration afraid of being accused of having political ties to leading Indonesian financial institutions, decided to make its assistance conditional on remedying virtually every ill from which the society suffered. It demanded the closing of 15 banks, the ending of monopolies on food and heating oil, and the end of subsidies.

But when 15 banks are closed in the middle of a crisis, a run on other banks is inevitable. The ending of subsidies raised food and fuel prices, causing riots aimed at the Chinese minority that controls much of the economy. As a result, as much as \$60 billion of Chinese money fled Indonesia, or more than the IMF could possibly provide. A currency crisis had been turned into an economic disaster.

For a few months, a special Treasury representative worked with the government and the IMF to ease the pressures. But by April the IMF was back at the old stand. This time the explosion swept away the Suharto regime. A currency crisis, having been transmuted into an economic crisis, has become a crisis of political institutions. Any real economic reform stands suspended. The shortcomings of Suharto were real enough, but to try to deal with them concurrently with the currency crisis has produced a political vacuum in the most populous Islamic nation in the world.

All this might make sense if the IMF programs brought demonstrable relief. But in every country where the IMF has operated, successive programs have lowered the forecast of the growth rate, which,

## The risks that investors are taking should be made more transparent.

in Indonesia, is now a negative 10 percent, in Thailand a negative 5 percent and in South Korea an optimistic positive one percent. It could be argued that without the IMF program, conditions would be worse, but this is no consolation to governments and institutions facing massive discontent.

The inability of the IMF to operate where politics and economics intersect is shown by its experience in Russia. In Indonesia the IMF contributed to the destruction of the political framework by excessive emphasis on economics; in Russia it accelerated the collapse of the economy by overemphasizing politics. The IMF is, quite simply, not equipped for the task it has assumed.

The immediate challenge is to overcome the crisis in Brazil and preserve the free-market economics and democracy in Latin America. A firm and unambiguous commitment by the industrial democracies, led by the United States, is essential to buttress the necessary Brazilian reform program.

An expanding American economy is the key to restoration of global growth. Whether this is achieved by a cut in interest rates or a major tax cut, a strong commitment to reinvigorated growth is essential.

Above all, the institutions that deal with international financial crises are in need of reform. A new management to replace that of Bretton Woods is essential. It must find a way to distinguish between long-term and speculative capital, and to cushion the global system from the excesses of the latter.

The IMF must be transformed. It should be returned to its original purpose as a provider of expert advice and judgment, supplemented by short-term liquidity support. When the IMF focuses on multibillion-dollar loans, it plays a poker game it cannot possibly win; the "house," in this case the market, simply has too much money. Congress should use the need for IMF replenishment to impose such changes.

Further, the central banks and regulators of the industrial democracies need to turn their attention to the international securities markets, just as they did to international banking after the debt crisis of the 1980s. Regulatory systems should be strengthened and harmonized; the risks that investors are taking should be made more transparent.

Finally, the private sector must learn to relate itself to the political necessities of host countries. I am disturbed by the tendency to treat the Asian economic crisis as another opportunity to acquire control of Asian companies' assets cheaply and to reconstitute them on the American model. This is courting a long-term disaster. Every effort should be made to work with local partners and to turn acquisitions into genuinely cooperative enterprises.

*The writer, a former secretary of state, is president of Kissinger Associates, an international consulting firm that has clients with business interests in many countries abroad.*

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*Karen Mulhauser*

Mulhauser and Associates  
Management & Public Affairs Consultant

# *memorandum*

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TO: Melanne Verveer  
FROM: Karen Mulhauser *KM*  
RE: Thoughts about building a constituency for global engagement and social and economic development  
DATE: July 6, 1998

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I have been reflecting on your request for ideas about building a constituency for global engagement and international development at least weekly since we spoke. I have started various drafts, but now as we hear reports from China, I realize I should wait no longer. What follows is a brief outline. It does not include background information to justify the need to build a constituency. I hardly need to provide that since Mrs. Clinton clearly understands the need.

I do want to let you know how very interested I am in the challenge, and how very important a contribution Mrs. Clinton makes whenever she speaks about global issues. She is able to bring the public's attention to these critical issues in a way that no one else is able. But, as the attached memo states, I believe it is not enough for her efforts to get the public's attention. I hope that with her initiative, Mrs. Clinton will take the public one step further and empower it to enter public policy debates on global engagement, sustainable economic assistance, and our future leadership role in the global community.

As you know, over the months since we first spoke of Mrs. Clinton's interest in building an informed constituency for international issues, I have coordinated two international conferences with USAID -- one on Girls' Education at which Mrs. Clinton was the Honorary Chair and the keynote speaker, and the other was a Lessons Without Borders conference on Women's Small Business Development. At the latter, a commitment was made to convene a second Lessons Without Borders conference on women's small business development in Chicago in May, 1999. At both, Mrs. Clinton was a highlight of the conference, and both were excellent public education opportunities which provided useful lessons about how to do more to get the public's attention.

She has a remarkable rapport with people here at home and throughout the world. I can hardly wait to hear what she has to say about this most recent trip to China!

So, we must find a way to have her be a visible public educator, find the forums within various sectors of our society for her to carry out this mission, and find the resources to make it possible.

I have spoken with Jill Buckley and her staff about many of my ideas which are summarized in the following pages. I will be happy to further develop these ideas and/or come in again and speak with you if you think this is an approach to pursue.

**Building a U.S. Constituency for  
Global Engagement and Social and Economic Development**  
The First Lady's Initiative  
Submitted by Karen Mulhauser  
July, 1998

This draft plan of action to build a constituency for global engagement and social and economic development is presented in four sections:

- I. background summary of a few assumptions and understandings;
- II. goals of a Proposed First Lady's Initiative;
- III. basic components of the Initiative; and
- IV. possible next steps.

**I. Assumptions and Understandings**

- The U.S. government is not likely to reverse its retreat from a commitment to bilateral and multilateral development support in the absence of a visible and informed U.S. citizenry that articulates the relevance of the developing world to our own -- an understanding that social and economic advances in less developed countries advances the well-being of the people in our own country.
- The United States has, and will probably always have, a leadership role in the global community. The question this Initiative can address is what kind of leadership role that will be. Will it be a role of global policing? Of military power? Of building democracies? Of humanitarian and development assistance? Of global commerce? The nature of our engagement is one that concerns us all and the decision about that engagement is one that should involve an informed U.S. public.
- The people of the U.S. can be divided into three different sectors when it comes to attitudes toward global social and economic development, and any public education initiative should approach these different sectors in different ways. These three separate publics are the people who:
  1. believe that the U.S. should not be giving foreign aid to other countries, we have problems here at home, and besides it's just throwing money down a rat hole. This sector I'll call "lost cause."
  2. appear to not focus on global issues or are indifferent. Many have not formed a judgment on international development assistance. This sector I'll call the "movable middle."
  3. already agree that the U.S. is a global leader with a responsibility to invest in emerging markets and to provide the sustainable development assistance which is both humanitarian and in our own economic interest. This sector,

while not formed as an advocacy constituency is nonetheless a constituency that I'll refer to as the "already convinced."

