

R. Feinberg

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 24, 1994

Melanne,

This is Alec Watson's speech to the
Roundtable of Western Hemisphere Women
Leaders--it's really first-rate!

Ru

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Remarks by Alexander F. Watson
Assistant Secretary of State
for Inter-American Affairs
to
INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE AND
INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR
RESEARCH ON WOMEN
MEETING ON INVESTING IN WOMEN

Inter-
American
Dialogue

Washington, D.C.
October 6, 1994

Thank you very much. It is indeed a pleasure to be here with you this evening, and an honor to be here with so many distinguished experts on issues of concern to women in the Western Hemisphere. Throughout the Americas, women have played central roles in historic events, such as the women soldiers or Adelitas in the Mexican revolution, women suffragists in the United States, and the Argentine mothers in the Plaza de Mayo. And, of course, women contribute more quietly and often at great sacrifice to the quotidian struggle for life and dignity throughout the hemisphere. Yet for reasons which have only been all too apparent, their contributions to society and the family are often overlooked, and they are very frequently the victims of discrimination. Perhaps the traditional pain and suffering of women in the Americas was best captured by the Argentine poetess, Alfonsina Storni, in her 1920 poem "La que comprende." In this poem, Storni portrays a pregnant woman in church, imploring: "Senor, el hijo mio que no nazca mujer." (Lord, let my child not be born a woman).

Despite progress in recent years, women in our hemisphere are disproportionately poor. Prior to and during the 1980s both the absolute numbers and the proportion of women among the poor increased. Many women in our hemisphere live in precarious conditions; one example is that maternal mortality rates are estimated at 270 per 100,000 live births. Women suffer more than men from anemia, stunted growth from lack of proteins and calories, and iodine deficiency. In nine countries of the region, female illiteracy is 15% or more, and in three of them more than half the women are illiterate.

Although many countries in the region have enjoyed steady economic growth for the last 5 years, we must really question the value of economic development if its fruits are not going to be enjoyed fully by half of the population.

In short, women are interested in and deeply affected by the central issues the United States and the other countries in this hemisphere are trying to address: issues of democracy, prosperity, and equity.

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The Summit of the Americas at which the chiefs of state and heads of government of the Western Hemisphere will convene at President Clinton's invitation in Miami in a couple of months will focus explicitly on these issues through its three central themes of Making Democracy Work: Reinventing Government, Making Democracy Prosperous: Hemispheric Economic Integration, and Making Democracy Endure: Sustainable Development.

We believe that specific initiatives generated by the Summit of the Americas will be tools to forge opportunities for both women and men, and to further the progress women have already achieved.

Making Democracy Work: Reinventing Government

Women cannot become full partners in the hemisphere's development until their right to live free from all forms of violence or discrimination in both public and private spheres is recognized and protected. Women's rights are human rights, and violence against women should be seen as a human rights violation and as a public rather than a private issue. Through an initiative under the rubric of "Making Democracy Work," the United States is proposing to our colleagues in the hemisphere actions to encourage development of private voluntary associations, many of which have been pioneers in protecting women's rights.

Although civil and family codes affecting women have been very restrictive in the past, many encouraging new laws have been passed to address these problems in our hemisphere. In the United States, some of the best examples have happened within our own lifetimes: legislation providing for widows otherwise facing destitution to gain access to the Social Security pensions of their husbands; legislation protecting women's rights to property and credit in their own names; and a judicial system and police force becoming more responsive and sensitive to women's needs for protection from domestic violence.

Important legislation has also been passed in other countries of the hemisphere, such as the new family codes in El Salvador and Trinidad and Tobago. For all of us, the continuing challenge is to see that such legislation is improved and -- even more importantly -- faithfully implemented.

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In Brazil, another example, police stations staffed by women and for women have encouraged women to denounce attacks against them. These special police stations have been a model followed by other countries. I can remember when I was in Brazil as Deputy Chief of Mission of our Embassy these Delegacias were being established for the first time and I remember talking at great length with a leading Brazilian political figure and leader of this fight for women's rights in Brazil, Ruth Escobar, on exactly how these Delegacias were working.

