

U.S.
GLOBAL
LEADERSHIP

CAMPAIGN TO PRESERVE



file Global Leadership

October 24, 2000

Ms. Melanne Verveer
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Melanne:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed copy of an ad placed by the Campaign to Preserve U.S. Global Leadership in Roll Call in early October. The ad called on Congress to support higher funding for the FY 2001 international affairs budget.

Please feel free to call if I can be of future assistance.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Schraye
Campaign Coordinator



SMALL CHANGE MAKES
A BIG DIFFERENCE

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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SMALL CHANGE MADES A BIG DIFFERENCE

Document Title: _____



SMALL CHANGE MAKES A BIG DIFFERENCE

Support Higher Funding for the International Affairs Budget

Dear Member of Congress:

On behalf of the Campaign to Preserve U.S. Global Leadership, a diverse coalition of over 300 businesses and organizations, we urge you to support the highest possible funding levels for the FY2001 international affairs budget (150 Account). Small change makes a big difference.

The President has requested \$22.8 billion for these programs. This accounts for only one penny for every federal dollar to be spent in FY 2001. This small change will make a big difference for the American people.

International affairs programs are vital to maintaining U.S. global leadership and our national security. These programs help combat security threats, including weapons of mass destruction, terrorism and narcotics trafficking. They also help American businesses expand markets for U.S. products that create American jobs.

Unfortunately, while the need for U.S. global leadership is greater than ever, our commitment to international affairs spending today is almost 40 percent lower than in 1985. This small but vital part of the federal budget is less than one percent of all federal spending. Given today's surplus, it is critical to restore this funding to help maintain America's global leadership and protect our national security.

As the appropriations process enters the final stage for FY2001, you have the opportunity to add additional funds to key appropriation bills. We urge your support for higher funding of the U.S. international affairs budget. One penny out of every federal dollar to America's leadership in the world makes a big difference.

Sincerely,

The Campaign to Preserve U.S. Global Leadership



CAMPAIGN TO PRESERVE

U.S. GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

1920 L ST., NW 7TH FLOOR, WASHINGTON, DC 20036 PHONE 202.955.1398 FAX 202.861.0811 EMAIL GLOBALCAMPAIGN@AOL.COM

PAID FOR BY THE BETTER WORLD CAMPAIGN, A MEMBER OF THE CAMPAIGN TO PRESERVE U.S. GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

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file Global Leadership

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.

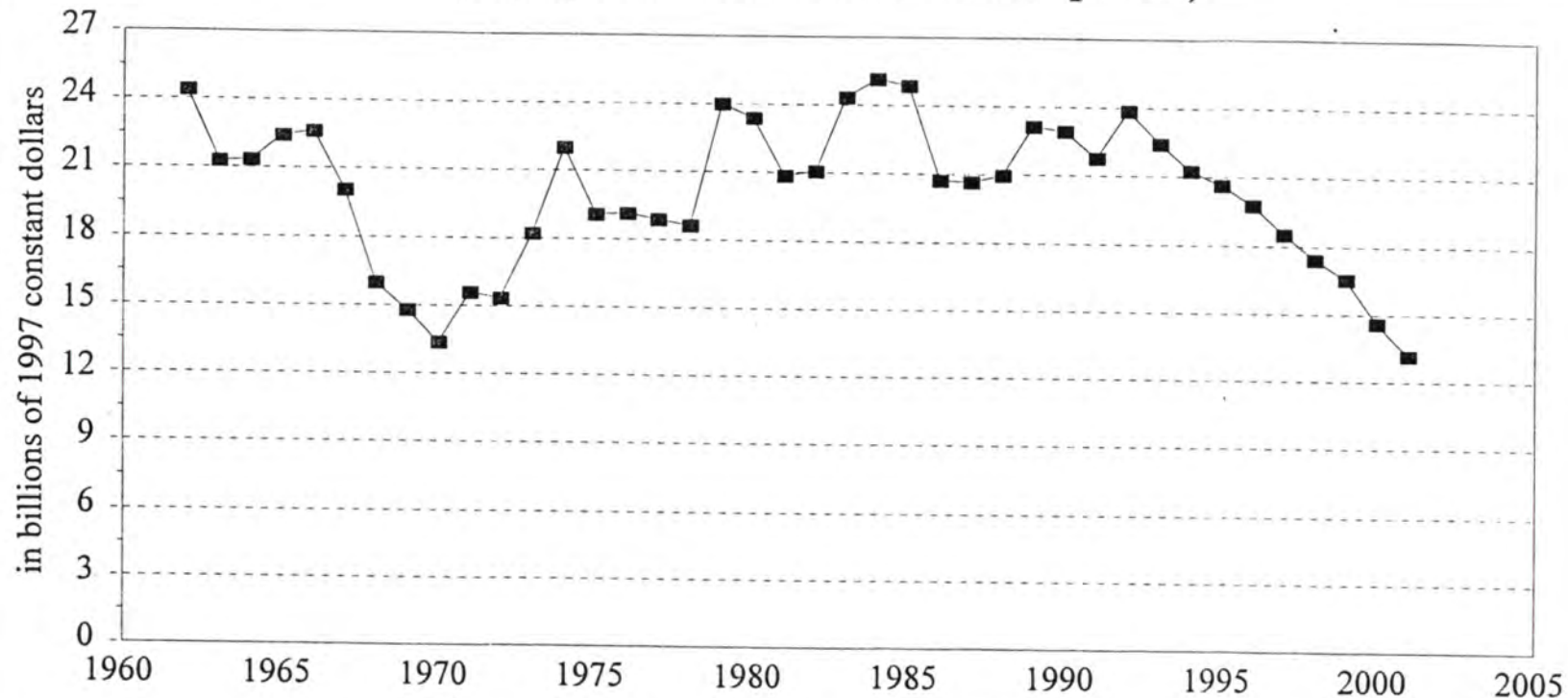
From outside the administration, perhaps you should chat with Julia Taft of InterAction, one or more of the foundation heads that organized the meeting at Potantico (to find out at least what proposals and follow-up they proposed), perhaps even someone supportive from the media and political consulting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

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.