Obviously one would have a different conversation with individuals from each of these sectors, and so too an education effort would be designed differently for each sector. A description of how to approach the different publics is in section II of this memo.

- Growing interdependence among nations is inevitable and should be embraced, not feared or fought. The growing global marketplace redefines alliances. Changes in the conditions of environmental or health considerations know no borders. Electronic communications, especially the Internet, allow peoples worldwide to learn facts and to allow ideas to move more freely and rapidly -- ideas that previously could only be accessed by the powerful.
- Of all the people's movements in the world, the women's movement has taken the most advantage of the opportunities of interdependence to organize a global constituency. Starting in 1975 with the first World Women's Conference in Mexico City, but especially in the last decade, women from all regions of the world are organizing TOGETHER to encourage governments and multilateral institutions to adopt policies that would improve human rights conditions, environmental protection, access to improved health delivery, and perhaps most importantly, equality in political and private sector powersharing. Women took advantage of official UN and other world conferences -- whether organized on the environment, housing, social development or population -- to meet frequently, share advances, and build a strong global constituency which has demonstrated that all issues are women's issues.
- While some organizations concerned with international development have in recent years understood the imperative of educating the general public about the relevance of the developing world and some have included the education of Congress, there is not a group or network that effectively reaches a grassroots public and effectively mobilizes a constituency to enter public policy debates on global engagement and international development assistance. This Initiative could inform a broader public which could then avail itself of the existing groups that are mobilizing informed citizens to educate policymakers.
- There is great wisdom in the recent document prepared by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, ***Global Interdependence and the Need for Social Stewardship***. While I will not repeat that report's findings here, I endorse them and believe the RBF paper presents the necessary background information that justifies The First Lady's Initiative or plan of action outlined below.
- Similarly, the new video prepared by USAID, entitled ***Making a WORLD of Difference: Celebrating 30 years of Development Progress***, offers a good overview of the progress as well as the remaining challenges to not "squander this

opportunity to improve the lives of future generations... development is more than an opportunity, it is also a global imperative."

## II. Goals of a Proposed First Lady's Initiative

Any major education and constituency-building effort should be designed **1) to inform, (2) to build or grow, and (3) to mobilize.**

The goals then of The First Lady's Initiative should be to:

- **inform** the general public about the relevance of the developing world to our own world. This involves major media campaigns designed to address the interests and concerns of people whose minds are open and who can see some link between events abroad and those here at home. Education can also occur through existing networks of organizations that want to be part of the Initiative.
- **build** an informed network of this emerging set of concerned organizations and individuals. This network should be given opportunities to express support for global engagement and international development assistance. Building toward a Citizen's Congress on Global Engagement as described below, provides an interesting framework for this growth.
- **mobilize** this informed and concerned constituency to educate still others. Such mobilizing efforts could involve existing organizations of domestic and international development organizations.

To address these goals for a constituency concerned with the role of the U.S. in a global community, we should have an approach – almost a system of triage – that is designed to address the different concerns of the different publics described above: the Lost Cause, the Movable Middle, and the Already Convinced.

In a system of triage, the strategists decide to put time and energy where a difference can be made and where, without an intervention, there is no chance of positive movement. Therefore, initially, the Initiative should not focus attention with the first group that consists of individuals whose minds are made up and will resist, perhaps vigorously, any information that is contrary to the no-welfare-abroad point of view.

Instead two parallel, but related, approaches should be considered with the Movable Middle and the Already Convinced populations.

1. **Educating the Movable Middle:** An approach should be designed using tested methods to help shape *public judgment* on issues by providing facts and information in a manner that people will hear and understand. Much of today's *public opinion* against global engagement is based on misinformation or wrong information. In addition, where there is public support, people may need additional information to increase the salience of their global concerns. *Opinions* can be changed to become appropriate *judgments* once necessary

information has been provided. Therefore, education efforts outlined below are aimed at changing *uninformed opinion to informed judgments*.

2. **Mobilizing the Already Convinced:** This portion of the Initiative focuses on the existing constituency that will grow as a result of approach 1. above.

I believe strongly that it is not sufficient to get the facts out with an effective ad campaign that educates people. I believe it is also very important for an informed constituency to be mobilized as quickly as possible. These two parallel approaches -- education and mobilization -- need each other. Those who will become informed as a result of The First Lady's Initiative need to have a place to go to act on their newly understood convictions, and those who already "get it" need an effective way to express their knowledge, to think their expressions will make a difference, and to feel "part of a movement".

It is true that many organizations, such as the Campaign to Preserve U.S. Global Leadership, the Business Alliance for Economic Development, The Coalition for American Leadership Abroad (CO-Lead), and NGOs such as the National Peace Corps Association, CARE, World Vision and others, are beginning to implement advocacy efforts, and that this new Initiative could focus entirely on educating the Movable Middle and leave the Already Convinced to be mobilized by existing efforts. I however believe that an initiative that does both, or is at least recognized as coordinating both, would be more effective. Perhaps no other person than Mrs. Clinton would be recognized as qualified to assume such an assignment.

### III. Basic Components of the Initiative

This portion is divided in two sections. One outlines possible education programs to inform the Movable Middle, and the other outlines possible mobilizing programs for the Already Convinced. These are just outlines and can be expanded if The First Lady's Office is interested.

Both parallel education programs could be designed to build toward a **CITIZEN'S CONGRESS ON GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT** in the year 2,000. Such a Citizen's Congress would bring together diverse sectors of citizens to inform themselves and others through the use of TV, satellites and interactive Internet activities. It could be designed (with preparatory conferences in advance and discussion within various sectors) to end with a consensus statement, or Citizen's Declaration of Interdependence.