But beyond legislation and government programs, the key to women's becoming fully partners in our hemisphere lies in a generalized awareness that the future of society is dependent upon full partnership of citizens regardless of gender.

Women can only become full partners in the hemisphere's development, however, when they have an equal opportunity to influence and decide public policy at all levels. In Latin America and the Caribbean we have seen efforts to involve women in public policy through political affirmative action. For example, in Argentina a law requires political parties to present slates with a minimum of 30% female candidates. The group assembled here tonight is a living example of what all women can achieve, if given the basic opportunities and resources.

The United States will propose an initiative at the Summit of the Americas, under the theme of "Making Democracy Work", which would commit governments of the region to take concrete actions to encourage the development throughout the hemisphere of civic-minded NGOs, and private voluntary organizations, such as Poder Ciudadano and Conciencia in Argentina, and Participa in Chile, which are major threads in the fabric of civil society.

Making Democracy Endure: Sustainable Development

Improving and implementing legislation to protect women is not enough by itself. Women make a significant contribution to economic development, and deserve recognition and encouragement in their endeavors in the informal economy and deserve an opportunity to participate in the formal economy. Women in urban areas are skillful entrepreneurs, starting up small businesses with next to no seed money. Estimates are that in the shantytowns or favelas surrounding large cities, a staggering percentage - up to 70 - 80 % - of households are headed by women.

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U.S. AID and the Inter-American Development Bank have introduced micro-enterprise loans to encourage and nurture microenterprise as an employment alternative, with great success. At the Summit of the Americas, the United States will propose an initiative on Nurturing Microenterprise, an integrated set of projects that would further promote microenterprise and small business development. These projects could help non-governmental organizations provide financing on market terms, reduce legal obstacles that hurt microenterprises, lower transaction costs for small loans made by commercial banks to microenterprises, and encourage the development of business advisory services for small businesses -- all of which should benefit women.

Another critically important area to improve women's standard of living throughout the hemisphere is health care. Women's health is a factor in the productive capacity of countries all over the world, and its importance was just recently recognized in the Cairo Conference on Population. The Summit of the Americas, through an initiative on equitable access to basic health services proposed by the United States, could call for each country's commitment to ensure equitable, universal access to basic health services so as to reduce child mortality rates in the region by one third and maternal mortality rates by half by the year 2000.

Although human rights, economic opportunities, political affirmative action, and health are all important, we must not forget education. In the very high-growth economies of East Asia, for example, resources were targeted in the 1950's and 1960's to give priority to universal primary education of girls and boys. I think that Nancy Birdsall has been a pioneer in analyzing this data. This front-loading of resources formed a solid base for girls and boys to continue successfully into secondary and university-level education.

In some countries there are still gender biases and stereotypes limiting women's occupational choices to dead-end, low-paying jobs. Let all of us in the hemisphere examine our educational programs with the objective of replacing gender-restrictive stereotypes with encouragement and opportunities for girls and boys throughout their lives. Careful and hard-hitting economic studies by the World Bank and others have shown that educating girls and women is an essential investment with a very high return in economic productivity, improved health, sustainable population growth, better natural resource management and greater civic participation. All of these benefits will serve our hemisphere well in competing in the new world environment of free trade and economic integration.

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Through an initiative of "Universal Access to Quality Primary Education", the United States proposes that the Summit of the Americas call for a hemispheric partnership to re-focus existing resources more effectively toward quality primary education through reforms in financing, decentralization and a reordering of budget priorities so as to achieve 100% primary school completion rates and 75% secondary school enrollment by the year 2000.

There is still a long way to go before women are full partners in our hemisphere. But times are certainly changing. Today, from Rigoberta Menchu in Guatemala to dissident poet Maria Elena Cruz Varela in Cuba, women are speaking out with conviction, defending not only their rights but those of their fellow human beings. I believe that if she were here now, the woman in Alfonsina Storni's poem would be encouraged to see the changes forged by people like yourselves, and would share the hope which we all share for the future of women -- and men -- in our hemisphere. Thank you very much.