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.



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. ■

YOU WANT CHOICES? YOU GOT 'EM

Boy, have you ever heard so much whining about an election? All over the country, citizens are telling pollsters and reporters that they're bummed out about having to choose between Bill Clinton and Robert Dole—and so they're not going to vote. "When they have a vote against the system," one kvetch told *The Washington Post*, "that's when I'll vote."

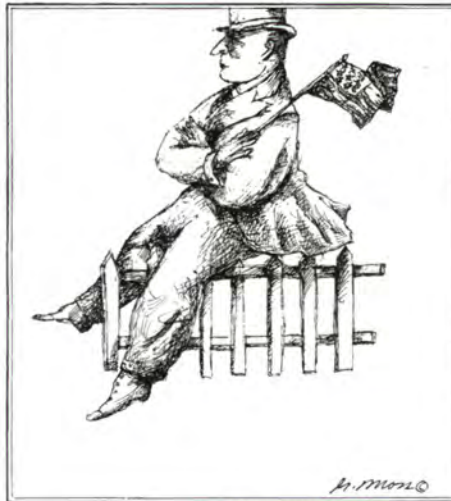
Hello? There's a full slate of candidates this year who are nominally running for President but are really running against "the system." Want to know more? OK, here's the field (which leaves out Reform Party candidate Ross Perot, because everyone knows who he is):

Harry Browne, Libertarian Party:

His credentials are that he has no credentials. "He graduated from high school, but attended college for only two weeks," his official biography, posted on the World Wide Web, proudly declares. The self-made man became an investment adviser and wrote a best-seller in 1974 called *You Can Profit From a Monetary Crisis*. (That should endear him to the Federal Reserve when he takes office.) The libertarian cause of scaling back Big Government has long been near and dear to his heart. The author also of *How I Found Freedom in an Unfree World* (not a best-seller), Browne is no more in favor of a government war on drugs than he is of a government war on poverty. "Before there were drug laws, there were no muggers on the street trying to support a \$100-a-day habit, no pushers trying to hook kids on drugs, no drive-by shootings, no gang violence, no crack babies, etc.," he recently told the *PoliticsNow* Web news service in an interview. So there. Does he back a role for the government in any aspect of society? You bet. At C-SPAN's Oct. 7 debate of third-party candidates, he told a smart-alecky journalist that no, he is not in favor of selling the government's nuclear submarines to the private sector. He's on the ballot in all 50 states.

John Hagelin, Natural Law Party: Talk about credentials—Dr. Hagelin, as he likes to be called, has a doctorate in quantum physics from Harvard. "My area of expertise is elementary particles and the origins of the universe," Hagelin says on his Web home page. No, he's not your average politician. But this brainy guy has an image problem: The press keeps asking pesky questions about his practice of transcendental meditation—you know, TM, the stress-reduction program for soothing the soul. Hagelin asked for it, though. "Research has found that even a single group of 7,000-10,000 practitioners of transcendental meditation and its advanced programs can produce a significant decrease in inflation and unemployment rates," the Natural Law Party declares in its platform. OK, Doc, whatever you say. The mild-mannered Hagelin says that the government can cut taxes deeply without adding to the deficit or eliminating essential services. Wait a minute— isn't that what the politicians in "the system" always say? Dr. Hagelin is on the ballot in 43 states.

Monica Moorhead, Workers World Party: This is the fringe of the fringe—so fringe she was not even invited to the C-SPAN debate for third-party candidates. Not that that stopped Moor-



head. Her crew crashed the forum. As *The Post* described the melee: "For 10 minutes, the protestors waved their signs and yelled into the C-SPAN cameras—'She's excluded because she's the only black female candidate; stop racist welfare cuts'—until they were removed, in one instance dragged, from the room." Hey, that's more action that anyone has seen on the campaign trail with Clinton and Dole this year. And God bless C-SPAN for being there. But why was Moorhead excluded? Are her positions too outlandish? (Her party opposes "capitalism and U.S. foreign policy," according to an editorial in the *Asbury Park Press* in New Jersey.) The debate's sponsors at George Mason University and the International Center for Economic

Justice said it was because she's on the ballot in only 12 states and thus doesn't have a mathematical chance of being elected. C'mon: What about the write-in possibilities? Maybe the debate stunt will enable Moorhead to improve upon her performance in 1992, when she also ran for President and got 181 votes.

Ralph Nader, Green Party: The candidate needs no introduction, but the candidacy does require a bit of explaining. It's like this. Citizen Ralph agreed to be the nominee of the tree-hugging Green Party, but he wants nothing to do with the party and doesn't even seem interested in campaigning. Got it? He is, however, on the ballot in California, where he has always had an enthusiastic following. The main point of the Nader candidacy appears to be to goad Clinton, whom Nader openly despises as a phony who sucks up to Corporate America while claiming to be for the working stiff. But talk about chutzpah: Mr. Sunshine in Government has refused to make a full disclosure of his income and assets to the public. What's he hiding: Stock investments in an agribusiness supplier of his favorite sunflower seeds? Ralph, we're disappointed in you. (My own full disclosure: In a brief season of youthful college naiveté, I interned at a Nader-affiliated public-interest group in Washington.)

