



Center for National Policy

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Fax

Date: 14 SEPTEMBER 1998

To: NOA MEYER

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Number of pages (including this cover): 3

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Comment(s):

NOA:

HERE ARE TWO SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON
MUSKIE. THE BIO FROM 1985 HAS MORE INFORMATION
BUT IS OBVIOUSLY OUTDATED AND DOG-EARED.
LET ME KNOW IF YOU NEED ANYTHING ELSE.

Thanks

Am

JUNE, 1985

EDMUND SIXTUS MUSKIE

Edmund S. Muskie was born on March 28, 1914 in Rumford, Maine, the second of six children. He was graduated cum laude from Bates College in Lewiston, Maine in 1936, where he was a Phi Beta Kappa and class president. In 1939 he was graduated from Cornell University Law School. He enlisted in the U.S. Navy and served in both the Atlantic and Pacific theatres.

Mr. Muskie was elected to the Maine House of Representatives in 1946, 1948, and 1950. He served as Minority Leader during his second and third terms. From 1951-52 he served as the State Director of the Office of Price Stabilization and was the Democratic National Committeeman from 1952 to 1956.

Mr. Muskie was elected Governor of Maine in 1954 and served two terms before being elected to the United States Senate in 1958. During his twenty-two years in the Senate, he served on the Foreign Relations Committee, the Governmental Affairs Committee, the Environment and Public Works Committee, and as Chairman of the Senate Committee on the Budget. In 1968 he was the Democratic nominee for Vice President.

He is the author of the autobiographical Journeys, published in 1972 and has received over thirty honorary degrees from colleges and universities throughout the country.

Mr. Muskie was sworn in as the 58th Secretary of State on May 8, 1980 and served until January, 1981. He is currently a senior partner with Chadbourne, Parke, Whiteside & Wolff, an international law firm with offices in Washington, D.C., New York, and the United Arab Emirates.

He is the Chair of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, Chair of the Center for National Policy, and serves on the Board of Directors of

the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget. In May of 1981, Mr. Muskie received the Notre Dame Laetare Medal and the Distinguished Service Award from the Association of Former Members of Congress. He also received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in January, 1981.

Mr. Muskie married the former Jane Gray of Waterville, Maine on May 29, 1948. The Muskies have five children--Stephen, Ellen, Martha, Melinda and Edmund, Jr.--as well as five grandchildren.

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C e n t e r f o r N a t i o n a l P o l i c y

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
March 26, 1996

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CNP Chair Emeritus Edmund Muskie Praised As Dedicated Public Servant

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- The Center for National Policy today paid tribute to the dedication and the service by former CNP Chairman Emeritus, former Secretary of State and U.S. Senator, Edmund Muskie. In his years as founding member of the CNP Board, Chairman, and Chairman Emeritus, Senator Muskie contributed immensely to the success and mission of the Center.

Under his leadership, in 1989, Muskie undertook a series of foreign policy missions on behalf of CNP, focused on U.S. policy toward Cambodia and Vietnam. As one of the first Americans with senior public service to engage these countries actively following the Vietnam War, he was instrumental in developing bi-partisan support for normalization of relations with Vietnam and a more flexible approach to the negotiation of the Cambodian settlement, an approach which eventually led to U.S. support for U.N.-sponsored elections.

CNP President Maureen Steinbruner said of Muskie, "He gave a great deal to American government and to the American people. He knew better than most the value of compromise, but he also saw more clearly than many the importance of passion in lifting public spirits. He brought a high intelligence, a deep pragmatism, a warm sense of humor, and an unflagging dedication to his vocation of public service. This country will miss his presence very much."

CNP Chair and former Congressman Michael Barnes added, "Ed Muskie was one of the great Americans of our time. I have often thought how different the history of this era would have been had he been elected President in 1972. So much positive could have been accomplished, and so much negative could have been avoided. In recent years, Ed Muskie's leadership of the Center for National Policy and many other important institutions in our society has never ceased. Having traveled the roads of Maine and Washington with this remarkable man for almost 30 years, it is impossible for me to imagine either place without his imposing presence and wonderfully infectious sense of humor. He was my boss, my mentor and my hero. I will miss him beyond measure."

Following his service as President Carter's Secretary of State, and prior to assuming the chairmanship of the board in the early 1980's, he was honored as the first recipient of CNP's Distinguished Public Service Award. Edmund Muskie was chairman of the board of CNP when now U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations Madeleine K. Albright, who worked for him in the Senate, became President of CNP. Over the years, they have had a strong and close working relationship. In 1993, the Senator became Chairman Emeritus, remaining a member of the Center's Executive Committee and continuing to be active and involved in the Center's governance.

Center for National Policy

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Noa A. Meyer 09/16/98 10:00:28 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Christine N. Macy/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Foreign Policy Legislative Update

----- Forwarded by Noa A. Meyer/WHO/EOP on 09/16/98 10:01 AM -----



Matt Gobush

09/14/98 05:56:32 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Noa A. Meyer/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Foreign Policy Legislative Update

Noa - Here's what our legislative folks provided us. Can you distill from this raw info the rhetoric you need? I'm out this evening, unfortunately (catching the Skins game!) - feel free to contact Tony directly at 69371 if you need immediate help, or we can talk first thing tomorrow AM. Sorry not to be more thorough.... Thanks, Matt

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.

Preventing World Recession

A quarter of a century ago when Washington was mired in scandal, the greatest challenge to global prosperity since the Great Depression presented itself in the form of an Arab oil embargo that promptly led to spiraling inflation, recession in the Western world and, within a few years, a third-world debt crisis that stifled development in Latin America for a generation. The largest economies were unable to respond to those challenges in a timely manner, and the world suffered.

Now, with Washington immersed in another scandal, another major threat to world prosperity has arisen from the collapse in Asia and plunging commodity prices that endanger much of the past decade's progress in developing countries. There is reason to hope the response this time will be better. The Group of Seven countries say they will cooperate in stimulating world growth. Those actions should include a coordinated lowering of interest rates by central banks in Europe and America.

The current crisis has brought on a widespread shift in investor psychology. Those who invested in developing countries with too little regard for risk now can see only risk as they flee. That capital flight has forced developing countries to raise interest rates to protect their currencies, thus putting a further drag on economies already in recession. Many such countries depend on the export of commodities, whose prices have plunged as world growth has slowed. Many companies, particularly

in Asia, are unable to meet their dollar-denominated debt obligations because their home currencies have collapsed.

President Clinton, in an important economic address in New York this week, was right to say the world must look for ways to ameliorate those problems by spurring growth in the industrial world, particularly in Japan, whose own recession could not be occurring at a worse time. He was also right that ways need to be found to relieve some of the debts facing Asian countries.

None of that will be easy. In retrospect, the International Monetary Fund probably pushed for policies that were too restrictive when the Asian crisis erupted a year ago. But its aid is needed more than ever in the current situation, as countries deal with panicky investors.

It is a measure of the sad state of the Clinton Presidency that the President's effort to address the world's economic problems was viewed by many through a Monica prism, with commentators wondering whether Mr. Clinton was trying to change the subject. The real question here is whether the American Government can deal effectively with major problems at the same time Congress considers the Starr report. Congress should immediately provide the \$18 billion needed by the I.M.F., and its leaders should make clear that they are open to further actions that may be needed to avert a world recession.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

J. Ronald Scheman

Action Plan for the IMF

Anyone who questions whether we are living in a global economy needs to reflect carefully on the financial turmoil of the past few weeks. We can no longer escape the issue of how to manage in a world in which economic currents have no frontiers but our instruments to deal with them do.

The International Monetary Fund lies at the center of this storm. It is the only financial institution that has some semblance of global influence. The IMF, however, is the subject of considerable controversy. The traditional approach of the IMF is to lay the foundation for healthy economic growth by restraining government intervention in the economies, ensuring sound currencies and encouraging open markets. Its policies have been a major factor in spurring unprecedented changes in the global economy.

Current efforts to stabilize the Asian economies, however, are far different and more complex. Gone is the luxury of an exuberant economic environment. Commodity prices are plummeting. Interest rates in the affected countries are soaring, crippling banks and bankrupting business. Manufacturing plants throughout Asia have idle excess capacity. Unemployment is rising sharply. Devaluations and the fall of capital markets have drained substantial liquidity from global markets. The losses on the U.S. stock market alone since July are equivalent to the total annual GDP of all of the Latin American nations combined. Governments cannot balance budgets in the face of collapsing tax receipts, impeding their capacity to stimulate their economies.

The problem for the IMF, however, is that the issue of corruption that got us into this predicament is just as real. As we see in Russia and many countries of Asia, this is the

most pernicious contagion that has infected many banks and commercial enterprises. The result has been illicit enrichment and misallocation of resources, which taxpayers the world over are now being asked to pay. This will not do.

The deep concerns about corruption reflected in the debate in Congress about IMF funding have to

"This is a new and hostile environment."

be addressed in formulating new policies. On the positive side, strong U.S. and European economies still exert considerable pull to lift the faltering economies of the developing world. The countries of Asia are now yielding large current-account surpluses, which could help them restore their economies if they have access to bridge capital. The issue is how to restore global confidence while not abetting corrupt practices or rewarding ill-considered lending.