#### Informing the Movable Middle

- The media is an important component of an effective education campaign. Much of the U.S. media -- as is the case with the general public -- is poorly informed about the developing world. The international trips taken in recent years by Mr. and Mrs. Clinton have helped inform those media personnel who have accompanied them. An important media education program could be designed with Mrs. Clinton leading

delegations of media to developing countries with the single purpose of their education on issues of global interdependence. These trips funded at least in part by The Initiative, would be for selected media who generally report on domestic issues and who may become more sensitive to international linkages as a result of the travels. Briefing sessions with the media could be provided by Mrs. Clinton and selected experts on a regular basis for this growing media constituency as well as other interested media. -

- A major ad campaign directed at the Movable Middle should be designed to take all opportunities to inform the open-minded public about the relevance of the developing world. Because international issues do have a salience with most people in the U.S. and polls show that most Americans do support effective cooperative engagement, an ad campaign could be designed to shape judgments and help build a constituency to support those policy makers who agree. Examples of effective ad campaigns such as the Tobacco Free Kids should be examined and appropriate lessons applied. Good polling data about U.S. attitudes toward global engagement and development assistance already exists. Message development and focus group testing is needed to find the most effective way to deliver constituency-building messages. Such messages will greatly assist media outreach as well as public education efforts below.
- Lessons Without Borders conferences, similar to those organized currently by USAID, can be an effective way to inform people who are concerned about domestic issues but do not yet articulate those concerns in a global context. These are most effective when people with common concerns and interests who have benefited from USAID and other development assistance, are brought to the U.S. and share their experiences with U.S. counterparts. This was dramatically demonstrated recently in Augusta, Maine where 1/4 of the participants in an international conference on women's small business development were women from the developing world. Equally important learning happens when U.S. community development workers travel to developing countries to learn how lessons from USAID programs have applications for U.S. problems as has been demonstrated with the Baltimore Lessons Without Borders efforts which continue four years after they began in 1995.
- A focus on youth will have a long term benefit as is demonstrated by Operation Day's Work which is a development education program for school age children which started in Norway 34 years ago. It now includes more than 900 high schools and 220,000 students. Norway schools have "International Day" and raise both awareness of the issues related to developing countries, and they raise money for less fortunate counterparts in developing countries. This youth-focused education effort is credited with the strong development support from Scandinavian countries. USAID has begun Operation Day's Work in the United States and hopes to join Norway, Denmark and Sweden with long term program that ultimately lead to a better informed public more likely to support international development programs. Other youth-focused initiatives can be incorporated or expanded including Worldwise in the

Peace Corps, Partners of the Americas and Sister City programs. A focus on youth is necessary to prepare tomorrow's leaders for a more global community.

1. A focus on women should also be a central part of this education outreach initiative. Polls demonstrate a gender gap with women being more supportive of humanitarian and development assistance. U.S. women's groups with a domestic-focus have seen their counterparts at numerous international conferences and despite the fact that their plate is full with domestic concerns, they are perhaps more likely than other domestic constituencies to make linkages with their global issues, to express domestic issues in a global context, and perhaps lead the way for other sectors to build a constituency for global engagement.

These and other public education efforts to reach the Movable Middle will get the attention of a larger public, but that is not sufficient to build a constituency. Unless this emerging citizenry is mobilized to demonstrate its convictions, our policies toward developing countries and multilateral institutions may not improve.

### **Mobilizing the Already Convinced**

The Already Convinced are often confused as to what to do that will make a difference. Although there is public support for global engagement and development assistance this support does not immediately translate into activities that will shape improved public policies. Those political leaders inclined to lead on international issues do not feel the support from constituents, and they will not until people who care about the developing world are mobilized to demonstrate that concern.

I believe The First Lady's Initiative should include the creation of an infrastructure that can respond to the needs, interests and concerns of the Already Concerned constituency that will grow as a result from the activities outlined above. This infrastructure should be designed to:

- coordinate the educational efforts outlined above;
- form collaborative partnerships with NGOs and domestic organizations that have existing mechanisms to reach grassroots networks;
- develop a web-page to provide the U.S. public with easy to access and easy to read information that links our concerns with those of the developing world and links with the more effective pages of other international development initiatives.
- serve as a clearinghouse for national and local NGOs that want to be part of this global engagement constituency.
- refer concerned citizens to existing national and local groups such as the national Peace Corps Association.
- organize a series of public briefings, debates, educational and media events and coordinate with others to build toward a CITIZEN'S CONGRESS ON GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT planned for the year 2000.

#### IV. Possible Next Steps

If the ideas presented here are reflective of the interests of The First Lady's Office, some or all of the following activities could begin almost immediately.

- Develop a draft plan based on this and other ideas brought to the attention of The First Lady's Office. The draft plan should include a scope of work and timeline.
- Convene a brainstorming session with key individuals whose judgment is valued and insights are needed to assess a draft plan. Such individuals might include Jill Buckley and others from USAID, Colin Campbell, Susan Sechler, and others involved with the preparation of the recent Rockefeller Brothers Fund publication, "Global Interdependence and the Need for Social Stewardship", Steven Kull, Celinda Lake and possibly other public opinion analysts, representatives of NGOs concerned about building a constituency as well as from the corporate community with global interests. It would not take much to grow this list beyond a useful size...
- Identify opportunities for Mrs. Clinton to lead media delegations to developing countries. These delegation trips should be part of the overall plan. That is, if there is a focus on outreach to women or children, the media that covers those issues domestically should be the first delegations.
- Consider points along the calendar for Mrs. Clinton to begin speaking out about the Initiative. Some opportunities already exist and others will become apparent.
  1. The fall, 1998 meeting of the Foreign Policy Association
  2. January 13 - 15, 1999 Global Meeting of Generations
  3. May 5 - 8, 1999 Lessons Without Borders conference in Chicago focused on women's small business development
- Begin plans for the Citizen's Congress on Global Engagement.

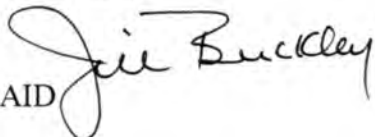


U.S. AGENCY FOR  
INTERNATIONAL  
DEVELOPMENT

April 30, 1998

Assistant Administrator  
Bureau for Legislative  
and Public Affairs

TO: Melanne Vermeer  
Chief of Staff  
Office of the First Lady

FROM: Jill Buckley   
AA/LPA USAID

RE: USAID TV/Public Education and Outreach Initiative

This memo is an interim update on the progress of our TV/Public Education and Outreach Initiative. We will follow up within two weeks with a summary of options for the initiative. What we'd like to do is give you a "menu" of sorts to review and discuss with the First Lady and then meet to talk over the proposed options and possibilities.

As you know, we convened the first meeting of the IWG on 2/26/98. (The group currently consists of representatives from USAID, Office of the First Lady, NSC, State, USIA and VOA. We will include DOEd and Peace Corps in the next meeting.) Following that meeting, and our subsequent conversation, we moved forward to meet with outside groups to gather ideas, gauge levels of interest in direct participation, and rally support for this effort.

The groups we are meeting with fall into three main categories: groups with similar goals (e.g., Mott Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers, etc.); people with skills and technical expertise dealing with broadcast media; and groups that might be interested in funding this initiative. (The list is attached.)

From our two months of meetings six main themes consistently emerged:

- **Television and paid advertising:**

PSAs are great and work well as part of very focused campaigns for a limited audience. However, the type of television outreach we have in mind, the long-term impact we hope to have, and the breadth and scope of audience we hope to

reach, would clearly need to be based on a long-term, multiyear paid advertising strategy, not just PSAs.

Most people believed that a paid ad campaign would be the biggest (and arguably the most important) component to any public education and outreach initiative.

We would like to investigate creative programming opportunities (this could be just the right time to take advantage of new FCC children's programming regs) as well as stand-alone spots. We also want to reach out to cable TV, network TV, the motion picture industry, and experts in children's television.