Howard Phillips, U.S. Taxpayers Party: Why do Harvard graduates keep showing up among the anti-establishment fringe? Phillips is another one—and he even wrote a 1983 book about his alma mater, *The New Right at Harvard*. But we're not talking about an Ivy League lefty—no siree. Phillips is a Religious Right activist who warns of the "satanization" of America. Richard M. Nixon was way too soft for this fellow—he resigned from his Administration post as director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, according to his official biography, when Nixon "reneged on his commitment to veto further funding for 'Great Society' programs." He opposed the Panama Canal and SALT II Treaties and the North American Free Trade Agreement and the World Trade Organization. And his party preaches withdrawal from the United Nations (and wants to boot the United Nations out of America), the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Hmm. Is there a pattern here? If you'd like to restore American jurisprudence to its "biblical premises," Phillips is your man. He is on the ballot in 39 states.

Who says there's no choice in this election? ■

text of Wolfensohn note:

Melanne -
this was a
handwritten
note to HLL
Ran

"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 Frezinger



Global Stewardship Initiative

Susan Sechler, Executive Director

*file global
leadership*

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4/30/98

Melanne

I wasn't sure if you had seen this poll on
U.N. dues which also asks about Mexico
City policy. If you want a copy of the full
report, please call 202/232-7500.

I hope all is well.

Susan



PROGRAM ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY ATTITUDES

A joint program of the Center for the Study of Policy Attitudes and the Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland

NEWS RELEASE

Release: Immediate

Re: NEW POLL ON UN DUES
AND IMF FUNDING

For further information:
please contact Steven Kull
at 202-232-7500

Date: April 24, 1998

New Poll Finds:

Majority Favors Paying UN Dues; Abortion Amendment Unpopular **Public Support for IMF Funding Low, But Higher Among Informed**

College Park, MD: As Congress reconvenes after its spring break, two unresolved issues await the House of Representatives: the controversy about funding US dues to the United Nations and about depositing new funds with the International Monetary Fund as part of a response to the financial crisis in Asia.

A new poll by the Program on International Policy Attitudes conducted a nationwide poll on these issues. On the question of UN dues, key findings were:

- 60% support paying UN dues in full.
- An additional 18% say they would support paying dues contingent on the UN making financial reforms. Thus 78% would likely want to see the UN-dues legislation pass.
- At the same time, 53% are uncomfortable with making UN dues conditional.
- A significant minority supports the controversial proposed amendment related to abortion, but 58% support paying UN dues and do not support the amendment.

DC OFFICE: 11 Dupont Circle, NW, Suite 210 • Washington, DC 20036 • Telephone: (202) 232-7500 • Fax: (202) 232-1159

CAMPUS OFFICE: CISSM, School of Public Affairs University of Maryland • College Park, Maryland 20742-1811
Telephone: (301) 405-7601 • Fax: (301) 403-8107



PROGRAM ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY ATTITUDES

A joint program of the Center for the Study of Policy Attitudes and the Center for International
and Security Studies at Maryland, School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland

Americans on UN Dues and IMF Funding

A STUDY OF US PUBLIC ATTITUDES

April 24, 1998

Principal Investigator
Steven Kull

Overview

As Congress reconvenes after its spring break, two unresolved issues await the House of Representatives: the controversy about funding US dues to the United Nations, and the question of whether to deposit new funds with the International Monetary Fund as part of a response to the financial crisis in Asia.

The UN dues issue is complicated politically. After an extensive set of negotiations, the Senate achieved a bipartisan agreement to pay most of US arrears to the UN, contingent on a set of demands that the UN make a number of financial reforms. When this legislation reached the House it was derailed in November by an effort to attach an amendment affecting the US foreign aid program. This amendment would require the US to withhold funds from international family planning organizations involved in abortion (also known as 'Mexico City policy'). While the amendment includes a range of constraints, the debate about this issue has focused especially on the prohibition on funds going to organizations that discuss abortion as an alternative with their clients. Because President Clinton has said that he will veto any legislation that includes such an amendment, its attachment would likely kill the UN funding legislation.

The IMF funding issue is a bit less complicated, though no less controversial. In the wake of the Asian crisis, the Clinton administration has agreed for the US to deposit \$18 billion, together with another \$72 billion from other countries, as part of an effort to back up the currencies and the economies of countries whose economies are at risk of collapse. The Senate has approved this legislation, but it has encountered substantial resistance in the House.

So where does the American public come out on these issues? While these issues are not highly prominent in the minds of Americans, they do engage the public's values. These issues were explored in a recent study by the Program on International Policy Attitudes. Briefly stated, on the question of UN dues the findings of the study suggest that:

- A substantial majority supports paying UN dues in full, while an additional portion would support

doing so if it were contingent on the UN making some financial reforms. Thus it appears likely that a very strong majority would want to see the current legislation pass—even though a majority is also uncomfortable making the payment of UN dues conditional.

- A significant minority of those who favor paying UN dues also supports attaching the abortion-related amendment, described above, to the UN dues legislation, though this would jeopardize the UN dues legislation becoming law. Nonetheless, overall, a modest majority would favor paying UN dues and would not support attaching the abortion-related amendment.

On the question of IMF funding:

- Initially a modest majority opposes the US depositing money with the IMF in response to the Asian financial crisis. However, among those who are paying attention to the issue a strong majority favors it, and when respondents are given some basic information about the issue and go through a process of evaluating pro and con arguments, support rises to a modest majority.

The study included a nationwide poll of 900 randomly selected adults conducted April 16-20, 1998 and a review of existing polling data. In many cases poll questions were only asked to two-thirds of the sample so that for each question the margin of error is plus or minus 4% or less.

Note: The findings reported here are of a random sample of the American population. In this poll, as in most telephone polls with random samples, the average education level is slightly higher than for the general population reported by the US Census, but slightly lower than the level found by voter exit polls which measure the American electorate. Based on the findings in this poll, as well as other polls, it is likely that if the sample more exactly reflected the general population as stated in the US Census, support for paying UN dues and for IMF funding would be several percentage points lower, while if it more exactly reflected the American electorate shown in voter exit polls, support would be several percentage points higher.