Military men will tell you that it is fatal error to plan the next war with the strategies of the last. The message of the market is clear. This is a new and hostile environment. New strategies are needed.

Alan Greenspan has skillfully demonstrated that economic engineering means shifting gears rapidly when the terrain changes. The same applies to the global economy. It is time for the IMF to shift gears. Far more is at stake than economics. Recent encouraging democratic and market reforms in many parts of the world are still fragile. They have not yet had time to deliver on the promise of a better life in many developing countries.

Strong voices were already being raised in developing countries, even before this crisis, questioning the premises of economic reform. They could gain far more advocates, especially if losses to newly privatized pension funds impair middle-class retirement savings. It is not hard to portray a scenario of a return to strongman rule, currency controls and desperate efforts to protect national interests. Political and economic reform can be set back decades if not generations, with untold consequences in a world still heavy with nuclear weapons. If we blanch at the cost of IMF action now, think of the cost of strengthening the defense industry again and of jobs lost as exports plummet.

The answer is a new approach that will allow inefficient and corrupt banks and corporations to be cleaned out, while at the same time facilitating the growth and expansion of companies that have good assets and a needed product. This requires economic policies that stimulate domestic consumption in areas that create employment and put money into the pockets of the consumers whose purchases will drive the restoration of the economy. In short, it is time to buttress internal domestic demand in the major markets of the United States and Europe and the developing countries. Inflation is no threat in a world teetering on the precipice of deflation.

To accomplish this, the IMF must now find ways to channel its support to specific sectors of the economies that can generate employment, such as rapidly disbursing loans directly for activities such as housing, infrastructure construction, agriculture and credit to small and medium businesses. Policies should be pressed to facilitate lower interest rates in the developing countries to rescue viable business. Loans must



BY RANDY MACK BISHOP

be conditioned on governments' adopting financial market regulation, global accounting standards and bankruptcy codes so that corrupt banks and businesses can be placed under receivership to preserve jobs.

We also need to build safety nets for the poor, similar to those the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank financed in the 1994 Mexican crisis, to prevent government spending curbs from emasculating social programs that maintain the limited spending power of the poor. These kinds of programs are best achieved not by lending to central banks but by channeling

specific loans through the World Bank and regional development banks that have the capacity to ensure that the money gets where it is supposed to go.

In short, it's time to prime the pump and also aim the fire hose in the right direction. But there is no escape from the reality of the global economy. The IMF is the best, and only, instrument we have. Our challenge is learn to use it effectively.

The writer is former U.S. executive director of the Inter-American Development Bank.

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Asian financial crisis unravels nillions of lives

B 5
9/16/98

Poverty multiplies
in crippled region,
U.N., researchers say

REUTERS

BANGKOK, Thailand — Beneath the cold statistics and headlines of the Asian crisis, a human disaster is unfolding as millions of unemployed, landless poor and dispossessed fall below the poverty line.

Figures from United Nations agencies and independent policy researchers show the Asian economic slump has had a devastating impact on the lives of ordinary people.

Thrown out of work from factories or building sites in the region's teeming cities, workers subsist on occasional casual labor or return to a land that can no longer support them.

Without money coming in, families in rural villages are unable to meet basic food needs and risk losing their small holdings if they are unable to pay the rent.

"Across the region, we are talking about upwards of 100 million people newly impoverished," said Shafiq Dhanani, a consultant to the International Labor Organization in the Indonesian capital, Jakarta.

"It is a real human tragedy, a terrible crisis pushing people back into the levels of poverty not seen for 30 years."

Assessing the scale of poverty in Asia is extremely difficult as most governments either provide no regular data or use their own peculiar systems of measurement.

The only widely accepted measure is one proposed by the World Bank, which sets one U.S. dollar per day per person as the minimum income it considers necessary for a basic existence.

Economists see this as a useful benchmark but say it is far too high for very poor societies such as Indonesia or Bangladesh and far too low for developed nations like South Korea or Taiwan.

But the trend from all the statistics is clear.

Since the Asian currency and economic crisis began a year ago, economic activity has slowed across large swathes of Asia, creating mass unemployment and hastening inflation.

Almost everyone has been affected, but the millions living close to the poverty line have suffered worst.

The Indonesian figures are

staggering. As much as half the population, or 100 million people, are now unable to buy 2,100 calories of food a day per person, which the ILO sees as the minimum requirement for an Asian diet.

This is an increase of 60 million to 80 million from a year ago and the trend is still rising, it says.

With four-fifths of the international value of the rupiah gone in barely a year, inflation has soared, taking even basic commodities beyond the reach of many ordinary people.

The domestic price of rice has tripled, despite government subsidies, and other food imports have slowed to a trickle.

Before the crisis, a building laborer in Java might expect to earn 10,000 rupiah a day and send 100,000 a month back to his family on a small-holding. But with the construction industry almost at a standstill, the family will probably get nothing.

Worse still, the worker may return to his village in the throes of drought caused by El Nino and drain further the family's resources.

In Thailand, formerly far richer than Indonesia, poverty is almost as widespread. About a third of Thais live in poverty, says the U.N. Economic and Social Commission for Asia (ESCAP).

Using the World Bank guide, about 10 percent of Thailand's 60 million people have slipped into poverty since the baht was devalued in July 1997 and the economy moved into recession.

As urban unemployment has grown toward three million, rural poverty has deepened as less money is sent home from factory workers, maids, security guards and laborers in the cities.

"In the poor households you already have less savings, less consumption, more health problems and less education. It creates a poverty cycle. With less money, you can't pay for your children's school, or for your mother's health care," said Kiran Pyakuryal, chief of rural development at ESCAP in Bangkok.

Asia's other former "Tiger" economies have seen poverty grow gradually but less dramatically as unemployment has crept up.

In South Korea, unemployment has reached 7.6 percent of the work force of 21 million, from about five percent a year ago.

"At present the people manage to persist and many of them can live on small savings, but if the situation continues, they cannot survive," said Shin Myong-ho, of the independent Korea Center for City and Environment Research in Seoul. "The unemployment rate will continue to rise. The government is afraid the rate will reach eight percent by the end of this year and that rate means social unrest," he said.

So far the Asian crisis has hit the giant populations of China and South Asia less severely than Southeast Asia. But there too, more poverty will follow if the regional recession spreads.

Even in Hong Kong, where unemployment has reached a 15-year high of 4.8 percent, poverty is increasing. "I definitely think more low-income families will be going under the poverty line because of the economic downturn," said Ho Hei-wah, of Hong Kong's Society for Community Organization.

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Letter From Pakistan

Veil of Tears? The Two Faces of the Taliban

By PAMELA CONSTABLE
Washington Post Foreign Service

PESHAWAR
The Afghan woman's face was framed by a soft green veil. Around her neck hung an amulet inscribed with the name Allah. But just one week before the 31-year-old Muslim radio producer had fled an increasingly unbearable life in Kabul, Afghanistan's capital, under the harsh Islamic movement known as the Taliban. Her green eyes flashed angrily as she de-

scribed what she and other Afghan women are forced to endure.

"With this chador they make us put on, we can't even see well enough to walk," she said, referring to the head-to-toe covering all women must wear outdoors. They make us report to work but only to sign in, so they can tell the world that women are working. Then we are sent home again to do nothing. All my education, all my training for nothing. It

See LETTER D4 Col. 18

The Taliban have beaten women who do not wear a head-to-toe covering.



BY ABDULLAH
ZAFERUDDIN
— ASSOCIATED
PRESS

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Scriptures and Strictures of the Taliban

LETTER, From D1

makes our mothers very sad for us."

Hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees have fled to this vast, dusty border city since the 1979 Soviet invasion of the country, making it more Afghan than Pakistani. The refugee camps have long since become towns teeming with open-air meat markets, wedding tinsel, barbecue restaurants, donkey carts and motorbike-driven "rickshaws." The lingua franca is not Pakistan's Urdu but Afghanistan's Pashtun.

And everybody has an opinion about the Taliban.

The group, which seized Kabul in September 1996 and now controls almost all of Afghanistan, has long been criticized by human rights groups and foreign governments for the strictures it has imposed on Afghans as part of its interpretation of Islam.

At the same time, and with far less public attention, the Taliban has been consolidating its grip on power, beating back armed opposition groups in the north in a series of bloody battles.

Ever since beginning its armed campaign to wrest control of Afghanistan, the Taliban has been promising that after it had the once-chaotic and lawless country in its grip, it would ease its severe restrictions, many of them focused on women. So the radio producer and her friends hung on, hoping the mullahs who head the movement would keep their word. Instead, said the woman, who asked that her name not be published, the crackdown has intensified.

"The mullahs announced the other day that women can only leave home to shop on two days a week. They announced that no babies can be given foreign names," she said. "But the worst is the *Amar-bil-Ma-roof* [the moral police]. They used to ride around in trucks, but now they have their own ministry. They board buses and inspect the women, and if one doesn't have

the proper dress, they beat her and all the others, too, with sticks or whips."