Inter-American
Dialogue



International Center for
Research on Women

November 21, 1994

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
OEOB - Room 100
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Verveer:

We are pleased to present the enclosed *Communiqué*, addressed to the presidents and prime ministers who will meet at the Summit of the Americas, and unanimously endorsed by the Roundtable of Western Hemisphere Women Leaders. It presents a succinct blueprint for opening civic and economic participation to women. Assistant Secretary Alexander Watson emphasized in his remarks to the Roundtable—included in the enclosed publication—that "the future of society is dependent upon full partnership of citizens regardless of gender," yet there is no official place on the Summit's agenda to discuss women's perspectives.

We hope you will find this *Communiqué* a constructive contribution to the planning of the Summit and urge you to help establish a place on the Summit's agenda for investing in women.

Sincerely,

Mayra Buvinic
President
ICRW

Peter Hakim
President
Inter-American Dialogue

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Communiqué

TO THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE AMERICAS



THE ROUNDTABLE OF WESTERN HEMISPHERE
WOMEN LEADERS

Inter-American Dialogue ■ *International Center for Research on Women*

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

BRIEFING BOOK
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- 6 - "Starting a Political Committee to Build a Constituency for U.S. Global Engagement and Leadership," a proposal from Karen Mulhauser.
- 7 - "Americans Want a Place in Global Village," Stephen S. Rosenfeld, *Washington Post*, July 26, 1996.
- 8 - NSC Legislative Update

Front Pocket - "Global Interdependence and the Need for Social Stewardship," Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

MC.
Terry Bracey
Suite 900 South
601 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Friend:

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

Mr. Graham T. Allison
Harvard University
John F. Kennedy School of Government
79 John F. Kennedy Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Mr. Allison:

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.

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Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

Mr. John Bryant
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Sara Lee Corporation
Three First National Plaza
Chicago, Illinois 60602

Dear Mr. Bryant:

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.

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Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

Mr. John Young
Former President and Chief Executive Officer
Hewlett-Packard Company
1501 Page Mill Road
Palo Alto, California 94305

Dear Mr. Young:

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.