UN Dues

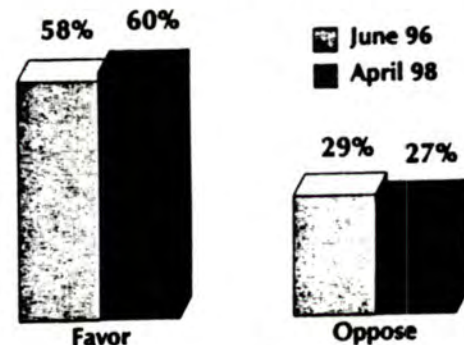
1 A majority supports paying UN dues in full.

Asked, "Do you favor or oppose the US paying its UN dues in full?" 60% said they favored doing so (32% strongly) with 27% opposed (16% strongly). This number is up slightly from a June 1996 PIPA poll when, in response to the same wording, 58% said they favored it.

When presented pro and con arguments, respondents find arguments in favor of paying UN dues more convincing. A pro argument that confirmed the value of the general idea of the UN, saying that "The US ... one of the original founders of the UN ... has benefited from its existence," argued that "The US has an obligation to... pay its full dues," and was found convincing by an overwhelming 73%. A con argument that challenged the idea of the UN by saying that "The UN is ... meddling in areas where the US, not the UN, should be taking the lead," was found convincing by just 28%, while 69% found it unconvincing.

A pro argument—currently in use by a number of proponents of paying UN dues—that doing so is "a good investment" because due to UN negotiations with Saddam Hussein, "it became unnecessary for the US to mount a large and costly military action," was found convincing by a more modest 52%.^{*} The argument that that paying UN dues "is a bad investment" because "the UN is ineffective and wasteful" was found convincing by only 28%.

Do you favor or oppose paying UN dues in full?



After hearing pro and con arguments, when respondents were asked about paying UN dues, 66% said they favored doing so—a 6% increase.

Earlier research suggests that Americans will support paying UN dues even when they are faced with making tradeoffs against domestic items. In a June 1996 PIPA poll, respondents were asked to make a budget for the twelve largest items in the discretionary budget. An overwhelming 78% either main-

^{*} The modest level of support for this argument most likely reflects the persuasiveness of the "investment" case, rather than reservations about UN involvement in Iraq. In a February 1998 PIPA poll that asked about UN Secretary General's recently negotiated agreement with Saddam Hussein, only 25% said that "This is an example of the US giving up too much control of its foreign policy to the UN... the US, not the UN should be dealing with Iraq," while 71% said that "This is an example of the kind of thing the UN should do... it was a good idea to give the UN a chance to work things out diplomatically."

Response to Pro and Con Arguments On Paying UN Dues

- Percent Finding Argument Convincing -

PRO

The US was one of the original founders of the UN and has benefited from its existence. The US has an obligation to meet its commitment to pay its full dues, just like all the other member countries. 73%

Because the UN successfully got Saddam Hussein to allow in weapons inspectors, it became unnecessary for the US to mount a large and costly military action. For this and other reasons, it is a good investment for the US to pay its UN dues. 52%

CON

The UN is becoming too powerful. It is meddling in areas where the US, not the UN, should be taking the lead. To make sure that the UN does not gain too much control over US foreign policy, we should stop giving it money. 28%

Because the UN is ineffective and wasteful, the US does not get a good return on its money. Therefore it is a bad investment and the US should not feel obliged to pay all of its UN dues. 28%

3 Americans On UN Dues and IMF Funding

tained (38%) or increased (40%) spending on the UN and UN peacekeeping. Most striking, on average, spending on the UN and UN peacekeeping was increased 295%.

Earlier research also suggests that candidates that support paying UN dues are more likely to get support than those who oppose paying. In a September 1996 poll, PIPA tested the issue of UN dues in the context of a hypothetical congressional election, by presenting respondents with two sharply worded political ads (see table). A majority of 56% said they would be more inclined to vote for the incumbent who favored paying dues, as compared to 37% who favored the challenger who called for holding back.

A key question here is why support for paying UN dues in full is only at 60%. Polls have consistently shown that more than four out of five Americans support US membership in the UN. In a September 1997 Pew poll, 83% said they thought that "strengthening the United Nations" should be a somewhat or very important foreign policy goal for the US. Why then does a smaller number support paying dues in full?

One factor that may diminish support for paying UN dues in full is the perception that the UN is wasteful or inefficient. While the argument against paying UN dues based on this concern was found convincing by only 28%, as will be discussed below, when paying UN dues was made contingent on the UN making financial reforms, a significant minority shifted from opposing to favoring paying UN dues—thus raising the support for paying dues, at least under some conditions, to a very strong majority.

Another key reason may be that some respondents who say they oppose paying UN dues in full are expressing an objection to the portion of dues they believe the US is paying. In a June 1995 Times Mirror poll, "as compared to other major countries," 60% said "the United States pays more than its fair share for United Nations activities."

However, when Americans are given correct information about the actual proportion of the US contribution, a majority embraces it as fair. In the June 1996 PIPA poll, respondents were told that "In fact, UN dues are assessed according to a country's share of the world economy or GNP. The US is assessed 25% because that is its share of the world economy." Fifty-six percent found the method fair, while just 37% found it unfair. (Apparently it is critical that Americans understand that there is a direct relationship between the percentage of dues and the percentage of world GNP, because a November 1997 CNN/USA Today poll that did not clarify this relationship found that 52% of respondents felt that a 25% share for the US was "too much.")

2 On balance, a modest majority opposes with holding UN dues as a means of pressing the UN to make financial reforms. However, this is not a fully crystallized position, as the public is easily swayed by poll questions that highlight different perspectives on this approach.