Had this ever happened to her? The woman looked sad, then embarrassed. Her hand crept down to her ankle, and she pulled up her flowing pajamas to reveal several scars.

"I came out on my doorstep one morning, and there they were. I didn't even have time to step into the street," she said, her eyes angry again. "They yelled that my trousers weren't long enough, and they started beating my feet and legs. There was nothing I could do." Letting the pajamas fall around her ankles again, she adjusted the veil tighter around her face.

In a shady stone courtyard less than a mile away, a 31-year-old Pakistani man was preparing for evening prayers. His view of the Taliban was starkly different for a simple reason. He is one of them. Soft-spoken, with a tightly wrapped white turban on his head, he offered an American reporter tea and cookies. Then he asked a group of boys to recite some verses from the Koran. Within three years, he said proudly, the students in this *madrassa*, or religious school, will have learned all 6,666 sacred verses by heart.

Qazi Shabbir Ahmad Azhari is a teacher of *talibs*, or seekers. Some of his early graduates have become officials of the Taliban. Thirty more left just last week, to help Taliban fighters quash pockets of resistance in the north. Those who remain behind, mostly adolescents, long to join them.

"It is my daily prayer that one day I will be in Afghanistan so I can become one of those killed in the way of Allah," said a slender boy summoned from the courtyard steps, where he had been hopefully inspecting his hairless chin in a small mirror. The teacher nodded his approval.

Over more tea, Azhari explained his mission: to unify the region's conservative

Muslim groups, bring Pakistan under Islamic law like Afghanistan and ultimately "Islamize" the world. The Taliban has made a good start, he said, adding that it is "necessary for them to use force against those unwilling to obey Islam, because Afghanistan was losing its Islamic and moral values."

Why must men wear beards? "Because that is the way of the prophet," he said. Why must women be veiled? "So men will not be attracted to them, which is destructive of society." Why must music be banned? "Because all music talks about is love. It is better to pray."

America and the West, he said, are the "true terrorists," backing Israel against Palestinians, Bosnia against Muslims, India against Kashmiris. The recent U.S. attack against Osama bin Laden, the Saudi expatriate fugitive and Islamic crusader blamed for the bombings of two American embassies in Africa, was "an attack against humanity" and against a hero who gave up the comforts of wealth to join a holy cause.

"We are only responding to this terrorism, but we will use weapons of war, and we are willing to sacrifice it all," the teacher asserted. "Allah teaches that if you really believe, nothing can harm you, not even the United States."

Half-kidding, he offered to trade bin Laden for Salman Rushdie. Then, passing the sugar, he said there was one final point he wished to make.

"Some Christians have been coming here to convert people from Islam. You call them missionaries. Tell the United States that if it doesn't stop, we will start a campaign against Americans, and whenever we find one, we will shoot him."

The muezzin began chanting the call to prayer, and Azhari excused himself.

In the mosques of Peshawar and in the muddy bazaar alleys of Hayatabad, a sprawl-



BY SHABBIR HUSSAIN (MAM)—REUTERS

An Afghan boy sells bread in the market in Hayatabad, where many cheer the Taliban.

ing suburb that is the heart of the Afghan community, there are many others who view the Taliban as a force for liberation and pacification. Moreover, it is clear that the American missile attacks, while aimed at bin Laden's operations, have aroused both nationalistic and Muslim fervor among Afghans living here—even those who have not been back to their homeland in two decades.

"I hear the law-and-order situation is getting better every day. If the Taliban really took control, I would definitely go back," said Rehaman Uddin, 40, who was once a prosperous farmer in Jalalabad, Afghanistan, but now sells pears from a tiny market stall, earning about 40 rupees (under \$1) a day. A knot of men around him in the sweltering market nodded and murmured in agreement. "We all miss the soul of our land," he said. "If there were water and electricity and roads again, you couldn't pay me \$2,000 to stay in Pakistan."

Two stories up a rickety wooden stair, a dozen Afghans were taking their leisurely

noon meal in a traditional "hotel," scooping up rice and raisins and spices with their fingers while fans whirled overhead and shoeshine boys darted among them. Two of the men were veterans of the war against the Soviets, and one's face had been disfigured by bullet wounds.

Abdulmateen, a 30-year-old laborer, said that despite having spent his youth in combat, he still tried to save up enough money each month to go back to Afghanistan for a while and "join the jihad," or holy Islamic war. "I love the Taliban, and I love Osama. He is my hero and my brother," he said.

The mood in Peshawar's downtown mosque that afternoon was more militant. Religious leaders from the Jamaat al-Islami movement turned the Friday noonday prayer meeting into a strident anti-American harangue, and several thousand worshipers followed them through the streets for an hour afterward, chanting, "Taliban is great! Taliban is great!" When they reached the Qissa Khawani bazaar, several elderly mullahs climbed onto a balcony and began shouting hoarsely.

There were no women in the crowd, and no women in the street. Every few minutes, one of the demonstrators looked up and glared at a veiled reporter watching from a balcony.

For the radio producer, such experiences are part of everyday life. The Taliban's severe curtailment of women's activities, she said, is a "tragedy" not only for Afghan women, but for the entire society. She pointed out that after two decades of conflict and death, 60 percent of Kabul's populace is female, and so are a majority of those with education and skills that are badly needed in a country whose infrastructure was bombed to bits and whose professional class fled in droves after the 1979 Soviet invasion.

"I wanted to help my country, and I had a lot to offer. But now they say they don't need women," she said bitterly. "There is no future for us at all."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

MAJOR POINTS FROM TODAY'S FOREIGN POLICY MEETING

The Challenge before us:

On the one hand, the evidence of globalization/interdependence is all around us -- terrorism, global financial crisis, etc. Yet there's a decreasing amount of attention being paid to America's role in the world -- and diminishing support for foreign aid in both the public and private sector.

Foreign aid has dropped every year for 15 years -- and it's half of what we provided 15 years ago. Our hands are increasingly tied behind our backs, because of those diminishing resources at our disposal. At a time when we are viewed as the undisputed leader of the free world, we are crippling ourselves internally by not being able to take on that commitment to leadership.

Why the disconnect? Some of the reasons:

** media coverage. Over the past 7 years, coverage of international events has gone from about 33% of the nightly news to 20%. Also -- people get barraged by news of every sort -- 24 hours a day. they feel overwhelmed -- and feel they can't do anything about international famines, wars, chaos, etc.

** Journalists' background: used to have more seasoned journalists, older, former foreign correspondents, etc. today, less likely. HRC -- in a briefing before her last trip to Africa -- had one correspondent for a major news organization ask her: are there any democracies in Africa?

** Congress thinks the American people don't care. When they vote against a foreign aid bill, their phones don't ring. They don't hear about it from their constituents.

** It's more complicated. The line between foreign policy and domestic policy is more blurred: issues like crime, drugs, terrorism, jobs, immigration, proliferation of weapons mass destruction; this blurring is both a challenge and an opportunity for us.

Over the past 50 years, our foreign policy has been based on dealing with an outside threat to the United States -- that's what fueled funding not only for our defense and foreign policy -- but also our investments in transportation system, federal aid to education, etc. It established our priorities. That paradigm has collapsed. We don't even know what to call this new period -- so we call it the post-cold-war-era. What we do know is that our old maps have been erased -- and we haven't yet drawn the new ones. Today, we are in a paradox: we're in a far more interconnected world even than 50 years ago -- yet American's idea of engagement is under attack.

→ Uganda
- Mozambique
- villages - an issue -
- China

Public's Perception

This is no time to withdraw our attention and involvement -- we must address this disconnect. And the polls give us at least some hope. The American people have more interest in these issues than they are given credit for -- that if they are given information and asked to make informed choices, they will do so. Good news: 86% of Americans believe we should be involved; support the UN and foreign aid; Bad news: that support is often overshadowed by the fear that we are doing too much -- more than our fair share. And that fear is based on inaccurate information that we are giving far more aid/money than in fact we do. So we must correct the misperceptions that are out there -- and build on and mobilize the support. People need to hear that others feel the same way they do. There's a "Lake Wobegon" effect -- that people believe they see the big picture but no one else does. So we must bring people together -- so that they feel more connected to each other.

What we can do to begin bridging the gap:

Constituencies to engage:

** the business community -- must understand that the trade/business conditions within which they operate has everything to do with the health and vitality of the nation's who buy and sell their products. (HRC talks about her speech at Davos, when she expressed her disappointment with the international business community about the lack of interest or concern or leadership about how conditions in developing countries affect their financial interests. (NAFTA, etc.).

** the elite -- especially Congress. (One Republican leader in the House hasn't traveled outside of the country since 1992 -- and sees no reason to do so. In fact -- we've heard that 50% of the members of Congress don't even hold passports. On the other hand, we know, by looking at voting patterns, that those who do travel -- and see the world -- are transformed, and tend to overwhelming support foreign aid.

** grass roots -- through our chambers of commerce; Lions and Rotary clubs; etc.

** foundations, think tanks, etc;

** ethnic communities. They can help us make the connection between our policies overseas and the quality of life here at home.

