

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Foreign Policy Dinner
October 19, 1998
New York, NY

Thank you very much. Thank you. I am very honored and delighted to be with all of you this evening. I want to thank Bill for that kind introduction. Being called a public entrepreneur is one of the nicest names I have ever been given and I will cherish that. I am delighted to be with Bill. It is sort of a small world story. He is married, as some of you know. His wife Jane is the sister of a man I went to high school with and if you won't let it out of this room, had a great crush on for a long time. So it is a special pleasure to be introduced by him and to sit between him and Cy Vance.

I want to thank Paul Ford and Noel Petite and the FDA staff. I also want to thank the West Point Band which I enjoyed hearing this evening. I know we are joined by a great many public-spirited citizens and dignitaries. But I would like to mention that among us this evening are Sir Jeremy Greenstock, President of the Security Council, and Louise Frechette, the Deputy Secretary General of the United Nations, and I am delighted that both of them are here tonight as well.

This is a special occasion for me personally, but also for the foreign policy association as it celebrates eighty years of service to the people of our country. It has stood for engagement in the world for all those eighty years. When I was listening to the video and watching Tom Brokaw talk about the beginnings of the Association, I recalled reading in preparation for coming here, that the nineteen brave individuals who decided to form it in 1918 first called themselves the Committee of Nothing At All because they weren't exactly sure how to proceed.

The United States, up until then had not been known for its engagement around the world and they did not know how to go about supporting the League of Nations. They then named themselves the League of Pre-Nations Association to build public support for the League. While they may not have won at that first battle, they did begin to understand the importance of citizens being part of the foreign policy decision making apparatus in our country.

They renamed themselves then, the Foreign Policy Association in 1923 and I must say that one of the incorporators was Eleanor Roosevelt. So today we celebrate those eighty years and we remember all of the people, starting in 1918, who understood what all of you here tonight understand -- that in a democracy, we need to be aware of our role in the world and particularly as citizens of the United States as we end this century, we need to know more about what is happening around the world and we need to lend our voices to the discussions and the debates which are occurring.

I want to thank you for inviting me to this gathering and I want to thank you in advance for the honor that you will bestow upon me later in the evening. I looked at the list of people who have

come before and I am greatly honored to have joined their ranks.

I want to speak tonight about what you have done, why it has always been important and why I would argue it is even more important today. I do not have to tell this group that we are living in a complicated and confusing time in international relations. The fact that we call this period in which we are living the Post Cold War Era is only one indication that we know where we no longer are, but we don't yet know where we are or where we are heading.

The world has changed so rapidly in less than a decade that we have had little time to catch our breath, let alone change our strategies and institutions to meet the new challenges ahead. As Albert Einstein quoted in the most recent edition of the Foreign Policy Forum, once said, "The world we have created today has problems which can not be solved by thinking the way we thought when we created them."

As often happens in a time of rapid change, there is a natural inclination to draw inward a bit and pull back from the obligations to take stock -- to think that maybe there isn't much we can accomplish and we should just attend to business at home. Yet everyday we see how profoundly interconnected, even interdependent we are, in this new era of globalization. We only have to think of the current international economic crisis, the extraordinary boom in worldwide communications to realize how intertwined our destinies have become.

Whether we are pessimistic or optimistic about the forces of globalization, those forces are here to stay. They are a fact. We can't do away with computers, or cut off the Internet, or prevent jet travel from occurring or stop the mass media from bringing messages of different cultural ideas to different parts of the world. But what we can do and what this Association has been doing for so long is to help ourselves and our fellow citizens understand the stakes we have in building the stable, prosperous, democratic world that we all want and that the United States must take a lead in creating.

I have been privileged in the past several years, both with my husband and on my own, to travel around the world. I have been in many parts of the world where I have seen first hand the newly emerging democracies take hold, find their footing, stumble, regain their footing, try to go forward. I have been exposed to so many different people who look to the United States for leadership and are bewildered by sometimes what they see as mixed messages coming from our government and our media and our society.

And yet I have also been heartened by how resilient the forces of democracy seem to be. I just returned last week from a trip to Bulgaria and the Czech Republic. In both of those countries, whether I was meeting with university students or political leaders, talking with women entrepreneurs in a local bakery or just walking the streets and talking to citizens, I saw first hand how both of those societies are responding to the tremendous challenges they face.

In Bulgaria I met with the new political leadership that has taken hold and is attempting to reverse the stumbles of the first years of freedom. In the Czech Republic I met with the President and the Prime Minister as they are attempting to continue the forward progress that they have made and consolidated further.