When respondents were presented a question that posed both sides of the debate about making the payment of UN dues contingent on financial reform, a modest majority opposed such an approach. Respon-

Response to Candidates Who Favor Or Oppose Paying UN Dues

Respondents were asked for which candidate they would most likely vote based on hearing the following political ads

Ad From Candidate Opposing UN Dues	Candidate Preferred by:	Ad From Candidate Favoring UN Dues	Candidate Preferred by:
Congressman Allen—he's voted again and again to pour billions of your tax money into the UN. Each time Congress has voted to hold back US payments to the UN until financial discipline is restored, Allen has voted the other way. Stop your tax dollars from supporting UN bureaucracy and waste. Vote for Tom Miller this November.	37%	Congressman Allen knows that America keeps its promises. But his opponent, Tom Miller, wants to break an American commitment by refusing to pay our dues to the United Nations, thought the amount is just 1% of what we spend on defense. What other promises would Miller want our country to break? Don't make Uncle Sam a deadbeat—reelect Congressman Allen.	56%

dents were told that "Some say the US should hold back paying its UN dues so as to pressure the UN to become more efficient and that this is the only way to get results. Others argue that the new Secretary General Kofi Annan has recently begun a new program for reforming its operations and that withholding dues is too high-handed a way to apply pressure." They were then asked, "Do you think the US should or should not hold back paying UN dues as a way of pressuring it to become more efficient?" Fifty-three percent said the US should not hold back while 40% said it should.

However, earlier polls show that the public is quite responsive to poll questions that stress different perspectives on such an approach, suggesting that the opposition is not a well-established position. For example, poll questions that underscore the benefits of withholding dues so as to achieve reforms elicit substantial support. A February 1997 Time/CNN poll that asked whether the US should "pay its back dues" or "not pay back dues until it carries out reforms that the US has requested" elicited a plurality of 47% in favor of withholding dues. When, in a November 1997 CNN/USA Today poll, this approach was given further legitimacy by making the (incorrect) assertion that "the United States has withheld more than one billion dollars in dues over the past few years to force the UN to change its financial practices," 63% said they favored "this decision by the US."*

On the other hand, when poll questions highlight the generic norm of paying dues, a strong majority rejects the notion of making payment of UN dues conditional. In response to an April 1996 Wirthlin question that did not mention the US specifically, 78% said "UN member states should always pay their full dues to the UN on schedule" while just 13% embraced the idea of a "a country...hold[ing] back" dues to promote changes. Subsequently, when respondents were asked, "Do you believe the United States should always pay its full dues to the UN on schedule, or should the United States hold back its dues to pressure other members to agree to changes it believes are needed?" 64% said that the US should always pay, while 28% said that the US should hold back.

When these two values—seeking financial reforms and complying with the norm of paying UN dues with-

out conditions—were played off against each other in the current poll, the value of paying dues without conditions prevailed, though only by a modest margin. The fact that Americans are so responsive to different ways of framing the question suggest that it is not an issue that they have thought through very deeply.

3 If payment of UN dues is contingent on the UN making financial reforms, a significant minority who initially opposed paying UN dues will change its position to favor it. Thus an overwhelming majority is willing to support paying UN dues under some conditions.

Though the majority leans against making payment of UN dues contingent on UN financial reforms, the prospect of doing so expands the base of support for paying dues. Those who initially said they opposed paying UN dues or did not answer were told, "At present there is a bill before Congress that would have the US pay most of its back dues to the UN, but only on the condition that the UN makes some financial reforms." Of this group, 45% (18% of the total sample) said they favored Congress passing this legislation.

Adding together the 60% who initially favored paying UN dues and the 18% who favored doing so on the condition that the UN make financial reforms, it appears that 78% favor paying UN dues under some conditions. This suggests that, though a substantial portion of the public might feel somewhat uncomfortable with the features of the legislation that require the UN to make reforms, it is likely that a very strong majority would prefer to see it passed.

This high level of support for paying UN dues is consistent with poll questions that have asked about general support for US participation in the UN. As discussed above, overwhelming majorities favor the US being a member of the UN and support the UN becoming stronger.

* It has not been US policy to withhold dues in the effort to force the UN to change its financial practices. The executive branch has favored the unconditional payment of UN dues, while members of Congress have favored withholding dues for a variety of reasons. The legislative package currently under consideration would impose, for the first time, conditions on the UN regarding its financial practices.

Support for Paying UN Dues

Support in general



Support under some conditions

☒ If financial reforms



Support dues and not abortion-related amendment



4 A significant minority of those who favor paying UN dues also favors a legislative amendment that restricts US funds from going to international family planning organizations that discuss abortion with their clients, though this would jeopardize the UN dues legislation becoming law. Nonetheless, overall, a modest majority would favor paying UN dues and would not support attaching the abortion-related amendment.

Respondents who said they favored the general policy of withholding US funds from international family planning organizations that discuss abortion with their clients, and who said they favored paying UN dues—either in principle or as part of a financial reform package—were told that some members of Congress have said they will only vote for paying UN dues if it includes an amendment that would also make the abortion-related policy into law. Respondents were also told that other members of Congress and President Clinton oppose the amendment, so that if it is added, the bill to pay UN dues will probably not become law. Twenty-six percent of those who favored paying UN dues (20% of the entire sample) said they did favor adding this restriction, even though they had been reminded that it could seriously jeopardize passage of the UN dues legislation. Thus, linking the issue of abortion does weaken support for the UN dues legislation.

Nonetheless, even if those who favor the abortion-related amendment are subtracted from the 78% who would likely support the UN dues legislation, this still leaves a majority of 58% who would favor paying UN dues and who do not support the abortion-related amendment.

IMF Funding

1 Initially a modest majority opposes the US depositing money with the IMF in response to the Asian financial crisis. However, among those who are paying attention to the issue, a strong majority favors it. Also, when respondents are given some basic information about the issue and go through a process of evaluating pro and con arguments, support rises to an overall majority.