Proposed Actions to take

HRC has been reading about the Marshall Plan, and how they had to build a whole new constituency back then to support the plan -- and to persuade people that even helping to rebuild countries who were our enemies was in our best interest. And what a concerted effort that was - with people going out to towns and cities across the country to make the case. Leaders in government, business, civic organizations, religious institutions were enlisted. That's the kind of concerted campaign we must launch today.

Must be both a short term and long term strategy to engage the American people.

** develop a foreign policy framework that makes sense to the American people. That you could literally -- as someone suggested -- put it on a bumper sticker. I.e. "America must lead the world ... because ... our own security here at home depends upon it. .. Or because our jobs and prosperity depends upon it. But as someone else pointed out -- that bumper sticker may have to be pretty big.

** Work with young people; they understand the global connections on issues like the environment; immigration, etc. Brian Atwood talked about a program that exists in Scandinavia -- "Operation Days Work" -- in which a grade will focus on one developing country -- and then for a day take a job -- and give that money to that nation. We are planning to introduce something like that in the United States this year.

** Talk to people about programs like "Lessons without Borders" -- which shows so clearly the connection between lifting up the lives of ordinary people overseas -- and helping to improve conditions in our own inner cities.

** stop talking to just the foreign policy types -- and broaden the message.

In one poll -- we asked which government agencies the American people most trust. The answer: the military and the post office. Why? Because they have been getting people's attention for the last 20 years with their ads -- on tv, in print, at football games: Be all you can be. That's the kind of advertising/campaign we need.

These issues of dropping foreign aid and growing public disconnect are too important to turn away from, or throw up our hands. It's critical to our leadership, and it will come back and bit us if we don't deal with it. We must create strong, bipartisan support for our foreign policy -- and mobilize support for that policy in both the public and private sector.

missile tests. The Committee's actions would allow North Korea to blame the United States for not fulfilling our commitment to the Agreed Framework and, in essence, give the North an "out" to begin reprocessing fissile material currently monitored under international safeguards. Such an action would seriously destabilize security on the Korean peninsula, place U.S. troops in greater danger, and exacerbate the Korean financial crisis.

New Independent States

As recent events have indicated, the incomplete, peaceful transition of the New Independent States (NIS) to stable, market democracies is vital to the U.S. national security. The Congress has shared this view and provided considerable support for this program in the past. The current political/economic situation in Russia highlights how great the stakes are for the United States to continue to help Russia achieve this peaceful transition. The enormous economic potential of the Caspian Basin represents great opportunities to advance our mutual goals. Therefore, the cuts embodied in the Committee's funding level for USAID assistance programs to the NIS are especially unfortunate. These cuts would make it extremely difficult to push for market reforms and support democratic forces across the region. The Administration welcomes and strongly supports the Committee's action to repeal restrictions on U.S. assistance to Azerbaijan and would strongly oppose any efforts to overturn the Committee's action. These restrictions have been a disincentive for securing peace in the Caucasus and do not serve U.S. national interests.

Middle East Assistance

The Administration welcomes the efforts of the Committee to work with us in encouraging changes in traditional levels of assistance to countries in the Middle East. We believe that Israel's initiative to reduce Economic Support Fund (ESF) assistance provides an important basis on which to build future assistance programs that meet our needs in the Middle East and beyond. However, due to the very constrained funding levels for international affairs programs, the Administration has proposed an accelerated approach to the reduction of Israel's ESF. We would encourage the Committee to give strong consideration to such an approach as the bill proceeds through the process.

Economic Support Fund

The Administration is concerned with the overall funding level for the Economic Support Fund (ESF) account. At the Committee mark, the account would not nearly have sufficient resources to continue supporting economic and political stability in Latin America, and in other emerging democracies in Africa and Asia. We strongly encourage the Committee to support a higher funding level for the ESF account as the bill moves forward. In addition, the restrictions on assistance to Haiti need to be balanced with a national interest waiver to ensure that the President has sufficient flexibility to pursue our national interests.

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REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
THE CENTER FOR NATIONAL POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C.
SEPTEMBER 17, 1998

I would like to thank my friend, Secretary Albright, for those kind words. It's a pleasure to be here with so many of my friends who care so much about this country, and who have worked so hard, in both public and private life, to make it live up to its ideals. Thank you to the President of the Center for National Policy, Maureen (Mo) Steinbruner; Chair of the Center Mike Barnes and co-chair Joyce Ladner; the co-chairs of this wonderful dinner Ruth Harkin and "Mack" McClarty -- who has played such an invaluable role in shaping our policies toward Latin America. I'm also pleased to join members of Congress -- including Representative Lee Hamilton -- last year's recipient of the Edmund S. Muskie Distinguished Public Service Award; members of the Diplomatic corps; and the many guests and friends of the Center. I'm especially pleased to see Jane Muskie and other members of the Muskie family here this evening.

I join all of you tonight in mourning the loss of a great friend of the Center's and all of us -- Kirk O'Donnell. In the rough and tumble life of politics, his life exemplified the spirit of public service and private principle. We all know what great gifts he brought to making this Center the vibrant, active, and effective force it is today -- and we will miss him greatly. Our thoughts and prayers are with his family and friends tonight.

I want to say a word about my friend, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright -- who is committed to defending the rights not just of Americans but of citizens around the world. Not only has Madeleine Albright broken many a glass ceiling -- by virtue of her own gender -- she's brokered many a peace, by virtue of her remarkable skills and tenacity. And not only has she opened many doors -- she has opened many minds. I've had the enormous pleasure of traveling and working with her over the years, and have benefitted greatly from her wisdom, her humour -- and most of all, her friendship. Thank you, Madeleine, for all you have done.

First, I want to thank the Center, and all of you, for the great honor you have given me here tonight. Ed Muskie's life reflected a deep commitment to the principles of freedom and justice -- here at home and overseas. And he carried out his many responsibilities with great fairness, warmth, and intelligence. Whether

he walked the backroads of Maine, or the corridors of power, he represented the best of America: our optimism that we can create a better future; the spirit of public service; and a deep commitment to forge bipartisan support for our national and international objectives. He was a highly respected leader and treasured friend of the Center's -- and I thank you for honoring me in his memory.

Tonight, I want to talk about a topic that was always close to Ed Muskie's heart -- the need to more fully engage the American people in our nation's foreign policy. Some of you might well be asking -- what did that film which you just saw -- where I was shown talking with women about their concerns in distant villages around the world -- have to do with our foreign policy? My answer is that efforts to advance the status of women worldwide -- whether it's raising their level of education or ensuring safe motherhood or helping women gain greater economic independence -- must never be seen as "soft issues" -- or "side issues." They are as essential to the prosperity and stability of our global community as are investments in open markets and trade. They are -- in fact -- at the core of our foreign policy objectives -- and the very progress of all nations.

Three years ago, in Beijing, I joined Secretary Albright at the 4th World UN Conference on Women. And the most powerful message that came out of that conference was that the progress of a country depends on women having equal access to life's basic tools of opportunity. And that no nation can move forward until all its citizens are able to participate fully in the political, social, and economic life of their country.

Over the past six years, I've seen first hand how America's programs overseas have helped further that progress -- by improving the lives of ordinary people in nations around the world -- particularly the lives of women.

From Nicaragua to Uganda, I've seen how a small loan to women villagers -- sometimes only a few dollars, can transform the lives of women and their families, and dramatically improve the resources and income of an entire community. village. One woman in Bangladesh told me about how she borrowed money to buy a milk cow -- and by selling the milk from that cow -- she bought another. And as the proud owner of two cows -- she was able to buy a rickshaw for her husband, so that he could become a taxi driver in their village. And I'm heartened by the increased interest among nations and non governmental agencies to promote these opportunities.

In Bolivia, I met with expectant mothers at a primary health center run by an NGO with support from the government. They had created a safe place for very poor women to come and get health care. The women -- with their ruddy faces and bowler hats -- were receiving prenatal check ups and having their infants immunized. They were also learning about family planning, and how to space births so that those mothers -- and their children -- would more likely survive -- and be able to lead a better life.

In Senegal, I visited a small village where education for girls, and women's adult literacy programs, had become a top priority. They saw how those efforts were the first steps in helping the village understand how it could work together to create more prosperity -- and how it could take five hectares of barren land, and turn it into an oasis of green -- growing products that could not only support the village, but be sold in the marketplace as well. When you educate a girl today, you help create a leader for tomorrow -- a leader within the family and the community. It's the single greatest investment any nation can make in its future.

When we work to stop the trafficking of women and end the brutal practice of female genital mutilation; when we work to promote women to elected office, and enable them to gain greater economic independence -- we advance the future of other nations -- and our own interests as well.

Today, we face unparalleled opportunities to share the world's prosperity and growth -- and continue the march of democracy around the world. Yet powerful global forces threaten to destroy the gains being made. The bombings of the U.S. Embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, where the lives of so many Americans and Africans were tragically lost -- and the global financial crisis -- which is pushing millions of people back under the yoke of poverty, and affecting the pocketbooks and stock markets of people from Argentina to Japan -- are grim reminders of our interconnected and interdependent world. They demonstrate once again how events in one corner of the world can impact the lives and fortunes of us all.