I saw in the eyes of many people the optimism and determination that comes with freedom and responsibility. And yet I know how important it is that the United States has been involved in those two countries.

I could pick many countries for these examples. In Bulgaria for example, the fact that we have through a USAID program, worked with entrepreneurs, teaching them basic business techniques, helping them start businesses, helping to get them loans and credit that would help them get businesses up and going, was explained to me in great detail by women entrepreneurs as one of the reasons they have been able to be successful.

The American College and the American High School that for many years educated Bulgarians and then was closed because of the communist takeover and was not reopened until 1990, is now educating a new generation of Bulgarian students for a new future which awaits them. In many more instances, over and over again, I was thanked for American help and American expertise, not only from our government, but from business and academia and labor groups and no-profit organizations who have been there and have been engaged.

In the Czech Republic, when I was there a few years ago, I met with the beginnings of the non-governmental organizations which were finding their way in a newly constructed civil society. They didn't really know much about filling that space between the government and the economy that we call civil society. And they were worried that they wouldn't be able to do it.

And then upon this return visit, I met with some of the same people who told me with great pride of what they had accomplished on behalf of health and culture and medical research. They were finding their legs and thanked me and asked me to thank the many Americans who had helped them.

Next door in Slovakia when I visited just a few years ago, I saw just how dangerously close it was to fall back into authoritarianism because of its leadership. When I met there with the non-governmental organizations, the leaders came despite threats and intimidation from the government at the time. They were told not to meet with me, not to be open with me, not to tell me the truth about what they were trying to do to reverse environmental degradation -- to teach people how to be voters and citizens in a newly free country.

A { We were all worried about what would happen in Slovakia. But because of the determination of the people and again because of many Americans in both private, professional and public capacities, who spent time democracy building and working with NGO's and working with students, the government was just turned out in free elections. And there was a great sense of accomplishments among the Slovaks with whom I met in the Czech Republic because they had seen first hand what they could do to make democracy work for them. And once again they thanked me and asked me to thank Americans of that engagement that helped them understand how to take back their own destiny.

When my plane landed back at home last week, I could see that once again the Congress was engaged in the debate that they had at the very end of this session about how to allocate our

nations' resources. Behind all that discussion about appropriations, there are some very important values. How will we be engaged? Whether we will take on the responsibility that has fallen to us.

There was touch and go as many of you know who followed this debate. There was reluctance to fund our basic responsibilities. But finally when the dust settled, the President and the Administration were able to see some real accomplishments. Some significant progress was made toward the President's goal after very hard and long struggles.

First and foremost the Administration won the full \$18 billion it was requesting to replenish the IMF. It also got increased funds for the export-import bank in the amount of \$109 million. That is an important symbolic as well as real statement about our role in helping to stem the international financial crisis.

More assistance will be going to the newly independent states -- a very important American priority. We also saw increases in AID development funds up \$70 million over last year's government. There were also gains in funding for African and Asian development banks. They will come at critical times for these regions.

We also won more funding for the Peace Corps, another important symbol of American engagement. Yet our nation's foreign policy agenda also suffered losses. Once again, Congress refused to pay our debt to the United Nations, whose work is essential to peace and stability in our world. That issue of paying the UN remains entangled in family planning overseas. I respect those who in good faith are against family planning. But that is not an issue to be entangled with whether or not we fulfill our obligations to the United Nations. We should not and we cannot continue to fail to pay our dues because of this unrelated issue.

It should be unacceptable to all Americans, of any political persuasion, that the richest and most powerful country in the world is the number one debtor to the United Nations. We also suffered another defeat. Not one dime went to the United Nations International Family Planning Program. I don't know how we could best make this argument persuasively with those who for both political and personal reasons oppose family planning and use it to undermine our capacity to pay our dues to the United Nations. But I have personally been in clinics all over the world from the Ukraine to Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan and Russia, where family planning is not only helping women gain authority and dignity in their own lives, but is actually decreasing the abortion rate. So this is an argument that has no inherent logic to it.

By refusing to fund decent family planning services, we force women to fall back on abortion as the family planning choice. So I would hope that the Congress, when they reconvene, will revisit that issue.

There are accomplishments in this budget as well as losses, but overall we have to recognize that development assistance is at some of the lowest levels since World War II. In real dollar terms, USAID's budget is 30 percent lower than it was in 1982. The agency has had to cut its staff by one-third. And total Board Affairs spending is down 43 percent from 1982 in real dollars.