- **Saliency, message & audience:**

There seems to be uniform concern about the saliency of our issue -- international engagement is not seen by most people as relevant to their lives. There is very good survey research available on this, as well as new compilations of data.

The Rockefeller Brothers Fund has just given a small grant to the Campaign to Preserve U.S. Global Leadership to continue consolidation of all relevant polling data. Most of the polling has been on attitude, not message, and we believe that follow-up focus groups to narrow down and test messages would be essential.

Steven Kull, of the University of Maryland, is continuing his survey research and is now focusing on the underlying "values" driving American people -- how people see things in the larger context, what is important to them, and their own image of the "public's point of view" toward international engagement.

There is no consensus on audience. Some believe we should try for a broad, mass market general audience. Others think a smaller target would show more easily measurable results. There are audiences that may be good to begin with, people who are not part of our traditional constituency but have natural international interests (e.g., ethnic groups with ties to a country, people who travel, people in international clubs, foreign language press, international business, etc.).

We could also find the linkages between specific issues and themes that link to the First Lady and resonate more easily with the general public. Then, we could do outreach thematically with different messages for different "pockets" of people.

- **Reaching youth:**

The key to changing attitudes is reaching people when they are young. Youth, generally, seem to be an untapped audience and international affairs a somewhat neglected area in curricula. Reaching into schools has great potential and could be achieved several ways through new, interactive school curriculum development

and school service clubs (e.g., Junior Achievement, 4-H, Future Farmers, Key Club, American Field Service, etc.).

Reaching youth in school would also be a way to reach families and would be a good foundation for extended community outreach. We could also provide states with a program to fulfill volunteer service graduation requirements with, for example, USAID's new Operation Day's Work - USA program. The link to education is essential, not only youth in elementary and secondary schools, but college students as well.

- **Internet:**

The potential to "bring the world right into the classroom and home" is enormous. Innovative use of the Internet could reach a wide audience of youth and adults and expand our current network of Web users, constituents, etc. The Website could be an extension of the in-school component of this initiative, as well as part of ongoing media and community outreach. Outside technical expertise would be essential in developing a cutting-edge, interactive Website.

- **Organization:**

Clearly, there needs to be a grassroots component to this initiative to ensure its success and long-term sustainability. Most people do not believe there needs to be a new organization, rather a way to tie the existing ones together. One suggestion was to expand the base of USAID's Lessons Without Borders program by establishing it as an independent foundation and using it as a possible umbrella organization through which we could run this initiative.

There is great interest in the business community (Chambers of Commerce, Business Alliance, Campaign to Preserve U.S. Global Leadership, etc.), but the level of buy-in needs to be heightened and the saliency issue addressed. There are competing interests, but most people believed that the business community could be brought together quickly in support of this initiative.

- **Funding:**

This initiative would need to be a privately funded, multiyear, concerted effort to ensure long-term sustainability and reach the broadest base audience with repeated, consistent, relevant messages. An underlying concern is not the funding itself, so much as the time needed to raise the considerable amount needed and the vehicle/structure through which the money would be run.

Throughout our meeting process it also became clear that there are many people out there thinking about the potential of organizing around this goal, and we found almost everyone willing to be part of a core group to work with us and the First Lady's Office.

To date, we have spoken by phone or met with the following:

Bill White	President, CS Mott Foundation
Maureen Smith	VP Programs, CS Mott Foundation
Judy Samelson	VP Communications, CS Mott Foundation Talked mostly about message, saliency and the importance of long-term, strategic communications. Thought a paid ad campaign would be the biggest (and most important) component.
Mark Gearan	Director, Peace Corps Thought that the Peace Corps could be a great asset in this initiative and that we could/should capitalize on its popularity.
Peter Fenn	Fenn & King Media producer with international experience. Tie to the President of the National Cable Television Association.
Jerry Klepner	Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healy Ties to Young & Rubicam and Burson Marsteller.
Jim Margolis	Greer, Margolis Worked with State and White House on Africa pre- and post-trip outreach ideas. Stressed need for long-term commitment.
Steven Kull	Director, Program on International Policy Attitudes, Center for International Security Studies, University of Maryland Author of <i>The Foreign Policy Gap--How Policy Makers Misread the Public and Americans and Foreign Aid--A Study of Public Attitudes</i> .
Susan Sechler	Aspen Institute Author of <i>Global Interdependence and the Need for Social Stewardship</i> report for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.
Priscilla Lewis	Rockefeller Brothers Fund Special Assistant to the President Director of Communications Currently working on a second collaboration with Susan Sechler.
Terry Bracey	Bracey & Williams
Barry Blechman	Stinson Foundation Terry and Barry followed up our meeting with a plan outlining how they believe US business could be involved in this initiative.
Pat McGuinness	President, Council on Excellence in Government Suggested The Partnership for a Drug Free America as a good case study and possible model. Also suggested the possibility of partnering with the current Peace Corps ad campaign.
Bunny Lester	Children's Television Workshop Assistant VP, Development, Marketing & Communications Offered suggestions about creative fundraising and volunteered to help lead a fundraising campaign.

Sally Patterson	Winner, Wagner, Frances Thought thematic outreach to small target audiences would be the best way to link our issues to the general public.
Joanne Eide	NEA International Affairs
Jill Christiansen	NEA International Affairs Stressed that the link to education is essential. Thought that certain messages could (and would) be well received and understood by children as young as elementary school age.
Karen Mulhauser	Mulhauser Public Affairs Suggested expanding the base of the Lessons Without Borders program as the umbrella organization to run this initiative.
Marlene Johnson	CEO, NAFSA: Association of International Educators Thought an education component should continue through college.
Polly Donaldson	Director of Public Outreach, Partners of the Americas Discussed the pros and cons of reaching out to the general public vs. the "elites."
Liz Schraye	President, Schraye & Associates Campaign Coordinator, Campaign to Preserve U.S. Global Leadership Represents a coalition of over 300 businesses, including many Fortune 500 companies.
Theresa Loar	State/ President's Interagency Council on Women As we expected, she had good ideas and contacts for us to follow up in the future.

We have also scheduled meetings with:

Tony Blinken	NSC
Jeff Meer	United Nations Foundation
Peter Hart	Peter Hart Research Associates
Barbara Shaller	AFL-CIO, International Relations
Karen Nussbaum	AFL-CIO, Women's Issues
Jim Moody	President, Interaction
Gibby Waitzkin	Gibson Creative
Jeff DaPuzzo	American Express
Richard Bates	Buena Vista / Disney
Jack Valenti	President & CEO, Motion Picture Association of America

ABOUT FOREIGN POLICY

American women are more dissatisfied with the state of the world than American men. Women are somewhat less attentive to international news than men and appear to be less knowledgeable than men about foreign policy events (Pew Research Center Surveys, 9/97 unless otherwise indicated)

	Dissatisfied with state of world		
	1997	1993	
Women	71%	73%	
Men	57%	59%	
		Attentive to International News	Correctly answer 2 of 3 information questions
Women	17%		29%
Men	23%		46%

More people believe that President Clinton is spending too much time on foreign policy as compared to domestic policy although the greatest number of people think he is spending about right amount on each.