Yet at this time when American leadership -- and American foreign aid -- are more critical than ever -- we continue to see a decreasing amount of attention being paid to our role in the world -- and diminishing support for international aid. There's a real disconnect. Foreign aid has dropped every year for the past 15 years. In fact, it's half of what we provided 15 years ago. As Undersecretary of State for

Political Affairs, Thomas Pickering, told me yesterday, we're moving backward, not forward -- and even the smallest amounts of aid are unavailable to meet these pressing needs.

Much is at risk. As part of our Support East European Democracy (SEED) program -- we train democratic parties in Slovakia, promote child welfare reform in Romania, and support the construction of schools and community centers in Bosnia. We cannot allow Congressional cuts to decimate this program.

In Africa, we're investing in the rule of law to help prevent future genocide on that continent -- and supporting Radio Democracy, which will help strengthen fledgling democracies in that region. We cannot allow Congressional cuts to weaken those efforts.

Through AID's International Disaster Assistance funds, we respond to natural and manmade disasters worldwide -- helping to suppress raging fires in Mexico, feeding starving children in Sudan, and promoting ethnic reconciliation on Bosnia. We cannot allow Congressional cuts to jeopardize this program.

This is no time to withdraw our involvement -- or attention. It's time to act. If we care -- as we do -- about opening foreign markets for American goods and services -- and if we want to help stabilize the financial crisis that is wrecking havoc in our world -- then Congress must fully fund the International Monetary Fund -- including the President's request for an additional \$18 billion.

If we care -- as we do -- about making our country secure in the face of new post-cold war threats, then we must pay our debts to the United Nations. It's time to finally put an end to the tactics of those in Congress who would hold our contributions to the United Nations hostage, because they don't believe women should have access to family planning services. It's an outrage that the richest and most powerful country in the world is the number one debtor to the United Nations.

If we care -- as we do -- about enlarging the world's community of democracies, then we must fully fund the Foreign Operations budget -- and the many programs -- some of which I've mentioned this evening -- that give citizens the tools to improve their lives.

And if we care -- as we do -- that women around the world make up 70% of the poor and two thirds of those who can't read or write -- then we must support investments in lifelines like microcredit and education. And we must join the rest of the world and ratify the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. Despite the fact that our government signed this treaty almost two decades ago, and despite its proven track record as an effective tool to improve women's rights -- the United States stands alone among industrialized democracies in not ratifying it.

Today, I believe we have an opportunity to right our priorities -- and engage public and Congressional support -- much like we did at the end of World War II. Back then, leaders such as Harry Truman and George Marshall had the vision to look beyond the wartime devastation and the underlying hostilities to a Europe in which regional cooperation would transcend adversarial boundaries and traditional rivalries. They believed that large-scale economic cooperation would facilitate not only postwar recovery but also long-term prosperity and international peace. And US leadership was instrumental in the creation of the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and NATO.

They understood back then that it wasn't enough to mobilize the government. They needed to lead a major campaign to educate the public, mobilize key constituencies, and persuade reluctant partners to make sure this great achievement would taken place. I've been reading about what a concerted, national effort that was -- and how leaders in government, and business, civic organizations, and religious institutions were enlisted to go from town to town -- speaking to rotary clubs and civic groups -- to bring their message home.

And that is what we must all do today -- to convince Americans -- including members of Congress -- that our foreign policy not only improves lives and strengthens the forces of freedom overseas -- but that it directly affects the quality of life here at home -- including our jobs and our pocketbooks. Above all, we must demonstrate that if we are to maintain a strong, open, and democratic society here in America -- we must promote those same values and opportunities among citizens around the globe.

From what I understand from recent polls, Americans are far more interested in these issues than they are given credit for. Here's the good news: the overwhelming majority of Americans -- 86% -- believe we should be involved

overseas -- and they support international efforts like the United Nations and foreign aid. Here's the bad news: That support is often overshadowed by the fear that we are doing too much -- more than our fair share. Yet when asked, many citizens believed our commitments were far greater than they actually were. As a result -- when a member of Congress votes against foreign aid -- the phones in many of their offices remain silent. Their constituents don't call.

In other words, our work to more fully engage Americans won't be easy. And it's up to all of us -- academics; business leaders; foundations; the media; civic organizations -- to clear up the misperceptions about foreign aid -- it actually makes up less than 1% of our total budget -- and help make the benefits of our investments overseas real -- and meaningful -- to the lives of ordinary citizens.

One of the ways we can do that is to show how much we learn from each other. I wish others could have joined me a few years ago, when I have visited a poor inner city neighborhood in Baltimore, Maryland, where grassroots strategies pioneered in Nairobi, Kenya, are now being used by community health workers in Baltimore to improve childhood immunization rates. And as a result, those immunization rates have soared. Thanks to an AID-sponsored effort -- "Lessons Without borders" -- we're helping to spreading the word about effective programs overseas -- like the one in Nairobi -- to communities here at home.

I wish others could have joined me, when I visited programs in this country - - including in this city -- that help women -- on the model of a lending bank in India, to acquire the same skills and the same access to credit that transformed lives many, many miles away. Today, this Administration -- through the Small Business Administration -- is making more loans than ever to women. And it's making a difference in the lives of families and communities across America.

Our leadership overseas -- and our efforts to empower citizens in their own communities -- are commitments that should matter to everyone. Yesterday afternoon, I met with a group of distinguished, committed Americans -- including a former secretary of state -- foundation heads, and experienced leaders from both inside and outside of government, to help think through how we can mobilize public engagement -- and bipartisan Congressional support -- for our nation's foreign policy agenda.

We talked about how we need to create a new way of talking about our

commitments overseas. As one of our top foreign policy advisors noted -- we're going from a familiar paradigm to a paradox. For the past fifty years, our foreign policy was based on dealing with outside threats to the United States -- and that challenge was what fueled funding not only for our defense and foreign policy -- but for our investments in education, and roads, and other national priorities. Today, with the end of the Cold War -- we must articulate a new our vision for ourselves and the world -- even as the old maps have been erased -- and the new ones not yet drawn. And we must grapple with the paradox that while the need for strong American leadership is greater than ever -- the public's attention and engagement is receding.

Clearly, we must think creatively about how to build and strengthen bipartisan support for American foreign policy. And what better place to begin than here at the Center for National Policy -- and the people in this room. I hope tonight -- in honor of Ed Muskie's legacy -- that we will redouble our efforts to meet this -- perhaps the greatest challenges facing us in the 21st century.

We recognize that everyone -- from all walks of life and work -- must be part of this effort. But there is one priority I hope we can all agreed upon -- and that's how to better engage our young people in these vital issues.

They are the ones who could help build a world where we are as concerned about violence against women in their own homes as we are about outside terrorist threats; a world where we value basic freedoms of speech, and religion, and association as much as we treasure the benefits of the free market; a world where we recognize that by lifting up the lives of women and children in the poorest villages in the world, that we will be closer to fulfilling our own extraordinary potential -- as individuals, and as a nation.

I look forward to working with all of you to bring us closer to that day.

Thank you.

**REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
THE CENTER FOR NATIONAL POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C.
SEPTEMBER 17, 1998**

I would like to thank my friend, Secretary Albright, for those kind words. It's a pleasure to be here with so many of my friends who care so much about this country, and who have worked so hard, in both public and private life, to make it live up to its ideals. Thank you to the President of the Center for National Policy, Maureen (Mo) Steinbruner; Co-chairs of the Center Mike Barnes and Joyce Ladner; the two people who helped put together this wonderful dinner -- Ruth Harkin and "Mack" McClarty -- who has played such an invaluable role in shaping our policies toward Latin America. I'm also pleased to join members of Congress -- including Representative Lee Hamilton -- last year's recipient of the Edmund S. Muskie Distinguished Public Service Award; members of the Diplomatic corps; and the many guests and friends of the Center. I'm especially pleased to see Jane Muskie and other members of the Muskie family here this evening.

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First, I want to thank the Center, and all of you, for the great honor you have given me here tonight. Ed Muskie's life reflected a deep commitment to the principles of freedom and justice -- here at home and overseas. And he carried out his many responsibilities with great fairness, warmth, and intelligence. Whether he walked the backroads of Maine, or the corridors of power, he represented the best of America: our optimism that we can create a better future; the spirit of public service; and a deep commitment to forge bipartisan support for our national and international objectives. He was a highly respected leader and treasured friend of the Center's -- and I thank you for honoring me in his memory.

Tonight, I want to talk about a topic that was always close to Ed Muskie's heart -- the need to more fully engage the American people in our nation's foreign policy. Some of you might well be asking -- what did that film which you just saw -- where I was shown talking with women about their concerns in distant villages around the world -- have to do with our foreign policy? My answer is that efforts to advance the status of women worldwide -- whether it's raising their level of education or ensuring safe motherhood or helping women gain greater economic independence -- must never be seen as "soft issues" -- or "side issues." They are as essential to the prosperity and stability of our global community as are the investments we make in open markets and trade. They are -- in fact -- at the core of our foreign policy objectives -- and the very progress of all nations.