When first asked whether "Congress should or should not approve of depositing additional money with the International Monetary Fund to help back up the economies of Asian countries," a modest majority of 56% said that Congress should not approve, while 38% said that Congress should approve it. Similarly, a December 1997 NBC/Wall Street Journal poll that asked: "Should the United States participate with the International Monetary Fund and other nations in a plan to lend money to countries that suffer financial collapse, such as South Korea and Thailand?" found 51% saying the US should not participate and 34% saying that it should.

However, attitudes about this issue seem to be significantly affected by the degree of information respondents have on the issue and how much they have deliberated on it. Among respondents who say they have been paying attention to the issue a majority is supportive, and if respondents receive basic information and are given the opportunity to evaluate pro and con arguments support rises to a majority.

Attention to this issue is relatively high. When asked how much they have heard about this issue 48% say that they have heard "some" (34%) or "a great deal" (14%) about the issue, while 52% say they have heard "not very much" (33%) and 19% "nothing at all." This is a high level of attention as compared to other international issues.

Among those who say they have heard some or a great deal on the issue of IMF funding a modest majority of 52% favors it, while among those who say they have heard not very much or nothing at all support is just 26%.

Furthermore, as respondents receive more information about the issue, support goes up. Respon-

Response to Pro and Con Arguments On IMF Funding

- Percent Finding Argument Convincing -

PRO

If the International Monetary Fund does not back up the Asian economies, they will likely go into a severe depression. To prevent large-scale human suffering, the US should join with other countries in the effort to help these countries through this difficult time.

60%

CON

The US and other countries should not try to rescue the countries of Asia from their own bad economic decisions. It is better to let things take their own course and maybe then the Asians will learn from their mistakes.

46%

If the International Monetary Fund does not back up the Asian economies, they will likely go into a depression and these countries will cut way back on buying US products. This will hurt the US economy and many Americans will lose their jobs. Thus it is a wise business decision for the US to put up some money as a form of insurance.

56%

If the International Monetary Fund backs up the Asian economies, it is really just trying to protect the investors on Wall Street and elsewhere who made risky investments. The US should not put its money at risk to try to cover for the poor investment decisions of high-flying investors.

47%

dents were read the following statement:

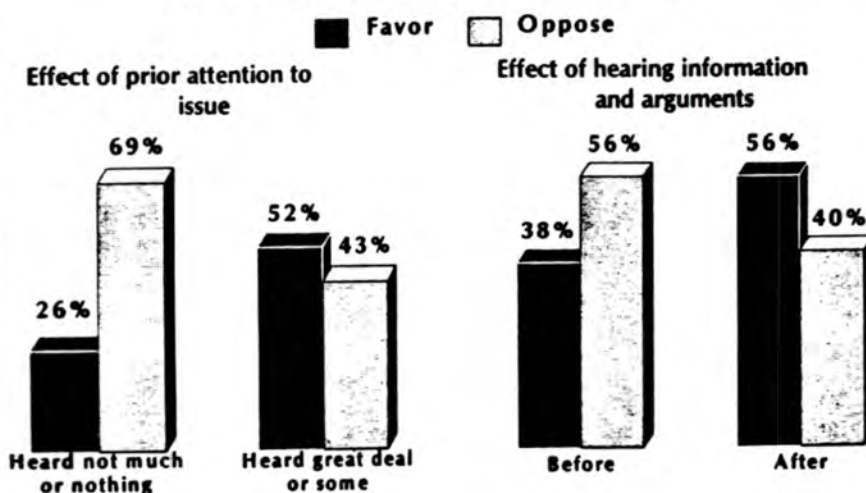
According to the agreement the US would deposit 20% of the money, while other countries would deposit the rest. This money would not be given to these Asian countries, but would be put at risk. If the Asian economies recover, the US would get all its money back. However if things get much worse, the US could lose this money.

After going through the process of hearing the pro and con arguments, support for IMF funding went up to a majority of 56% with 40% opposed—an 18% jump.

Respondents were then read a series of pro and con arguments. As shown in the chart on this page, the pro arguments were found to be more convincing than the con arguments. Both pro arguments elicited majority support, and both con arguments did not.

2 A large majority overestimates how much the US would deposit with the IMF as compared to other countries, and this diminishes support. Among those who correctly estimate the US share, a majority favors depositing funds. When respondents hear information about the size of the US portion, support goes up significantly.

Support for IMF Funding in Response to Asian Crisis



Before receiving any information, respondents were asked to estimate the US share of the funds to go to the IMF in response to the Asian crisis. Only 28% correctly chose the option of "about a quarter" (the actual amount is 20%). Sixty-six percent overestimated by saying "about half" (36%), "about three-quarters" (25%) or "all" (5%).

Apparently this misperception diminishes support. Among those who overestimated the US share only 32% favored IMF funding, while among those who correctly estimated the US share 52% favored it.

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The Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) is a joint program of the Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland and the Center for the Study of Policy Attitudes. PIPA undertakes research on American attitudes in both the public and in the policymaking community toward a variety of international and foreign policy issues. It seeks to disseminate its findings to members of government, the press, and the public, as well as academia.

The Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland (CISSM), at the University of Maryland's School for Public Affairs, pursues policy-oriented scholarship on major issues facing the United States in the global arena. Using its research, forums, and publications, CISSM links the University and the policy community to improve communication between scholars and practitioners.

The Center for the Study of Policy Attitudes (CSPA) is an independent nonprofit organization of social science researchers devoted to increasing understanding of public and elite attitudes shaping contemporary public policy. Using innovative research methods, CSPA seeks not only to examine overt policy opinions or positions, but to reveal the underlying values, assumptions, and feelings that sustain opinions.

Acknowledgements

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Steven Kull, Clay Ramsay, and Monica Wolford designed the questionnaire and wrote the analysis.

I.M. Destler, Ivo Daalder, Fran Burwell and Fred Steeper contributed to the development of the questionnaire.

Karin Johnston and Giselle Goicochea contributed to the production of the report.