In the case of President Bush, a strong majority believed that he was spending too much time on foreign policy as compared to domestic policy.

	<u>10/91</u>	<u>9/92</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>6/96</u>
Too much on foreign policy	58	70	36	45	36
Too much on domestic policy	1	1	17	4	3
About right amount of each	35	26	39	47	54

(CBS/NYTimes or NBC/WSJ)

The public is very clear in its belief that the vast majority of President Clinton's time should be spent on domestic policy. Earlier they thought that President Bush was more wrong than right to concentrate most of his time on foreign affairs. In fact they thought he had neglected domestic problems as a result of spending so much time on foreign affairs.

President Clinton

Date	Source	Domestic/Foreign
1/9-12/97	Princeton	86/7
12/1-4/94	Princeton	85/7
10/21-24/93	Princeton	76/13
1/13-14/93	Yankelovich	76/14

President Bush

	More Right/Wrong
12/26-30/91	20/70

restrict imports to protect jobs in this country. (NBC/WSJ 3/96; LATimes 8/96)

From 1947 at least through 1994, substantial numbers of Americans felt that it was best for the future of this country to take an active part in world affairs. (Gallup Organization)

1947	68%
1965	79%
1976	60%
1984	70%
1992	73%
1994	65%

In February 1996 53% disagreed with the proposition that the United States should radically reduce its role in International Affairs while 43% agreed with this proposition. On the other hand late in that year 77% thought we in America worry too much about people in foreign countries and don't take enough care of our own. (Time/CNN 2/96; Tarrance Group & Lake Research 11/96)

In early 1995 78% of Americans felt that the United States spends too much money on foreign aid and 87% of that group would cut foreign aid. The problem is that Americans have a much distorted view of the amount that is actually spent on foreign aid and when faced with the actual level of spending 81% think the amount is about right or too little.

On average Americans believed that it would be appropriate to spend 8% of the federal budget on foreign aid and that 18% of the federal budget in fact goes to foreign aid. When they learn that the real expenditure is 1% of the federal budget their response is as described above.

Again in mid-1996 when Americans were asked how much of each \$1,000 in GNP was committed to foreign aid, the median amount "guessed" was \$100 of every \$1,000. When told that the reality was \$1.50, 73% thought it was the right amount or too little (Survey by U of Maryland 1/95)

11/13-18/91	15/79
10/9-13/91	14/81
9/27-10/2-91	22/69
(Harris)	

Date	Neglected/Not happened
12/26-30/91	72/23
11/13-18/91	70/29
(Harris)	

Throughout the 1st half of the 90's Americans believed that the United States should reduce its involvement in world politics in order to concentrate on problems at home rather than using its world position to help settle international disputes.

	Promote Democracy/Reduce involvement
6/21-22/95	21/72
10/25-26/94	22/71
4/21/94	29/66
9/19-20/91	19/73
(Time/CNN)	

Beginning at least in the mid-70s there were strong feelings that the country would be better off if we paid less attention to problems overseas and concentrated here at home.

Date	Source	Agree/Disagree
9/12-15/95	U of MD	86/12
11/9/94-1/9/95	Univ.of Michigan	68/29
7/13-27/94	Princeton	84/15
5/18-24/93	Princeton	85/14
9/1-11/2/92	U of Michigan	72/26
9/6-11/7/88	U of Michigan	67/29
5/28-6/10/92	Princeton	88/11
11/7/84-1/25/85	U of Michigan	73/24
11/4/80-2/7/81	U of Michigan	78/18
12/6-14/74	Harris	87/11

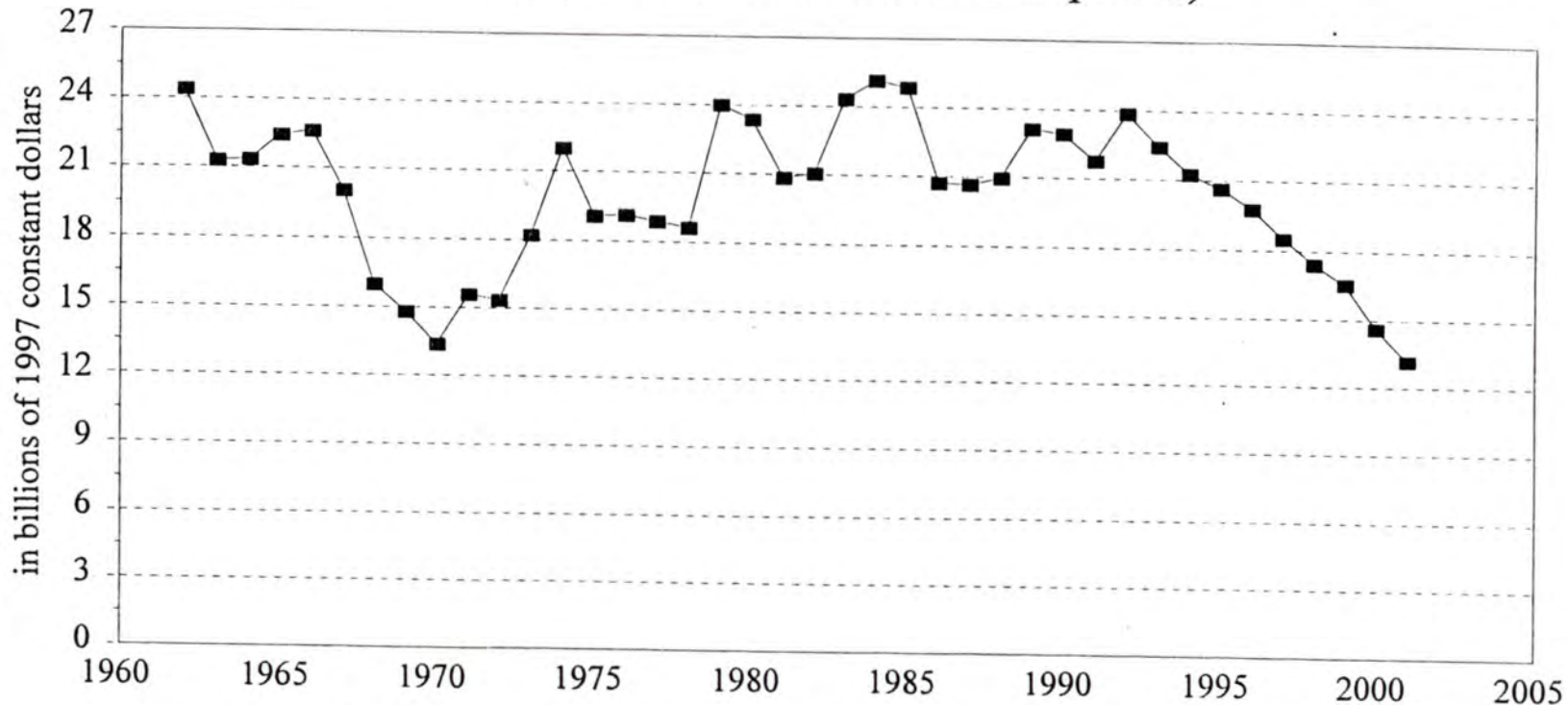
Yet given all of the above, by nearly 2/1 in January 1996, the public believed that the United States should remain a world power even if costs and risks are high. (61% to 34% Princeton Survey Research Associates)

As usual there is a certain amount of schizophrenia. In March 1996 72% reflected their belief that expanding exports to create jobs is more important than restricting imports to save jobs.