Three years ago, in Beijing, I joined Secretary Albright at the 4th World UN Conference on Women. And the most powerful message that came out of that conference was that the progress of a country depends on women having equal access to life's basic tools of opportunity. And that no nation can move forward until all its citizens are able to participate fully in the political, social, and economic life of their country.

Over the past six years, I've seen first hand how America's programs overseas have helped further that progress -- by lifting up the lives of ordinary people in nations around the world -- particularly the lives of women.

From Nicaragua to Uganda, I've seen how a small loan to women villagers -- sometimes only a few dollars, can transform the lives of women and their families, and dramatically improve the resources and income of an entire community. One woman in Bangladesh told me about how she borrowed money to buy a milk cow -- and by selling the milk from that cow -- she bought another. And as the proud owner of two cows -- she was able to buy a rickshaw for her husband, so that he could become a taxi driver in their village. And I'm heartened by the increased interest among nations and non governmental agencies to promote these micro-credit opportunities.

In Bolivia, I met with expectant mothers at a primary health center run by an NGO with support from the government. They had created a safe place for very poor women to come and get health care. The women -- with their ruddy faces and bowler hats -- were receiving prenatal check ups and having their infants immunized. They were also learning about family planning, and how to space births so that they -- and their children -- would more likely survive -- and be able to lead a better life.

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When we work to stop the trafficking of women and end the brutal practice of female genital mutilation; when we work to promote women to elected office, and enable them to gain greater economic independence -- we advance the future of other nations -- and our own interests as well.

Today, we face unparalleled opportunities to share the world's prosperity and growth -- and continue the march of democracy around the world. Yet powerful global forces threaten to destroy the gains being made. The bombings of the U.S. Embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, where the lives of so many Americans and Africans were tragically lost. The global financial crisis -- which is pushing millions of people back under the yoke of poverty, and affecting the pocketbooks and stock markets of people from Argentina to Japan. These are grim reminders of the down side of our interconnected and interdependent world. They demonstrate once again how events in one corner of the globe impact the lives and fortunes of us all -- for better and for worse.

We are at a critical moment in world affairs. While more and more nations across the globe have made the fundamental choice in favor of democracy and free trade -- the leaders of those nations are engaged in perhaps an even more difficult job: to translate those new found freedoms into tangible benefits for ordinary citizens. We must have the resources to support those efforts in such fragile times, so that people don't question their commitment to freedom -- and slide back toward more repressive or corrupt regimes.

Yet at this time when American leadership -- and American foreign assistance -- are more critical than ever -- we continue to see a decreasing amount of attention being paid to our role in the world -- and diminishing support for international aid. There's a real -- and disturbing -- disconnect. As Under secretary of State for Political Affairs, Thomas Pickering, told me yesterday, we're moving backward, not forward -- and even the smallest amounts of aid are unavailable to meet these pressing needs.

Much is at risk. The peaceful -- yet incomplete -- transition of the newly independent states in Eastern Europe to stable, market democracies is vital to growth of that region -- and our national security. Yet the USAID assistance programs that would help those countries push for market reforms and support democratic forces are in danger of being cut. We cannot allow Congress to decimate this program.

In Africa, we're investing in the rule of law to help prevent future genocide on that continent -- and supporting Radio Democracy, which will help strengthen fledgling democracies in that region. We cannot allow Congressional cuts to weaken those efforts.

Through AID's International Disaster Assistance funds, we respond to natural and manmade disasters worldwide -- helping to suppress raging fires in Mexico, feeding starving children in Sudan, and promoting ethnic reconciliation on Bosnia. We cannot allow Congressional cuts to jeopardize this program.

This is no time to withdraw our involvement -- or attention. It's time to act. If we care -- as we do -- about opening foreign markets for American goods and services -- and if we want to help stabilize the financial crisis that is wrecking havoc in our world -- then Congress must fully fund the International Monetary Fund -- including the President's request for an additional \$18 billion.

If we care -- as we do -- about making our country secure in the face of new post-cold war threats, then we must pay our debts to the United Nations. It's time to finally put an end to the tactics of those in Congress who would hold our contributions to the United Nations hostage, because they don't believe women should have access to family planning services. It's an outrage that the richest and most powerful country in the world is the number one debtor to the United Nations.

If we care -- as we do -- about expanding and sustaining the world's community of democracies, and strengthening our own security -- then we must fully fund the Foreign Operations budget -- and the many foreign assistance programs -- some of which I've mentioned this evening -- that give citizens the tools to improve their lives.

And if we care -- as we do -- that women around the world make up 70% of the poor and two thirds of those who can't read or write -- then we must support investments in lifelines like microcredit and education. And we must join the rest of the world and ratify the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. Despite the fact that our government signed this treaty almost two decades ago, and despite its proven track record as an effective tool to improve women's rights -- the United States stands alone among industrialized democracies in not ratifying it.

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Today, I believe we have a very real opportunity to right our priorities -- and engage public and Congressional support -- much like we did at the end of World War II. Back then, leaders such as Harry Truman and George Marshall had the vision to look beyond the wartime devastation and the underlying hostilities to a Europe in which regional cooperation would transcend adversarial boundaries and traditional rivalries. They believed that large-scale economic cooperation would facilitate not only postwar recovery but also long-term prosperity and international peace. And US leadership was instrumental in the creation of the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and NATO.

They understood back then that it wasn't enough to mobilize the government. They needed to lead a major campaign to educate the public, mobilize key constituencies, and persuade reluctant partners to make sure this great achievement would taken place. I've been reading about what a concerted, national effort that was -- and how leaders in government, and business, civic organizations, and religious institutions were enlisted to go from town to town -- speaking to rotary clubs and civic groups -- to bring their message home.

And that is what we must all do today -- to convince Americans -- including members of Congress -- that our foreign policy not only improves lives and strengthens the forces of freedom overseas -- but that it directly affects the quality of life here at home -- including our jobs, our pocketbooks, and our security. Above all, we must demonstrate that if we are to maintain a strong, open, and democratic society here in America -- we must promote those same values and opportunities among citizens around the globe.

From what I understand from recent polls, Americans are far more interested in these issues than they are given credit for. Here's the good news: the overwhelming majority of Americans -- 86% -- believe we should be involved overseas -- and they support international efforts like the United Nations and foreign aid. Here's the bad news: That support is often overshadowed by the fear that we are doing too much -- more than our fair share. Yet when asked, many citizens believed our commitments are far greater than they actually are. And as a result -- when a member of Congress votes against foreign aid -- the phones in many of the their offices remain silent. Their constituents don't call.

In other words, our work to more fully engage Americans won't be easy. And it's up to all of us -- academics; business leaders; foundations; the media; civic organizations -- to first clear up the misperceptions about foreign aid -- it actually makes up less than 1% of our total budget -- the lowest percentage -- in fact -- of any industrialized nation. And second, to help make the benefits of our investments overseas real -- and meaningful -- to the lives of ordinary citizens.

One of the ways we can do that is to show how much we learn from each other. I wish others could have joined me a few years ago, when I have visited a poor inner city neighborhood in Baltimore, Maryland, where grassroots strategies pioneered in Nairobi, Kenya, are now being used by community health workers in Baltimore to improve childhood immunization rates. And as a result, those immunization rates have soared. Thanks to an AID-sponsored effort -- "Lessons Without borders" -- we're helping to spreading the word about effective programs overseas -- like the one in Nairobi -- to communities here at home.

I wish others could have joined me, when I visited programs in this country - - including in this city -- that help women -- on the model of a lending bank in India, to acquire the same skills and the same access to credit that transformed lives many, many miles away. Today, this Administration -- through the Small Business Administration -- is making more loans than ever to women. And it's making a difference in the lives of families and communities across America.

Our leadership overseas -- and our efforts to empower citizens in their own communities -- are commitments that should matter to everyone. Yesterday afternoon, I met with a group of distinguished, committed Americans -- including a former secretary of state -- foundation heads, and experienced leaders from both inside and outside of government, to help think through how we can mobilize public engagement -- and build bipartisan Congressional support -- for our nation's foreign policy agenda.

We talked about the need to create a new way of explaining our commitments overseas, at a time when the boundaries between national and foreign interests continue to blur. As one of our top foreign policy advisors noted -- we're going from a familiar paradigm to a paradox. For the past fifty years, our foreign policy was based on dealing with one single monolithic threat to freedom -- communism. And that challenge was what fueled funding not only for our defense and foreign policy -- but for our investments in education, and roads, and other national priorities. Today, with the end of the Cold War -- we must articulate a new vision for ourselves and the world -- even as the old maps have been erased -- and the new ones not yet drawn.

And we must grapple with the paradox that while we are more interdependent than ever -- and the need for strong American leadership is greater than ever -- that the public's attention and engagement is turning away.

What better place to begin thinking creatively about how to build and strengthen bipartisan support for American foreign policy than here -- at the Center for National Policy -- and the people in this room. I hope tonight -- in honor of Ed Muskie's legacy -- that we will redouble our efforts to meet this -- perhaps the greatest challenge facing us in the 21st century.