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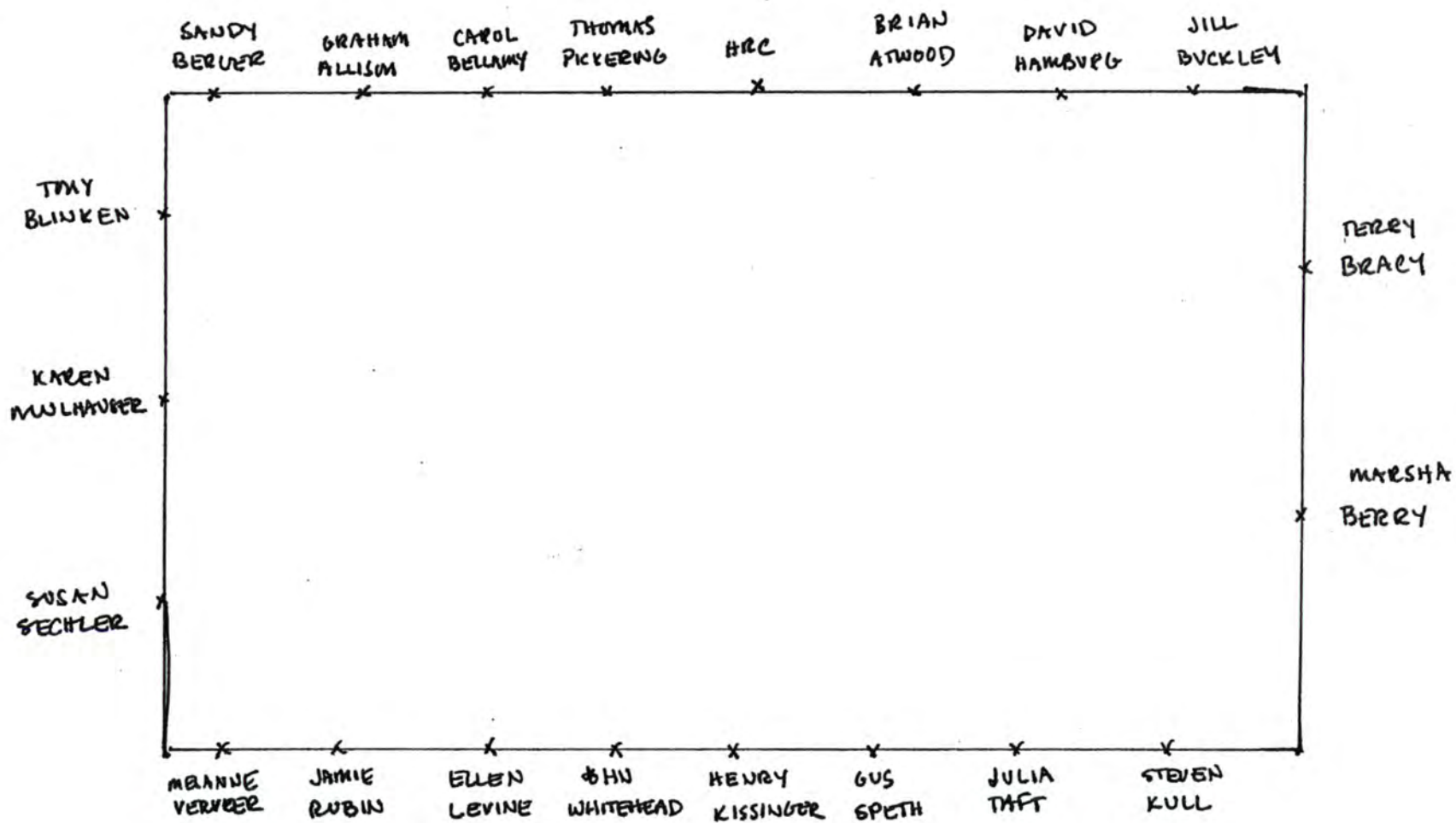
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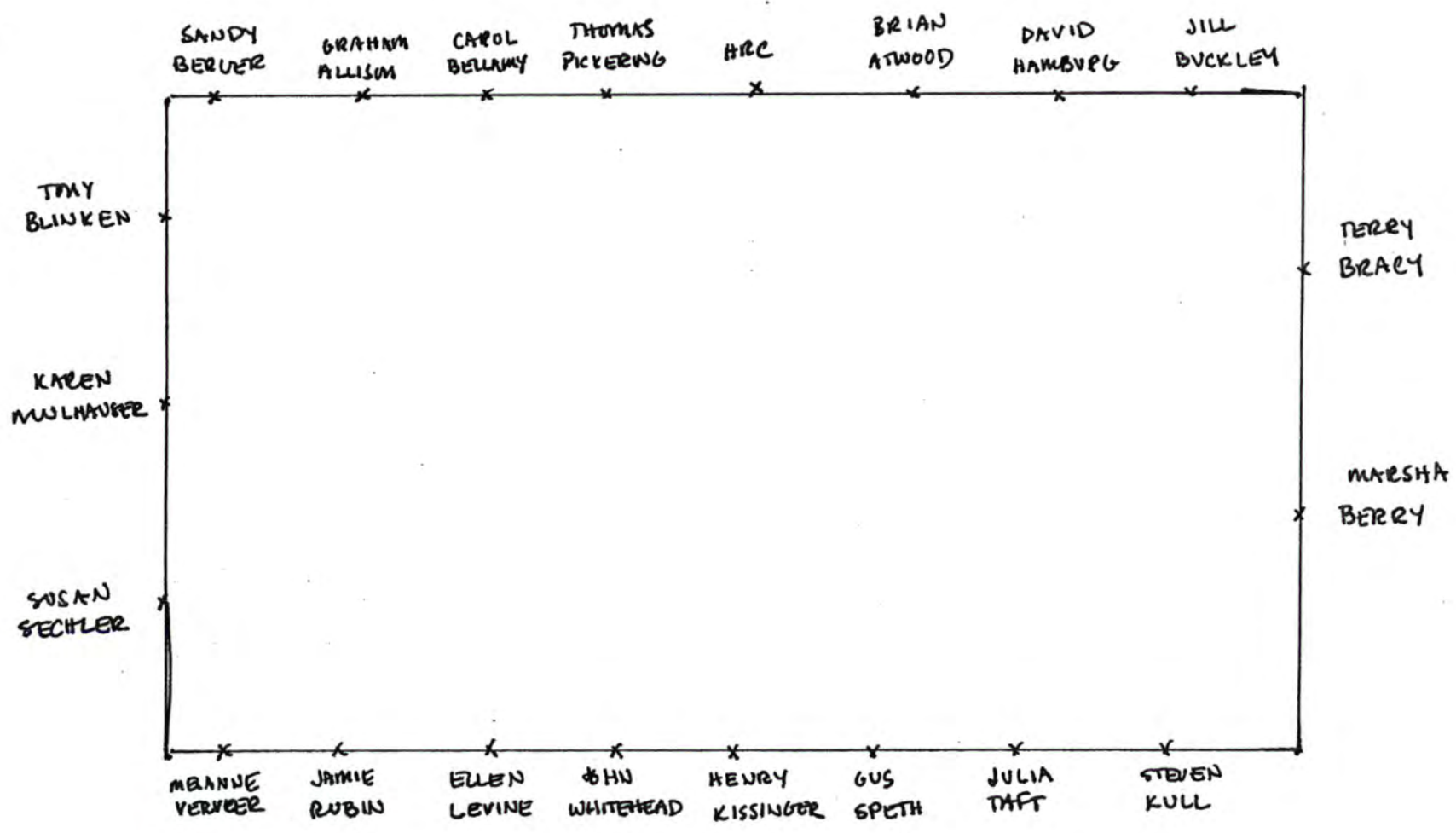
Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