The 5 months later, 63% said that the United States should

# US International Spending, 1962-2002

(Using CBO's Economic Assumptions)



Source: Executive Office of the President of the United States, Historical Tables: Budget of the United States Government for Fiscal Year 1997, 1996.

Notes: Data until 1996 is historical; figures from that point on are projections from the President's request for FY 1997. Cuts in international spending in 2001 and 2002, beyond those specifically identified in the President's budget, assume that international and domestic programs would be reduced additionally by the same percent (and defense not cut further). Figures are outlays and use the definition of international discretionary spending from the Budget Enforcement Act, which includes funding for the State Department, U.N. peacekeeping, military aid, international broadcasting, and other activities as well as development aid.

ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND

1290 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10104-0233

April 30, 1998

Office of the President

Dear Colleague:

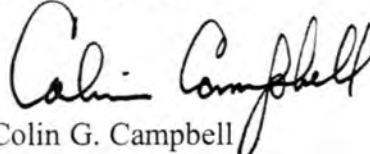
Eighteen months ago, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund joined with the World Bank to host an unusual meeting of foundation executives, leaders of major humanitarian and environmental organizations, and officers of large multilateral institutions. Entitled "Building a Constituency for Global Interdependence," the meeting focused on the participants' shared concern about the erosion of American support for the policies, programs, and agencies of cooperative international engagement. Despite a great deal of talk about the global economy and the unifying effects of communications technology, there has been a growing tendency on the part of governments, the general public, and private funders to withhold support from development, exchange, and capacity-building initiatives that reflect the reality and implications of global interdependence.

The enclosed paper, *Global Interdependence and the Need for Social Stewardship*, grew out of this meeting and subsequent smaller gatherings and conversations. Its publication marks the formal launch of a project that seeks to improve Americans' understanding of global interdependence and to build a stronger constituency for the global cooperation that will be necessary if interdependent nations are to advance their common interests. At the heart of this constituency-building effort, as the enclosed paper suggests, is a model of international engagement in which military security, economic growth, and social stewardship — the promotion of health, social stability, and human potential — are seen as mutually reinforcing expressions of American interests and values.

Through additional meetings, publications, and other outreach activities, the Fund and its partners in this endeavor hope to help spark a larger conversation about the purpose, principles, and agents of American engagement in an interdependent world. These are complex issues on which the public has far from made up its mind, and the opportunities for dialogue are arguably greater now than they have been for some time. In fact, new polling data suggest that public attitudes toward global engagement may be more positive than policymakers believe them to be. Promoting and sustaining meaningful public dialogue around the issue of global interdependence is an urgent, indeed vital challenge.

If this dialogue is to serve national interests, it must include the voices of knowledgeable lawmakers and policymakers. As you take part in that dialogue, my colleagues and I hope you will find our new publication and project informative and stimulating. We welcome your comments and look forward to your involvement in future project-related activities.

Sincerely yours,

  
Colin G. Campbell

text of Wolfensohn note:

Melanne -  
this was a  
handwritten  
note to Hill  
Paw

"My dear Hillary,

I have just returned from a visit to Nepal and India and want you to know how warmly you are remembered. You and Chelsea made a great impression and everyone from the Government officials, women's groups, the guide at the Taj Mahal and the shopkeeper at the Marble (?) Gift Shop -- all said how great you were.

This makes me even more anxious to work with you during the second term on international issues. I know that the President has an international agenda in mind, and for this I am very grateful, but you personally can play a big role. If you have the time and interest I would love to exchange some ideas with you re development, women and children.

Elaine and I follow with pride all that you and the President are doing. We wish you and our country great success next Tuesday. We look forward to seeing more of you during the second term and to helping you in any way we can.

With our warmest greetings to you both - Jim

cc: Melanne ✓

Jim  
Ferguson

# MAYBE FOREIGN AFFAIRS MATTERS

The Cold War was a long haul, full of sacrifices, and now the American people are in no mood for new foreign adventures. "Do-gooders" who want the United States to help cure the world's ills are less motivated and politically potent than the realists who intensely oppose sticking America's neck out abroad.

A Member of Congress who votes for foreign aid is inviting a flood of negative advertising and public ire. "Feel-good" national polls may support American engagement in foreign affairs, but Members of Congress, who monitor the public pulse through letters and phone calls from their constituents, say they detect a neo-isolationist heartbeat.

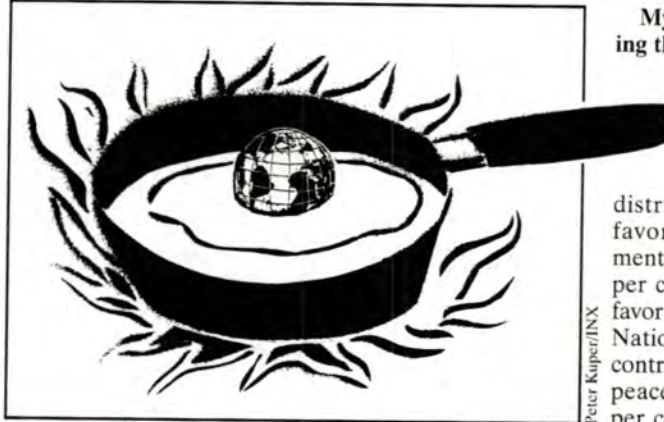
This picture of an inward-looking America emerged from more than 80 interviews conducted recently with Members of Congress and their staffs, executive branch officials, policy analysts and reporters and editors. The interview sessions and some related workshops were conducted by the University of Maryland's Program on International Policy Attitudes, all part of a study on "Foreign Policy and the Public."

Of course, the capital's politicians, policy makers and media pundits have long prided themselves on their intuitive grasp of the body politic. They're usually quick to seize on real or imagined mandates. In 1993, newly elected President Clinton was certain that Americans had demanded a government-directed universal health care system. Similarly, the Republican revolutionaries who stormed Capitol Hill two years ago were convinced that the public had signed off on their Contract With America and especially a large-scale dismantling of the federal government.