We recognize that everyone must be part of this advocacy effort. But there is one priority I hope we can all agreed upon -- and that's to do a better job of engaging our young people in these vital issues.

They are the ones who could help build a world where we are as concerned about violence against women in their own homes as we are about outside terrorist threats; a world where we value basic freedoms of speech, and religion, and association as much as we treasure the benefits of the free market; a world where we recognize that by lifting up the lives of women and children in the poorest villages in the world, that we, as Americans, will be closer to fulfilling our own extraordinary potential -- as individuals, and as a nation.

I look forward to working with all of you to bring us closer to that day.

Thank you.

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FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Number of pages + cover

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

September 17, 1998
(House Floor)

STATEMENT OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY

(THIS STATEMENT HAS BEEN COORDINATED BY OMB WITH THE CONCERNED AGENCIES.)

**H.R. 4569 – FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING,
AND RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS BILL, FY 1999**

(Sponsor: Callahan (R), Alabama;)

This Statement of Administration Policy provides the Administration's views on H.R. 4569, the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill, FY 1999, as reported by the House Appropriations Committee. Your consideration of the Administration's views would be appreciated.

The Administration appreciates efforts by the Committee to accommodate certain of the President's priorities within the 302(b) allocation. However, the bill is unacceptable to the Administration for the reasons described in this letter. The President would veto the bill if it were presented to him in its current form.

This legislation is a critical element of America's national security budget. At the dawn of a new century, America faces unique challenges and unprecedented opportunities to strengthen our national security, enhance our global leadership, extend the reach of our democratic values, and deepen our own prosperity. The challenges we face are formidable. If this bill in its current form were to become law, however, it would erode our ability to promote effectively critical American interests at home and abroad. It would require us to walk away from problems that can and must be solved. The responsibility for safeguarding our national security and exercising U.S. leadership must be foremost when allocating scarce fiscal resources. We urge the Congress to provide the leadership needed to keep America safe, strong, and prosperous.

The only way to achieve the appropriate investment level for the programs funded through this bill is to offset discretionary spending by using savings in other areas. The President's FY 1999 Budget proposes levels of discretionary spending for FY 1999 that conform to the Bipartisan Budget Agreement by making savings through user fees and certain mandatory programs to help finance this spending. In the Transportation Equity Act, Congress – on a broad, bipartisan basis – took similar action in approving funding for surface transportation programs paid for with mandatory offsets. In addition, this year, as in the past, such mandatory offsets have been approved by the House and Senate in other appropriations bills. We want to work with the Congress on mutually-agreeable mandatory and other offsets that could be used to increase funding for high-priority discretionary programs, including those funded by this bill.

International Monetary Fund

While the Administration welcomes the Committee's efforts to provide funding for the International Monetary Fund's (IMF's) New Arrangements to Borrow (NAB), we are extremely concerned by the Committee's failure to include in its bill the requested appropriation for the \$14.5 billion U.S. share of the IMF's critically needed quota increase. Since February of this year, the President has repeatedly called on Congress to approve the full amount of his \$18 billion budget request for the IMF. To reject or delay this funding not only would undermine America's leadership in the world; it also would expose American workers, savers, farmers, and businesses to unacceptable economic risks.

The IMF's financial resources are nearing historic lows, necessitating the recent activation of the IMF's emergency credit lines, the General Arrangements to Borrow (GAB), for the first time in twenty years. Without the entire \$18 billion in new funding, composed of the quota increase and the U.S. share of the New Arrangements to Borrow (NAB), the IMF -- and hence the United States and the world -- will remain vulnerable if new, escalating, or spreading systemic crises occur. To protect America's economic strength, Congress must act now to pass the full quota.

The Committee's bill proposes several conditions on IMF funding that, while directed at objectives we share, are unworkable in their current form and, therefore, would have the effect of delaying indefinitely the availability of these critical resources to the IMF. We urge the Congress to respond to these concerns as the bill moves through the process.

International Family Planning

The Administration strongly opposes the "Mexico City" restrictions that are included in the Committee bill, which would prohibit foreign non-governmental organizations from receiving U.S. family planning funds if the organization uses any of its own funding from non-U.S. Government sources for abortion-related services or advocacy. The Committee bill's "Mexico City" language is even more restrictive than the provision contained in the conference report on the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act. The Administration continues to oppose these restrictions, which would deny funding to the most experienced and qualified family planning and maternal-child health care providers. As stated in past Administration communications, should this language be included in the final bill presented to the President, the President would veto the bill.

Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO)

The Administration strongly objects to the Committee action deleting U.S. funds for KEDO and including language prohibiting the President from exercising his authority to transfer funds from other sources for this purpose. The Agreed Framework reached between the United States and the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea in 1994 remains the key tool with which

we are able to engage with North Korea on a range of bilateral and multilateral issues, including missile tests. The Committee's actions would allow North Korea to blame the United States for not fulfilling our commitment to the Agreed Framework and, in essence, give the North an "out" to begin reprocessing fissile material currently monitored under international safeguards. Such an action would seriously destabilize security on the Korean peninsula, place U.S. troops in greater danger, and exacerbate the Korean financial crisis.

New Independent States

As recent events have indicated, the incomplete, peaceful transition of the New Independent States (NIS) to stable, market democracies is vital to the U.S. national security. The Congress has shared this view and provided considerable support for this program in the past. The current political/economic situation in Russia highlights how great the stakes are for the United States to continue to help Russia achieve this peaceful transition. The enormous economic potential of the Caspian Basin represents great opportunities to advance our mutual goals. Therefore, the cuts embodied in the Committee's funding level for USAID assistance programs to the NIS are especially unfortunate. These cuts would make it extremely difficult to push for market reforms and support democratic forces across the region. The Administration welcomes and strongly supports the Committee's action to repeal restrictions on U.S. assistance to Azerbaijan and would strongly oppose any efforts to overturn the Committee's action. These restrictions have been a disincentive for securing peace in the Caucasus and do not serve U.S. national interests.

Middle East Assistance

The Administration welcomes the efforts of the Committee to work with us in encouraging changes in traditional levels of assistance to countries in the Middle East. We believe that Israel's initiative to reduce Economic Support Fund (ESF) assistance provides an important basis on which to build future assistance programs that meet our needs in the Middle East and beyond. However, due to the very constrained funding levels for international affairs programs, the Administration has proposed an accelerated approach to the reduction of Israel's ESF. We would encourage the Committee to give strong consideration to such an approach as the bill proceeds through the process.

Economic Support Fund

The Administration is concerned with the overall funding level for the Economic Support Fund (ESF) account. At the Committee mark, the account would not nearly have sufficient resources to continue supporting economic and political stability in Latin America, and in other emerging democracies in Africa and Asia. We strongly encourage the Committee to support a higher funding level for the ESF account as the bill moves forward. In addition, the restrictions on assistance to Haiti need to be balanced with a national interest waiver to ensure that the President has sufficient flexibility to pursue our national interests.

Global Environment Facility

The Administration is concerned with the refusal of the Committee to fund the President's request for the Global Environment Facility (GEF), which is helping to reduce long-term environmental risks that will affect all Americans. The \$300 million request for GEF (of which \$192.5 million is arrears) is needed to assure that the GEF does not run out of resources in FY 1999. Concerns that funding the GEF would prejudice debate on the Kyoto Climate Protocol are misplaced: the new replenishment agreement is funded at the same level as the prior one, and the GEF will continue with precisely the same broad work program that it had prior to Kyoto. The GEF is among the best vehicles that the United States has to encourage developing countries to shoulder greater responsibility for protecting both the local and global environment. It is manifestly in our interests to clear our arrears and keep the GEF running, and the Administration strongly urges the Committee to restore funding for this critical program.

Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining, and Related Programs (NADR)

The Administration is concerned with the \$64 million, or 30 percent, cut to the \$216 million request for NADR. This reduction would undermine the multi-prong effort that NADR supports to reduce the proliferation threat to U.S. national and global security. Lack of funding for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) Preparatory Commission would harm U.S. national security interests as it would eliminate planned improvements in our ability to monitor nuclear testing worldwide. The recent Indian and Pakistani tests are a stark reminder of the importance of this monitoring. As well, we would be forced to reduce support for NIS science centers, demining efforts, and other related activities.

Peacekeeping Operations

The Committee has reduced the \$83 million request for Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) by 25 percent. PKO provides vital assistance and support for many important national security and foreign policy activities, including commitments in Bosnia and Haiti, conflicts in Africa, and potential trouble spots such as in the Balkans. This reduction would severely limit the President's ability to respond to these and other evolving events.

Trade and Investment Financing

The Administration appreciates the Committee's effort to increase substantially the funding for the Export-Import Bank and to support the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and the Trade and Development Agency (TDA). However, Export-Import Bank funding still falls short of the level needed to meet the expected demand of U.S. exporters in FY 1999. Support for TDA, at 17 percent below the President's request, is insufficient to allow the agency to remain engaged around the world, especially given its growing program in the Caspian region.