Now I have seen, as many of you have, how there can be a real difference made in the lives of people with a relatively small amount of assistance. We obviously are putting our major focus on increasing trade and investment, but assistance often goes hand-in-hand in making trade and investment successful and in creating a climate in which that can thrive.

I have seen from Nicaragua to Uganda how small loans, for example, subsidized and backed by our government through USAID, for the non-for-profit sector, encouraged by our government, have transformed the lives of poor women and improved the living standards of entire communities.

I have met in places like Bolivia with expectant mothers learning how to care for themselves and their babies in a primary health care center run by an NGO with government support again because of the help we provided. And in many of the newly independent states I have seen how the difficult transition to free-market and democracy has been supported as well by our development efforts. But the other side of the coin is that I have seen what happens when we have not come forward. When we have not exercised the leadership that we should.

And so here we are at the end of this century, at the beginning of a new one -- even a new millennium-- and we're having to ask ourselves what is America's role, how vast can we define it, how going back to the roots of FPA to those 19 great individuals can explain our mission today. We have to first recognize, as my husband has said on several occasions, that the United States can not pretend to be an island of prosperity in the global economy. We have to demonstrate to ourselves, to Congress, and to the world, that we are not only engaged because we care about the rest of the world, but we are engaged because it is in our interests to do so. There are great benefits that we derive from working on ? multi-lateral actions like peace-keeping. And we have to make sure that the ideals that we profess at home are put into practice around the world as well.

It's one of the great paradoxes of our foreign policy situation that we know that the American people, in poll after poll, are far more supportive of engagement than their representatives in Congress believe. I have seen the research surveys and studied the data, and if Americans are asked whether they want to help people overseas or support international organizations like the United Nations, in great numbers they answer "yes."

They also believe that we are already doing far more than we are. They think that foreign assistance is the single largest item in the federal budget. While in fact, economic and humanitarian assistance abroad makes up less than one-half of one percent of the federal budget. And the United States lags behind all other industrialized nations when foreign assistance spending is considered as a percentage of GNP.

So how do we explain this paradox of an American public that supports effective engagement, yet believes that we are already spending far more than we are in bringing that about. Well, one of the roles that the FDA has always had is to get the facts to the American public. To do away with the misperceptions, to clear the air, and to try to get a clear channel to people so that the discussion about what we should be doing and what our responsibilities are can be carried out

accurately. And the work that you have done in the past has been very important to that effort, but we have a lot of work in front of us. We need to do much more to try to make sure that those numbers of Americans who intuitively know that we should be engaged and leading and cooperating with other nations, and working with organizations like the United Nations, get the facts straight so that they then can get the facts straight so they then can interact with and discuss with their representatives why they support many of the programs that I previously referred to.

We have to raise the interest that Americans have to a newer and higher level of intensity and commitment. Because what so often happens is that although Americans do support such issues as paying our dues to the United Nations, the constituency that speaks for such Americans is woefully small and silent. There is not a great outpouring or concern about paying our U.N. dues whenever the issue comes up in Congress. All those people, those American citizens, who care about this issue are not organized and their voices are not being heard in a way that affects policy. So we have an opportunity -- the association does as well as the rest of the country. We have an opportunity to explain clearly the advantages of engagement around the world. We have an opportunity to talk about the commercial and economic advantages of opening up markets, creating jobs, advancing Americans' economic well-being. We have an opportunity to talk about how foreign assistance is critical to combating global problems that directly threaten the interests of Americans -- whether it is the spread of infectious diseases, air and water and land pollution, global climate change, population growth or the flight of refugees.

We have such an opportunity today, and I believe the time has never been better. What is it we can tell our fellow citizens? I would make the argument that we have a great stake in what happens around the world, for both national security and economic reasons. You have discussed many important issue decisions in the Great Decisions Program, and I would urge that we do everything we can to expand the impact and the reach of that program, and that we spawn as many imitators and others as we possibly can to try to create much more interest in, activity around and discussion of foreign policy objectives and reasons for our involvement.

I think we also have to humanize, even personalize, our foreign assistance, and our foreign relations, stories. It sometimes causes eyes to glaze over if we start talking about the issues around the world in abstract ways. But I have found that if we can put into stories, symbolic stories, about why we are involved in certain places around the world, we can catch Americans' attention.