DOOR



DOOR



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 26, 1998

Mr. David A. Hamburg, M.D.
President
Carnegie Corporation of New York
437 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Dr. Hamburg:

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.

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Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

Ms. Carol Bellamy
UNICEF
Thirteenth Floor
Three United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017

Dear Ms. Bellamy:

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.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

Professor Steven Kull
7409 Fairfax Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20814

Dear Professor Kull:

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Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

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

Dear Ms. Spero:

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Hillary Rodham Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

Mr. John E. Pepper
Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer
The Procter & Gamble Company
One Procter & Gamble Plaza
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

Dear Mr. Pepper:

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.

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Hillary Rodham Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

Ms. Karen Mulhauser
Mulhauser & Associates
Suite 712
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Ms. Mulhauser:

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.

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Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

Mr. Newton Minnow
Counsel
Sidley & Austin
Suite 4800
One First National Plaza
Chicago, Illinois 60603

Dear Mr. Minnow:

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.

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Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

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

Dear Ms. Levine:

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Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

Mr. James Johnson
3900 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016

Dear Mr. Johnson:

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.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

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

Dear Reverend Hehir:

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

Mr. Peter Hart
Peter Hart and Associates
1724 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Dear Mr. Hart:

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.

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Sincerely yours,

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

The Honorable Lee Hamilton
U.S. House of Representatives
2314 Rayburn Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Representative Hamilton:

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.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

Mr. Colin Cambell
President
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
437 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Cambell:

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.

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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**

Julia
Taft

Gus
Speth

Lee
Hamilton

Henry
Kissinger

John
Whitehead

Ellen
Levine

Jamie
Rubin

Steven
Kull

Terry
Bracey

Jill
Buckley

Melanne
Verveer

Marsha
Berry

Susan
Sechler

Prof.
Graham
Allison

Tony
Blinken

Karen
Mulhauser

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.'"

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1998

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

Dear Mr. Whitehead:

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Hillary Rodham Clinton



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 the efforts that are trying to deal holistically with the 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, we focused on foreign policy. Today, a new 'g-w' forces us to rethink our interests worldwide. It's not just trade and finance, but 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-
ates in the long haul

ed Turner, Vice Chairman, Time Warner Inc.

overseas to serve glory, geostrategy ruled our "d" — globalization — à-vis developing countries are globalizing; so are other risks. It's in our world become a more to 78% of humanity."

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace



Chief Evans Wyatt

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 Center¹ 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 — are treated justly — paid adequate working and housing conditions — environment is treated well, ours breathe the same air, our oceans in circulates around the globe. I hope where we respect and learn from each other 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%
Helping improve living standards in developing nations	23%
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.

we all do well — but economic justice. If people are given acceptable standards of living, we all benefit. If their standards are low, we all suffer. We all will thrive. We all will prosper. Our weather is changing, our weather is changing for a unified world. We can move forward and can move



— Ron Sayles Belton, Mayor, Minneapolis MN

"American businesses have a tremendous impact on the world. This is obvious at Starbucks — a global presence and a sampler that supports CA in nearly every business I can think of. Clothes, the food in your supermarket, the computer. What we sometimes dismiss as an integral part of our economy. Markets for millions of products. Support is not charity — it's an investment. And

— Howard Schultz, CEO

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 1994.²

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?