U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)

The Administration is concerned with the \$24 million cut in the request for USAID Operating Expenses. This reduction would not only make it impossible for USAID to carry out Presidential initiatives in Africa and Latin America, but also would interfere with the agency's ability to manage its ongoing programs effectively, including congressional priorities in areas such as infectious diseases and child survival, as well as to address management priorities. In particular, this reduction, combined with the House action striking the emergency fund in the Treasury and General Government Appropriation bill, would make it difficult for USAID to implement fully its Year 2000 conversion. Even if USAID were to begin closing missions and eliminating additional positions immediately, the fixed costs of doing so would prevent AID from achieving the savings necessary in FY 1999 to respond to this cut. For these reasons, we urge the Committee to restore funding for USAID Operating Expenses.

In light of the continuing needs created by both natural disasters and ongoing civil conflicts, we urge the Committee to provide a higher level of funding for international disaster assistance. The Committee mark would cripple our efforts to respond expeditiously and effectively to countries in transition from crisis caused by political and ethnic conflict and could undercut our ability to address man-made and natural disasters.

The Administration is concerned that the Committee has not funded the modest \$6 million request for credit subsidy for the Urban Environment (UE) credit program, or provided transfer authority for USAID's Development Credit Authority (DCA). As the Congress and the Administration agreed in the FY 1998 appropriations legislation, USAID has taken substantial steps towards developing the capacity to manage both its existing and future credit portfolios. We urge the Committee to restore the transfer authority for the DCA and the subsidy request for the UE program. Failure to do so would limit the ability of USAID to use credit to promote development in urban areas and to encourage the development of needed private sector financial mechanisms.

The prohibition on the use of funds from the Child Survival and Disease Programs Fund for non-project assistance, which is specifically authorized in the Foreign Assistance Act, would weaken USAID's current leadership position with bilateral and multilateral donors to encourage and support policy reforms in sub-Saharan African countries.

Exchange Stabilization Fund

The Committee bill contains a provision that would limit the President's flexibility to utilize the Exchange Stabilization Fund as necessary to protect America's economic and security interests. For this reason, and because the Exchange Stabilization Fund is not germane to the purposes of this appropriations bill, the Administration opposes this provision.

Treasury International Affairs Technical Assistance Program

The Administration is disappointed that the Committee has not funded the \$5 million request for this program, which could significantly enhance the transition to stronger private sector-led growth and more efficient, transparent, and better supervised financial institutions in emerging economies, including reforming countries in Africa and financial crisis countries in Asia. Given the large potential benefits and modest cost of this program, which provides technical assistance in tax policy, development of domestic capital markets, and privatization of state enterprises, we urge the Committee to fund the request.

International Organizations and Programs (IO&P)

The Committee bill reduces the request for IO&P by \$55 million and, unfortunately, eliminates funding for the U.N. Population Fund (UNFPA), which provides support for women in family planning matters in a number of countries not served by U.S. assistance programs. UNFPA does not fund abortions. The overall reduction in IO&P would limit U.S. ability to participate and support a number of international organizations.

Peace Corps

The Administration regrets that the bipartisan Peace Corps initiative to fund 10,000 volunteers by the year 2000 has not received the full request of \$270 million from the Committee. However, we are heartened by report language stating that the Committee is prepared to approve a further increase should there be a reallocation of funds later in the appropriations process.

Community Adjustment and Investment Program (CAIP)

The Administration is concerned with the Committee's failure to fund the Community Adjustment and Investment Program, a program initially funded through the North American Development Bank, a multilateral development bank. The CAIP was established to help communities affected by adverse trade patterns associated with implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement. To date, the program has assisted in more than 120 loans in 20 states, leveraging private sector financing of over \$70 million. The \$37 million requested would significantly bolster the CAIP's ability to continue this work, as well as to support technical assistance, grants, and micro-lending. The Administration urges the Committee to restore funding for this innovative program.

Year 2000 Conversion

In the FY 1999 Budget, the President requested more than \$1 billion for Year 2000 (Y2K) computer conversion, including specific amounts in the requests for the agencies funded in this bill. In addition, the budget anticipated that additional requirements would emerge over the course of the year and included an allowance for emergencies and other unanticipated needs.

On September 2nd, the President transmitted to the Congress a request for \$3.25 billion in FY 1998 contingent emergency funding for Y2K computer conversion activities. This supplemental request would create a funding mechanism that is consistent with both the needs anticipated in the President's budget and the Senate's action creating a \$3.25 billion contingent emergency reserve to provide the resources and the flexibility necessary to respond to critical unanticipated Y2K-related requirements. It is essential that this contingent emergency funding be enacted as quickly as possible, whether through the Treasury/General Government bill or another legislative measure moving through the process earlier, particularly in light of the decision of several Subcommittees, including the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, not to fully fund the base requests of a number of agencies for Y2K conversion. We urge Congress to leave as much as possible of the reserve unallocated so that funds are available to address emerging needs.

BUSINESS ALLIANCE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT



WHAT'S IN IT FOR AMERICANS?

JUNE 1996

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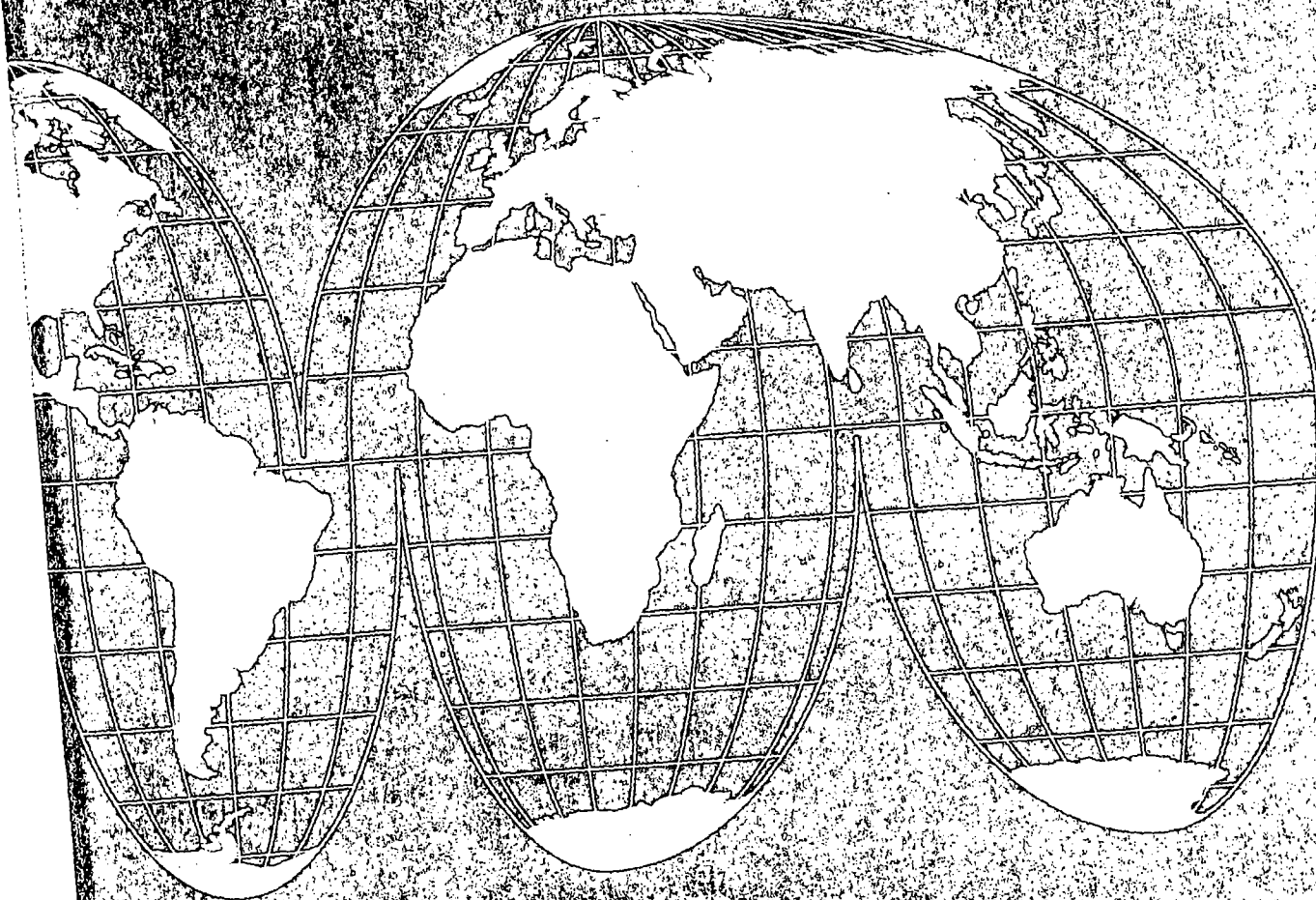
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PAPER NO. 1

GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE AND THE NEED FOR SOCIAL STEWARDSHIP



GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE INITIATIVE
RBF ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND

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BUSINESS ALLIANCE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

GLOBAL MARKETS AND FOREIGN ASSISTANCE



IS THE UNITED STATES LOSING GROUND?

JULY 1997

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