When I talk, for example, about the USAID program called "Lessons Without Borders," people are amazed that things we learned overseas we are bringing home to do here to help our own citizens. Two examples: We have really pioneered micro-credit around the world building on the example of the Granine? Bank in Bangladesh. We have many organizations working with USAID to provide these small loans and extend credit to may people who are credit-worthy but without any collateral. One of those groups, called FICA?, I have seen from Nicaragua to Uganda, working miracles on behalf of credit and the way that it not only builds family incomes, but self-confidence, and creates citizens who before didn't know what their role in democracy is. We are now bringing those lessons home to America. I recently met with lower-income Americans in inner-city Washington, D.C., who felt they had been left out of the mainstream of

economic life here at home. No bank would lend them money to start their businesses or expand their small home operation. They didn't know where to turn. The only places they could have gone were the loan sharks, and they weren't going to do that. So FICA ?, a group the only dealt with the poorest of the poor before, is now working with Americans to help them get the credit and build their businesses as well. I've also visited neighborhoods in places like Baltimore, Md., where grassroots strategies to immunize children that were pioneered in places like Nairobi, Kenya, are being used. And we've seen incredible increases in child immunization rates. And we know that bringing those lessons home of how to reach hard-to-reach families to make sure they immunize their children is something we would never have pioneered in the United States alone, but we took our development assistance and learned from it.

We also, in addition to humanizing those kinds of lessons without borders, I think we need to put a human face on a lot of the dilemmas that we confront around the world today. Just a few quick examples: On my last trip, before this one with my husband, to Russia, I traveled beyond Novosibirsk to a place called Akadem Borodo. Which had then one of the closed communities, it was a closed academic center in Russia. And I made a speech at the university there in front of people who just a few years ago were among the highest status citizens in the former Soviet Union. They were applied mathematicians and physicists, they were pointed out as being the people who had really created the space program and built the great industrial machine of the Soviet Union. Now, of course, many of them no longer had much work to do. They're uncertain about this new world they're a part of. Many of them had advocated for democracy, and now they don't know what it has brought to them. I sat down with three generations of a family: the grandfather, an applied mathematician, and the grandmother, a research librarian; the two daughters, now both teachers of English; and the two grandsons, as well as the son-in-law. We sat in their apartment and we talked about how they saw Russia today. The grandfather was very pessimistic. He said, "It's just not what I expected at all. I thought democracy would bring great opportunity. I don't see that happening. And never before did I have to worry about things like my bicycle being stolen. Now it's been stolen twice." One of the daughters interrupted and said, "Daddy, don't you remember what it was like before? We had to get up at 2:00 in the morning to stand in line for butter. It is so much better now. We have so many more opportunities." And the grandfather said, "But, my bike gets stolen."

In this conversation that I witnessed and participated in, you could see the fault lines in what is happening in Russia as clearly, and perhaps for me, more persuasively, than anything I read in the mass media as I try to follow all of the financial and political challenges. How do we create an environment in a country that had to change so fast and change so much? Where people feel that they can invest in the future and it will get better for them and their children.

The same in Africa, where in so many settings I have seen people struggling to understand democracy. And being stymied in some respects, and being hopeful in others. But I was particularly pleased to see again where we are helping people to understand democracy, it is working. In a village in Senegal I watched as women performed for me the skit that they perform in their village and other villages to explain what democracy is. They act out people speaking up. They act out people leading. And they took on a very difficult challenge as a result of their education about democracy. They took on the challenge of ending female circumcision

A { in their village, going against ancient tradition and custom. But they have learned their lessons well, from a USAID-sponsored grantee, who had empowered them to make sure their voices could be heard. And when I came back to Senegal with my husband, I learned that out of that small village had grown a movement. Where some of the men who had been enlisted on their behalf began traveling to other villages, where the skit was performed for more people, and where all of a sudden the president was petitioned to pass a law ending that custom.

So I have seen both ends of the dilemmas of democracy. And I would like to have more Americans understand what is happening in those personal terms. Because I think if more Americans could see what I have seen, they would not only come away gratified and pleased by what the accomplishments we have been able to help others make on their behalf, have meant to them, but more willing to support that kind of grassroots engagement that builds relationships and creates a real bedrock for democracy in country after country.

I also believe that if we are able to humanize the foreign policy issues better than we have in recent times, we would have much more response from the Congress, because they would begin also to understand it. Remember, we have 100 members of the House of Representatives who have never had a passport. We have the majority leader of the House of Representatives saying, "Why does one need a passport? I left the country to go to Europe once in 1982, and that was enough for me." So unless we can break through that kind of ideological wall with stories, with human interests, with things people can understand, our task will be harder than it needs to be.