Mandates, like beauty, are often in the eye of the beholder. And so a similar misreading of public attitudes may be behind the notion that the post-Cold War American electorate is overwhelmingly isolationist. Experts at the International Policy program, for instance, had long wondered why that conventional wisdom failed to square with their national polls, which consistently showed a solid majority of Americans who believed that the United States should "take an active part in the world," contribute troops to U.N. peacekeeping operations, continue to support foreign aid programs and pay its U.N. dues.

But the pollsters discovered that many politicians and their staffs simply didn't trust the national polls. Chief among their assumptions was the notion that national polls be damned, things are just different back home.

So the University of Maryland's center compared that perception against reality. First they chose four Members of Congress who have been wholehearted supporters of cutting foreign aid, withholding U.N. dues, restricting U.S. participation in U.N. peacekeeping missions and in general curtailing international engagements (the identity of the Members won't be disclosed until after Election Day). Pollsters then conducted extensive surveys in the Members' home districts to determine how accurately the Members' positions reflected the opinions of their constituents. What the poll takers discovered should deflate a few widely held myths.



Peter Kuper/INX

**Myth No. 1: "I'm only reflecting the views of my constituents."**

In fact, pollsters found strikingly little difference between the national electorate and voters in congressional districts whose representatives favor international disengagement. In the four districts, 76-77 per cent of respondents were in favor of strengthening the United Nations; 55-65 per cent favored contributing U.S. troops to U.N. peacekeeping operations; 64-68 per cent preferred that America work through the United Nations

when military force was required.

**Myth No. 2: "Support for American engagement is 'squishy,' while a hard core of knowledgeable and politically active opponents favor reducing U.S. involvement in the world."** Those who "felt strongly" on the issue—based on their answers to 15 foreign policy questions—were actually more likely to favor engagement. Respondents rated the most "active" in politics (judged as having given money to or worked in a political campaign, or having contacted Congress on a foreign policy issue in the past five years) were even more pro-engagement, with 71 per cent favoring an "active part in the world."

**Myth No. 3: "Voters responding to polls on foreign policy engagement like to think of themselves as idealists, but they prefer hard-nosed realists representing them in Congress."** Though it is admittedly difficult, the pollsters tried to factor out the "poll effect" by using several clever approaches. Suffice to say, pro-engagement respondents tended to strongly favor candidates who closely reflected their own views. More surprisingly, anti-engagement respondents were far more hesitant to support candidates who supported their view. Perhaps voters actually like to think of *themselves* as hard-nosed, but prefer candidates who take a more idealistic or internationalist view of the world.

**Myth No. 4: "Any vote to pay U.N. dues or finance foreign aid will end up as sound-bite fodder for negative advertising."** It's the television spot every incumbent fears: "Congressman So-and-So: Year after year he's voted for foreign aid that sends billions of dollars out of the United States, much of it to corrupt governments with poor human rights records. We need a Representative in Congress who works on our problems at home first—not wasteful, giveaway programs abroad. . . ."

Well, maybe not. After reading the above advertisement for a hard-nosed challenger and an equally slick spot promoting an incumbent's empathy for "hungry children and disaster victims abroad," only 37 percent of respondents favored the challenger versus 53 per cent for the incumbent. Similar ads on the issue of U.N. dues revealed an almost identical split in favor of paying what we owe.

In Washington, it's often said that perception can become reality. The University of Maryland's polls suggest, however, that politicians who are confident that they're carrying out the wishes of America's isolationist majority may in fact be responding to a mirage. ■

66 7-2375

MEMORANDUM

November 25, 1966

FOR: Melanne Verver

FROM: Carol Lancaster

SUBJECT: Foreign Aid in Clinton II

As promised, I am sketching out what I think the major issues on foreign aid are likely to be in Clinton II and aspects of them that might be of particular interest to you. I shall describe three pressing issues involving foreign aid likely to arise in the coming months: budgetary levels; organization; and what for want of a better term I shall call "advocacy" -- helping the American people to appreciate better the purposes and impact of US aid abroad.

1. At the core of most of these issues is the budgetary one: what levels of foreign aid will be available to the US government to pursue its interests and values abroad over the coming four years? The first part of the answer to this question will come in the aid levels contained in the 1998 budget the administration sends to the Congress (likely to be decided in the next several weeks). The Congress will provide a second part of the answer as it begins to cut from the administration's proposed level. As you know, aid represents less than 1% of the federal budget but it is a 'discretionary' expenditure and one that has had lukewarm support at best from the general public, the 'informed public', the Congress and, frankly, at times from within the administration itself. Thus, it has been slashed substantially in the past two years.

If projections for future cuts in aid hold (of roughly one quarter to one third in real terms as part of the general effort to balance the budget -- see attached chart), several consequences are likely. First, the US may have to terminate its voluntary contributions to certain UN programs if it is to preserve its influence in others. My guess is that we will protect our contributions to the politically popular and effective UNICEF (which is headed by a US citizen) but possibly reduce radically our contributions to the UN Development Program (also headed by an American at present). Not surprisingly, cuts in UNDP have already prompted other countries to call for the appointment of a non-American to head the organization.

Second, the administration may also have to apply a triage approach to which multilateral development banks it finances. Congress has already refused to appropriate funds for the African Development Fund (which is having severe management problems) and there is talk that perhaps the economic success in Asia argues for a decrease or elimination of US support for the Asian Development Bank. Budget cuts will also make it difficult for the US to support IDA, the soft loan window of the World Bank or even make up its arrears. Past cuts in US support to these organizations have

already begun to erode US leadership in them. Further cuts will result in our falling further and further behind other donors in our contributions and even behind in our own commitments and weaken our ability to lead yet further, in terms both of policy and personnel. The overall budgets of these organizations may also decline if other governments, usually tying their level of funding to ours, cut their contributions.

Cuts of the magnitude projected will likely have a major impact on our bilateral aid program. If levels to Egypt and Israel are held harmless as they have been since the beginning of the 1980s, cuts of considerably more than one third will fall on the rest of the bilateral aid program -- primarily on development assistance. That program is roughly \$2 billion at present (with another \$450 million in administrative expenses). A drop of one third in the program and administrative levels will force a significant reorientation both in the geographical and functional scope of the program, probably leading the elimination of programs in a considerably larger number of countries than is now contemplated and possibly also forcing the elimination of funding for particular sectoral activities. Cuts of this magnitude may also lead the administration to consider a fundamentally different approach to providing aid, with less emphasis on working through its (unavoidably expensive) foreign missions and a more hands-off approach reliant primarily on programming from headquarters. There are numerous options for dealing with such cuts -- none of them easy or pleasant. But one thing is certain: if these cuts occur and especially if monies for the Middle East are protected, US bilateral aid will be much diminished, much different than it is today, and probably much more politically oriented. Supporting development will likely become a minor aspect of our relations with countries in Asia and Latin America and possibly even Africa.