CCI Communication Inc. carried out the telephone interviewing. Scientific Samples supplied the random-digit sample.

The search of existing poll data was done with the aid of the Roper POLL database.

file global leadership

*Melanne -
Good idea!*

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
Hillary Rodham Clinton

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

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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:

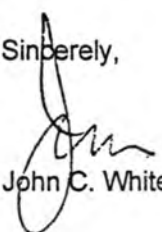
- Sponsor and organize a bipartisan White House conference of eminent diplomats, scholars, labor leaders, NGO representatives, businessmen and young Americans on the importance of foreign policy and how a strong United Nations is greatly in the interest of the United States. Perhaps this could be supplemented 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,

JCW:kr

Sincerely,


John C. Whitehead

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Preliminary Draft Remarks by HRC on US Engagement in International Affairs

Personal Observations

Whenever I travel abroad, I see fascinating evidence of our country's deep engagement throughout the world. I see American business functioning effectively in many countries. I see the sites of significant imports from the United States around the world. I see micro-enterprise and community development that can signal the promise of emerging markets in developing countries for American goods and services.

Similarly, I hear from various parts of our government about scientific cooperation of great significance – all the way from fundamental physics to the space station to AIDS research and child development studies.

From the Department of Defense there are military-to-military talks with leaders of emerging democracies in which they learn how to work under civilian authority and how to function in a democratic society.

In education, a great many American students are learning in overseas settings. Simultaneously, large numbers of students from other countries vote with their feet to study in American universities – and often go home to become leaders in their own societies.

And of course American tourists are to be found in every nook and cranny of the world – to learn, enjoy, and build friendly relations.

Altogether, it is a remarkable fact that more than two million Americans are in other countries on any given day of the year. There are many good and sufficient reasons for making friendships among individuals, groups and governments. Life is with people. Our extensive involvement with people everywhere helps us to envision our common humanity as a kind of extended family.

Fostering Democracy throughout the World

The building of democratic institutions is certainly one crucial, albeit complicated and frustratingly slow, component of helping people live together peacefully over the long term. In a world full of ethnocentrism, prejudice and violent conflict, there is a vital need for core democratic values in helping to resolve ethnic and religious conflicts, and preventing their escalation to violence.

Worldwide, there is a potentially major role for the international community in building democratic norms, practices and institutions. This involves widespread, fair participation of people in decisions which strongly affect their lives. Historically, there is little precedent for well organized, international efforts to help substantially with this process of democratization – yet there is enough experience to know that it is not beyond human ingenuity.

An important part of the widespread understanding that must be achieved is that democracy is able to cope well with conflict at a nonviolent level through shared norms and the rule of law reinforced by institutional mechanisms. It is a game that all can play with reasonably good results so long as they accept the rules of the game that are mutually agreed upon, updated periodically by common consent. These ideas are attractive in virtually all cultures once they are adequately understood. They include explicit respect for the dignity of individuals and the protection of basic human rights.

Why Engagement Now?

Addressing U.S. engagement in the world around us is singularly timely. In this decade, we have experienced the dramatic end of the cold war with concomitant drastic changes involving people everywhere. We are living through a remarkable world transformation driven by rapid and extensive changes in science and technology, especially in telecommunications. There are very fast

worldwide flows of information, ideas, capital, and technology in a highly interdependent worldwide economy. Any nation left out is at peril.

Another aspect of this world transformation is the global dissemination of high-tech weapons. This raises serious threats: 1) Regional wars of great devastation (like the Gulf war). 2) Growing damage from terrorism as an ongoing, low-intensity war between South and North. 3) Intra-state wars and genocides of fierce intensity (like Bosnia and Rwanda). These major shifts in the world situation challenge traditional assumptions and prior policies, however successful they were. We have entered a new era and need to ask what policies we need now.

What Can We Expect

In the next century strength, power and leadership will depend on a mix of military, economic, political, intellectual and psychological attributes. Military forces will be essential. They must be used judiciously and sparingly in relation to new dangers. Economic vigor now rests even more heavily than before on knowledge and skill. Knowledge is derived largely from research and development. Skill is derived largely from education, training, and retraining throughout the life span. These assets are now more important than most natural resources; indeed they determine how we make use of natural resources. In economic performance, domestic and foreign policies are closely interwoven.

To work effectively in the global economy, we will need not only much more technical competence throughout the workforce, but also much more knowledge of other countries -- their languages, cultures and economies.

What does the U.S. stand for in the world? There is a human rights core, and democratic institutions that protect and expand those rights. We now know how powerful these values have been in Europe and elsewhere during the cold war. Continued improvement of our own institutions and how they function will be a significant part of our future influence in the world.

Utilizing our national institutions, we are in a strong position to develop new ideas, foster innovation, vigorously supply the entire gamut of research and development, and foster their application in the ongoing improvement of products and services. Our universities and such government institutions as NSF and NIH are symbols of this leadership.

Our emphasis on openness -- to new ideas, to trade, to visitors, to world diversity -- constitutes a strong asset. This goes hand in hand with our strong emphasis on democracy, mutual respect, humanitarian values and cooperative activities all over the world. These basic orientations provide a framework for addressing major foreign policy issues. To make use of these fundamental assets, we must be deeply engaged in world affairs.

The U.S. Role in International Affairs

So what then is the United States role? In general, leadership – given the vast resources and capacities of our country. But this cannot mean an all or none concept: either we get our way exactly as we prefer or we become isolationist; either a massive military intervention or passive avoidance. These stark choices are not reasonable.

We have much strength to draw on in many ways, depending on the nature of the problem. These strengths are not only military and economic but political and social as well. There is great respect in the world for our freedom, our science and technology, our ingenuity, our democratic standards, our rich diversity, even our entertainment media. All that gives us an excellent opportunity to elicit cooperation from others in building democratic institutions and preventing deadly conflict.