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E — but it's also the case
Check the labels in your
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as the 'Third World' is in
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it's the right thing to do."



Chairman and CEO, Starbucks Coffee Company

Steven: In general economic terms, definitely. A 1993 study³ 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 poll⁴, 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 systems: our atmosphere, oceans, river communities. What people in developing countries do, how they feed and clothe themselves, how they participate in the global economy and vice versa. If we are to live in a sustainable world, we all must work in partnership 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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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-

problems in develop-
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thatundaram, Student Leader, UC Berkeley

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

— 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.⁵ 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.





...economic interest to peace, democracy and our highest moral interest and many other faiths. All people and nations are the people of God's children and as prophetic witnesses to the world."



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 land — not something I left behind [Kyrgyzstan 95-97]. As a 9th grade ES teacher in San Francisco, I teach in a school population that is 80% Hispanic. Their problems and experiences are very real. Their disrupted educations and violence have to do with their problems. Their problems are very literal and are their strengths and contributions."

— 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

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

and Columbia University Peace Corps Fellow



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.

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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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.



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) 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*

Starting a Political Committee to Build
A Constituency for US Global Engagement and Leadership
Proposal from Karen Mulhauser
A Prospectus
January, 1997

For various reasons, the time now seems appropriate to start a political action committee for the purpose of building and mobilizing a constituency of concerned citizens who want to support political candidates who support global policies.

A select group of concerned individuals (see attached list and letter of invitation) was approached to attend a brainstorming session in December, 1996 to consider alternative approaches to organizing direct electoral support for Congressional candidates who support a global agenda. There is great interest and willingness to work together toward this end.

Participants agreed that the next step is to do some preliminary research in early 1997 to determine the best approach for starting a PAC. This three to four month research period would allow an opportunity to test the breadth and depth of support for this concept, to determine which issues and concerns are best to define the political committee, to determine if start-up moneys are available, and to learn how best to begin, maintain and serve a growing list of contributors and activists.

Karen Mulhauser, President of Mulhauser and Associates, is prepared to work with the group on a part time basis during winter and spring, 1997 to conduct this research and do preliminary activities necessary to legally establish the committee. What follows is:

- **Background:** a brief description of relevant factors indicating why a political committee on global issues is more likely to be sustained now than in previous years;
- **Proposed concept** to be tested;
- **Proposed work plan** for the research period;
- **Budget;**
- **Initial list** of concerned individuals
- **Biographic sketch** of Karen Mulhauser.

I Background

While it continues to be true that most Americans are reluctant to increase US involvement in global affairs (questioning why we would send money to other countries that we could spend at home or concern about supporting corrupt governments), there is none-the-less, strong support for economic and humanitarian assistance to the people in developing countries, once misconceptions are dispelled about how these limited resources are actually used. Strong majorities approve programs for child survival, family planning and other health and education programs that improve the lives of the world's poorest people. In addition, there is emerging awareness that as development aid stimulates long-term economic growth in the developing world, there is parallel growth in US exports and US jobs.

The Congressional attack on foreign assistance that has escalated since the 1994 elections, has caused an unusual and unprecedented reaction from many individuals and organizations that support economic development assistance. NGOs and other organizations that had not previously had advocacy programs have put human and financial resources into establishing programs to educate members of Congress about the benefits to the United States of a strong foreign assistance program.

One result of this increased advocacy activity is that the individual members of participating organizations have a new awareness of the importance of entering public policy debates on critical foreign policy issues. For many of these individuals, the logical next step is to become involved in re-electing supportive members of Congress and "throwing the rascals out."