2. The second foreign aid issue likely to confront the administration in coming months is the organizational one. It seems likely that Senator Helms will return to the issue, proposing again a reorganization of the foreign affairs agencies and possibly holding up new appointments until his demands are met or his support within the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (where all of the Republicans supported him the last time this issue was raised) is detached. Senator Helms will probably propose again that USAID be merged into the Department of State. My own views on this issue are no different outside the administration from what they were within it: it is a terrible idea with very great potential costs and very few benefits. The two agencies have different missions (I have served in senior positions in each and can speak from some experience) and different modis operandi. They both are struggling with difficult management challenges and a merger would make those changes immensely more difficult, probably paralyzing them both until the details of a merger were thrashed out. Finally, it is hard for me to see what will be gained by a merger -- not significant budgetary savings unless one of the agencies is savaged and not necessarily better coordination unless one literally takes over the other.

However, if Senator Helms does raise the organizational issue again, the administration will have once more to decide how it responds. This could prove to be quite complex and contentious and will require considerable interagency collaboration (which was a bit ragged the last time the organizational issue was raised). Periodic issues involving the foreign affairs budget (especially when a crisis erupts with implications for deploying foreign aid resources) will also raise the problem of inter-agency coordination on managing increasingly scarce foreign affairs resources. These issues underline a problem that we have both struggled with in the past: the absence of someone in the White House with enough knowledge of the programs and sufficient clout to bring about effective coordination. There has been no such person over the past several years and it has showed sometimes in the differing positions agencies have taken on resource issues. That position should, in my view, be in the NSC and should probably be the responsibility of one of the deputies to the National Security Advisor if it is to be done effectively. It is to be urgently hoped that whoever heads the NSC in Clinton II will create such a position.

3. One of the things that makes it so easy for Congress to slash aid budgets, attempt to impose reorganizations, and often micro-manage the aid program is that the public is often uninformed about the issues at stake and unengaged in how they are decided (with a few prominent exceptions). While most opinion polls show that the general public is supportive of foreign aid, the issue is a salient one for very few. The active constituency for foreign aid is, in short, very weak. Even among foreign policy elites, foreign aid appears also to have lost its salience. The small and diminishing number of articles in the major policy journals is but one indication of these changed views. And this diminished salience is reflected in a relative passivity vis a vis budget cuts and often a sense of policy uncertainty.

So what is to be done on this issue? Assuming that the administration is clear about how it wants to use its foreign aid as it bridges to the twenty first century and is organized internally to manage its diverse aid programs effectively, it would seem that there are three major groups to reach in an advocacy strategy. First are the foreign policy elites. The second is what I shall call the "engaged public". The third is the general public.

To raise awareness and support of foreign policy elites inside and outside the administration for foreign aid, two things would appear to be necessary: a rationale for foreign aid that ties it to a key element in US foreign policy generally and statements by the President and Secretary of State to that effect. Possible rationales might include tying foreign aid to a broader policy of 'conflict prevention' which may be an attractive formulation but with a number of implications that would still seem to need considerable refinement. Another approach might include an increased emphasis in Clinton II's foreign policy on the importance

of 'non-traditional' issues like global population, environment and so on which could be an important element in a post Cold War approach to the next millenium. If there is no such rationale and no articulation of it at the very top of the administration, it will likely not make its way onto the agendas of the influential voices in the foreign policy community.

How to inform and energize the "engaged public"? By the engaged public, I mean Americans who are interested and informed to some extent on foreign affairs, who are often active in community or church organizations, and who might be willing actively to support foreign aid programs. The members of the League of Women Voters, Rotarians, and many, many others. What does it take to persuade the engaged public to write or speak to their members of Congress on issues or to the editorial boards of their local papers? They have not just to be informed but they have to have a stake in the issue. How can we bring about that? USAID's Lessons without Borders is one approach. But more is needed. Let me suggest an additional approach.

Suppose you decide to make a trip to Africa next year. You will likely choose two or three types of themes to pursue on the trip: the challenges of girls' education; women's productive employment; creating and strengthening democratic institutions where they have not existed before. The themes could be selected not only for their intrinsic importance but because they can be made meaningful to Americans through their own values and experience -- the way most Americans approach many foreign affairs issues in any case. (Girls' education involves the value Americans place on opportunity for all children to have an opportunity to better themselves; programs like micro-enterprise lending that enables poor women to create jobs and expand their income (echoes in new approaches to poverty in the US?); democracy provides for freedom for all...)

Visits to aid funded projects while in Africa (I refer here to projects funded by both multilateral and bilateral aid -- they both need to be included) would call attention to these problems and the solutions the US is trying to help Africans design and implement. A healthy presence of the US press corps on such a trip might even lead to print and electronic media reports on such projects (judging from the past, however, this would take some real effort...). The trip itself could lead to another book which would call attention to one or more of the themes of the trip. After the trip, you might consider doing a speaking tour within the US (bringing along one or two Africans who have benefitted from such projects to make it human and real). Attendees at such speeches might include a strong representation of local community leaders and groups who might then be persuaded to undertake some follow up activities (jointly with USAID or other aid agency??) to continue work on the particular problems. (For example, why not have the League host newly elected African parliamentarians in their homes for a week or two to help them understand how we deal with constituency relations, etc.?) The key to turning a potentially

engaged public into an activist public is to get individuals involved in an aid-related activity to give them a stake in the overall program. There are many other approaches to this issue, I am sure, and many others with ideas on them.

With regard to the general public, it is important to help inform them on foreign aid through speeches and the media. But, judging from the past, speeches without some sort of organized follow up tend not to produce action and have relatively little impact on Congress or other national leaders.

\* \* \*

I do not pretend that this is an exhaustive agenda. It is intended to help start a discussion of what are the issues and possible strategies vis a vis foreign aid as we move into a new administration. I would suggest that you might want to discuss and develop your ideas further with two groups: key people within the administration involved with foreign aid; and several people outside it also engaged in the issues. You may want to organize two separate meetings of these groups since the viewpoints of each may be quite different and more frankly expressed separately. From within the administration, I would suggest you include Brian Atwood and Jan Piercy. Ideally, you would want someone senior and supportive from the NSC and State but it may be too soon to identify who those individuals might be. I wonder if you would not also want someone from VP Gore's staff though I am not sure who that would be either.

From outside the administration, perhaps you should chat with Julia Taft of InterAction, one or more of the foundation heads that organized the meeting at Potantico (to find out at least what proposals and follow-up they proposed), perhaps even someone supportive from the media and political consulting field.

There is much of significance to be done on foreign aid and an enormously important role for you to claim. I hope I can be helpful to you as you consider what you might do in this area. I would be happy to be involved in any of these or other activities where possible and appropriate.

Meanwhile, I wish you a restful and peaceful day for giving thanks for the wonderful life we enjoy in this country and the opportunity to help others reach for such a life. That, in the end, is what this memo is all about.