Yet we cannot be everywhere and do everything. We cannot be the world's policeman. Certainly we should not and do not wish to be (or be seen as) a hegemonic or neo-imperialist power. There is in fact much apprehension in the world about our putatively excessive power -- or at least insensitive use of that power.

American leadership must mean drawing on our best resources: intellectual, technical, and moral as well as material resources; being thoughtful, well-informed, active, creative and respectful of others in helping to figure out where are the great dangers, how can we cope, what is the moral and practical basis for dealing constructively with international problems.

We must do our part. That surely includes our support of relevant international institutions. Different nations and different organizations will take leadership in different situations. There will be novel configurations for different cases. Sometimes the American role will be large and sometimes not so large. But never indifferent, isolationist or xenophobic.

Interestingly, this view is consistent with the most recent careful surveys of American public opinion

1. 89% of Americans think that when there is a problem in the world that requires the use of military force, it is best for the United States to address the problem through the United Nations rather than going it alone.
2. 79% of Americans believe that the United States should participate in UN efforts to maintain peace, protect human rights and promote economic development because such efforts serve US interests.
3. 70% of Americans believe that foreign aid to newly democratic countries is a good investment because democracies are more stable, have better human rights and are more likely to be friends with the US

4. 73% of Americans feel that for the US to move away from a role as world policeman and reduce the burden of its large defense budget, we should invest in efforts to strengthen the UN's ability to deal with potential conflicts in the world.

On the eve of the twenty-first century, we need a broad conception of national interest, which encompasses enlightened self-interest and a realistic appraisal of the contemporary world. When serious problems in other countries are dismissed as distant and inconsequential, we run the risk of undermining the vitality of hard-won international norms. In a world of increased economic and political interdependence, in which national well being increasingly depends on the security and prosperity of other states and peoples, indifference of this sort could have corrosive and consequential effects for everyone. Rather than rely on obsolete notions of national interest, leaders must develop formulations that reflect this new reality.

In this context, we must encompass developing countries, even the poorest, in our worldview. There are terrible risks growing out of degraded conditions anywhere: the fostering of hatred and terrorism, of infectious pandemics, of massive refugee flows, of dangerous environmental effects. All these risks must be taken into account in a world of unprecedented proximity and interdependence. They will have a bearing on realistic appraisals of national interest and our role in the international community. Our interest in the well being

of people in faraway places serves the most vital of all interests—human survival, including our own.

Building a Constituency for International Engagement

After World War II leaders such as Harry Truman and George Marshall looked beyond the wartime devastation and the underlying hostilities to envision a Europe in which regional cooperation would transcend adversarial boundaries and traditional rivalries. They believed that large-scale economic cooperation would facilitate not only postwar recovery but also long-term prosperity and international peace.

Bringing this vision to fulfillment required creative efforts to educate the public, mobilize key constituencies, and persuade reluctant partners. Maintaining this support required courageous use of scarce political capital. For example, the Marshall Plan initially enjoyed very little support among the American public. Had it not been for the determination and skill of Harry Truman, this great achievement would never have come to pass.

An enduring constituency for international engagement can be fostered through measures that identify public inclinations toward engagement and reinforce these impulses with clear rationales, approaches, and successful examples. It helps to have analogies from familiar contexts of home and

community. Such efforts are more likely to succeed if leaders from multiple sectors are involved: government, media, the business community, and active groups in civil society.

A useful model is provided by our experience in public health over several decades. A strong constituency for preventing deadly diseases has emerged. Public awareness campaigns about health risks and preventive behavior have led to remarkable improvements in public health. Concepts like “an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure” have taken hold in the public imagination. They are reflected positively in improved rates of immunization, better diet and exercise practices, and reduced cigarette smoking. This model of dedicated leadership and public education can be usefully applied to the international arena. Earlier in this century, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt employed a similar approach, utilizing familiar examples, to make the imperative of international cooperative security during and after World War II meaningful for the American people. This strategy helped the United States to overcome domestic isolationist sentiments.

Public Opinion and International Engagement

In the past few years, there has been growing concern about the United States reverting to the isolationist posture of the post- World War I era and forsaking the active internationalist role that it has performed so successfully

since World War II, when U.S. leadership was instrumental in the creation of the UN, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and NATO. Yet, careful analysis of recent survey research shows that public opinion does not support an isolationist withdrawal. As I have said, survey research indicates that the American public is not becoming parochial and isolationist. A large majority of Americans support U.S. involvement in international affairs. The American public does not support the idea of America acting as the world's policeman or going it alone. Americans prefer a revival of the kind of cooperative leadership and collective security that the United States demonstrated in supporting the creation of the UN and other international institution.

Americans support the development of the United Nations as a major vehicle for international action. They believe that the protection of human rights and the maintenance of global security are best achieved through collective efforts. Indeed, most Americans wish to see the United States assume a shared leadership role in multilateral organizations. Polls also show that Americans support foreign aid, particularly when it is used for humanitarian purposes.

Americans are aware that our prosperity and quality of life are increasingly linked to conditions in other countries. However, polls show that Americans have significant misunderstandings about some U.S. programs abroad. When asked to guess the amount now spent on foreign aid, the average estimate was about fifteen percent of the federal budget. Yet the actual number is less than one

percent. Americans also believe that the United States carries a much larger share of the international burden of helping the world's poor than it actually does.

Most Americans want the United States to play an active role in international affairs, both for moral reasons and for reasons of domestic benefit. Yet international issues have low salience for most people. There is a kind of silent majority on these issues that is shouted down by a small minority of highly activated anti-foreign zealots. So we need a sustained campaign of intersectoral leadership to activate American public opinion with accurate information and a moral basis for long term engagement in world affairs. This meeting signifies the opportunity for that kind of leadership. Let us join together for this great mission.



U. S. AGENCY FOR
INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT

*file global
leadership*

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 <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 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 Schray	President, Schray & 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.