New Initiatives:

Coalitions

Important coalitions have emerged to assess public opinion, develop appropriate messages to shape public judgment and bring these messages to the general public and opinion leaders, including elected officials. Noteworthy among these efforts are:

- the Advocacy Committee of InterAction which brings together representatives of its member organizations to bring their separate and collective information to the attention of Congress;
- The Campaign to Preserve US Global Leadership initially involved several organizations, including AIPAC, Citizens Democracy Corps, InterAction and Population Action International, and now works with 125 groups with access to millions of concerned Americans. The objective of the Campaign is to stop further reductions in the international affairs account of the federal budget;
- the Business Alliance for Economic Development dedicated to informing the public and elected officials about the connection between properly implemented foreign economic assistance and the expansion of US exports and jobs.

In addition to these important emerging collaborations, many organizations are dramatically increasing their separate advocacy roles. Notable are the works of the National Peace Corps Association, CARE, World Vision, Population Action International and other groups concerned with foreign assistance.

All of these initiatives are mobilizing important educational efforts to inform Congress of the importance of recognizing the United States leadership role in the global community. They are also educating large numbers of individuals about their civic responsibility to enter policy debates. But none of the organizations or collaborations involved in these advocacy and education efforts is legally established to inform its constituency about which members of Congress are deserving of voters' support and which should be defeated in their next elections.

Now more than ever, there is a growing constituency poised to be mobilized to support the candidates who will support a global agenda.

Presidential politics

Throughout the last months of the Presidential elections, Karen Mulhauser chaired the Global Leadership Desk of the Clinton/Gore campaign. In this capacity, she was able to send regular fax messages to several hundred interested individuals, convene background briefing sessions in the campaign headquarters for individuals who were both interested in how to promote the campaign's foreign policy messages, and how to get involved in get-out-the-vote projects throughout the country. The Global Leadership Desk provided opportunities for Washington area volunteers to use phone banks to alert their friends and colleagues in key states about campaign activities that needed their support. Unlike other Clinton/Gore outreach efforts that mobilized their constituencies (such as women, Jewish, gay and lesbian, African American, education, labor, etc.), the Global Leadership Outreach effort was attempting to *create* a political constituency virtually from scratch. Such an effort had never before been attempted in a Democratic Presidential campaign.

The Global Leadership Outreach effort was conceived with both a short term objective and a longer term goal. In the short term, it was hoped that the concept of mobilizing concerned voters into the campaign could be tested. The longer term goal was to turn around the image that there is no constituency for global engagement by actually involving citizens in election activities. This can best be done by bringing workers to campaigns who announce that the reason for their involvement is their concern about global issues.

In the few weeks this initiative was implemented, a list of over 600 individuals was developed which received weekly fax alerts, more than a dozen volunteers used phone banks to contact associates in targeted states to become involved in the election, four briefing sessions were convened for diverse audiences to receive updates and discuss how to make an impact in the 1996 elections and build a political constituency for the longer term. The enthusiasm that resulted from this campaign initiative has led to the idea to build on the momentum and create a non-partisan political committee for US global engagement and leadership.

II Proposed Concept

The group that came together in December for a brainstorming session agreed that the concept for a new political committee should include the following elements:

- The committee should be independent and non partisan.
- It would not duplicate or compete with existing educational efforts such as those described above, but would instead take advantage of the results of a better informed constituency and build on advocacy efforts.
- While the political committee would no doubt contribute to needed public education on global issues, its main purpose is to politically mobilize those who already understand global issues, not to educate.

After a period of research, several decisions will be made, including:

- which issues will be used to generate political involvement (humanitarian and economic assistance, international security, hunger, human rights, trade and so forth);
- the fundraising and programmatic goals;
- a decision process for identifying and supporting candidates;
- whether support will be financial only or in-kind to involve volunteers in campaigns;
- the management structure appropriate to the goals.

As currently conceived, the political committee would function as many PACs do, using established criteria for support, a questionnaire to document candidates' views and a process for making candidate support decisions. It would have a steering or advisory committee consisting of 30-50 (or more?) prominent individuals with organizations listed on letter head and in promotional materials for identification purposes only. They would be known for their diverse global leadership roles consistent with the issue agenda. They would represent both Democrats and Republicans. A smaller executive, or policy, committee would work with the small staff to select and recommend candidates for support. A list of supporters and contributors will be developed through direct mail, and other methods and would receive regular mailings about Congressional activities and votes, as well as information about how to get involved in local politics and elections. The very act of mailing to large numbers of concerned individuals with political messages will be an important step in getting people to realize it is not enough to support global development with contributions and volunteer hours - they must also elect the politicians who will vote right in Congress.

With regard to fundraising, it seems appropriate once the PAC is formed, to solicit initial support from donors able to make maximum legal contributions (\$5,000) to the PAC for start-up moneys. Research will help determine if mailing lists would become available for direct mail fundraising and what other methods of generating non-tax deductible support are possible.

III Proposed Work Plan

Research can begin as soon as funding is available for the feasibility study. A small group from among those who have already expressed interest in this concept and select others will work with Mulhauser and Associates as advisors. Information needed before efforts are made to actually form a political committee includes:

Assessment of public opinion to determine which few global issues are most appropriate to begin with. Interviews will be arranged with various public opinion experts who have either collected data on attitudes toward global involvement or have a good understanding of the issues. These would include both Democratic pollsters such as Stan Greenberg and Celinda Lake, and Republican pollsters such as Ed Goeas and Linda Duvall, as well as academic experts.

Congressional interest and issue analysis will be accomplished by talking with current and former members of Congress and Hill staff to determine if this type of citizen support can make

a difference in Congressional votes, and which legislative issues are most likely to be responsive to PAC support.

Surveys and/or interviews with prominent individuals and organization leadership. The interview tools will be design to determine if they will be willing to visibly support a non-partisan political action committee, if they would allow access to mailing lists, and in other ways help generate funds to support candidates who support a global agenda. These interviews will also help determine which issues are the best to identify and involve campaign workers and raise campaign funds.

Interviews and/or surveys of former and current members of Congress to assess their interest and level of support for the formation of a political action committee on global issues.

Meetings and conversations with leaders of existing political actions committees to learn from their experiences. Among the political committees to be contacted are Coucil for a Livable World, EMILY's List, Environmetal pacs such as League for Conservation Voters, labor pacs such as National Education Association and AFL-CIO.

Convene focus groups in targeted states to determine citizen interest. Once there is a general sense of sufficient leadership support behind the concept and if funding permits, it would be enormously valuable to test the concept in a few focus groups in potential target communities and with individuals randomly selected from potential local groups such as returned Peace Corps volunteers, and volunteers/supporters from such groups as CARE, Foreign Affairs Councils, retired military, Bread for the World, Results, and others.

IV Budget for Research

The budget presented below reflects a minimum budget to carry out the research described in this prospectus. Additional funds would make it possible to involve a colleague or colleagues in the task of data collection and no doubt reduce the time necessary for research. The budget is for four months from the time contributions are received and work can begin.

This budget does not include funds for focus group research mentioned in the prospectus. If such research seems appropriate, a separate proposal will be prepared.

Fee to Mulhauser and Associates (\$10,000 per month *)	\$40,000
Telephone, FAX (\$200 per month)	800
Postage, messenger	1,000
Telephone, FAX	500
Copying and printing	2,000
Travel	1,000
TOTAL	\$45,300

* This fee will cover Karen Mulhauser's time as the principle researcher as well as an assistant.

Effort to build a political constituency for foreign policy
List in formation of interested parties

FAX

PHONE

David Birenbaum
Tony Blinken
Barry Carter
Joe Ciriccione
Chris Conte
Charles Dambach
Vivian Derryck
William Durch
Barbara Ferris
Wendy Gray
Ernest Green
Mort Halperin
Adonis Hoffman
Gail Hoffman
(Nicole Dannenberg)
Steve Horblitt
George Ingram
John Isaacs
Bruce Jentleson
Lionel Johnson
Adrian Karatnycky
Koby Koomson
Marianne Leach
Richard Long
Victoria Markell
Janne Nolan
Carolyn Reynolds
Jeremy Rosner
Nancy Rubin
Liz Schroyer
Susan Schumacher
Ronald Scheman
Peter Shiras
John Stremlau
Jane Wales
Ted Weihe
Alan Wheat

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.

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Houston Chronicle

July 26, 1996, Friday, 3 STAR Edition

SECTION: a; Opinion; Pg. 30

LENGTH: 831 words

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

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 state 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.