So I guess we will have to think about the challenges we face in order to make sure that the work of this association does all that it can do to give us the support we need. We have, certainly, some very good examples from the past. One of my favorites is what happened around the Marshall Plan. Leaders like Harry Truman and George Marshall not only had the vision to devise the plan, but they understood how difficult it would be to sell the plan. And they therefore enlisted literally hundreds of Americans from business executives to academics to religious leaders, to go and speak in every small town and college campus they could reach to talk about what was at stake. And out of that great commitment to public education at the end of World War II not only came the Marshall Plan, but U.S. leadership was supported. As we began to create the structure that we now look to to lead us into the future -- the United Nations, the World Bank, the Iron Map, Nato -- certainly we're going to have to take a hard look again at whether or not we have the structures and institutions we need and whether they are functioning as well as they should. In order to bring that about, we need something comparable in terms of a public education effort.

So I would challenge first the Congress to live up to their commitments, to pay our debts, to maintain support for international lending institutions, to boost funding for programs like AID, and to understand how important it is to support rhetorically America's engagement in the world, and to reach out to America's citizens to be part of that engagement.

I would challenge business leaders, to be sure that they support America's leadership around the world. I have found, unfortunately, that there has been a drop-off in elite opinion support for foreign engagement. Many business leaders today spend more time traveling around the world

than their predecessors did a generation ago, but they speak up less on behalf of what we need to do to maintain our engagement, and they are not involved in helping to educate their peers or supporting programs in Congress.

I would challenge the media to increase its coverage of foreign affairs which has fallen off so dramatically in recent years. It is difficult for us to point fingers at Americans if they don't know what is going on unless it is a crisis or a humanitarian disaster. Churches and humanitarian groups, not governmental organizations, foundations and others, have to do more to make sure their work is leveraged and linked. There are lessons all of us can learn from what many have been doing abroad for many years, and now is the time to share those lessons, and try to make more of them to reach even more Americans as well as doing that work that is being done.

Most of all, I think we have to reach out to young people. We have to be sure that they understand what is at stake in American engagement. And I want to commend the Association's Great Decisions Program, which since 1954 has done so much to attract the interests of all citizens, but especially young people. I recently read a letter from a student who had participated in the program, and she wrote that, I quote, "I continue to regard the Great Decisions Program as one of the few opportunities an undergraduate has to have a meaningful impact on foreign policy, both by educating others about contemporary issues, and encouraging good citizenship through the promotion of discussion."

More than 50 years ago, when Eleanor Roosevelt was pressing her case for the United Nations, she spoke to a high school forum here in New York City. She urged students to learn more about the languages and cultures of other nations, but also to work on the problems and conflicts right here in their own neighborhoods. "What we do at home in our communities," she said, "builds the kind of nation we have and the kind of influence that nation is going to have in the international arena." We have to pay attention to that good advice as well. We have to model -- living together peacefully, respecting our diversity, being open to new ideas, if that is what we hope and expect the rest of the world to do as well.

We celebrate this year the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. And we face unparalleled opportunities to share the world's prosperity and growth, and to continue the march of human rights and democracy around the globe. Like those who first decided to create this remarkable organization, we may not always know how to proceed. But if we stick to our founding principles, educate ourselves and engage the interest of Americans in debating our new role in the world, then I am convinced America will once again rise to the challenge, that our leadership in the world will remain firm and confident in the 21st century, and that America's best days will be ahead of us because we will have learned how to be global neighbors in our new global neighborhood. Thank you very much.

REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

THE CENTER FOR NATIONAL POLICY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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Thank you all very much. Thank you, thank you so much. Thank you, I am overwhelmed and extremely honored. Extremely honored to receive this award and extremely honored to be with all of you this evening. I must say that I have many thoughts and feelings running through my head and heart. But I want all of you to know how grateful I am for the commitment to public service, for the belief in this country's ideals, for the work that all of you do every day, and that this center has done. To breathe life into our commitment to building a better future. For our nation and our world.

I was watching that video and, besides being struck by my changing hair styles, I was thinking about all of the places I have been privileged to visit on behalf of our country, both with my husband and on my own, and often with good friends like Secretary Albright. And how honored I am every single time I am permitted, on behalf of my country, to go to any part of the world and to do what I can to convey to people everywhere what it is that America stands for, and what kind of world we want to build together. I want to thank, especially, my friend

Secretary Albright for her introduction. As you might have guessed from her words, one of the great gifts of my time here in Washington is my friendship with Madeleine Albright, and my admiration for her, and what she is doing for our country, continues to grow.

I'm also very grateful that two friends of mine, both of whom served our country so well during this administration, Ruth Harkin and "Mack" McClarty, who have agreed to chair this dinner and to be here with me. I want to thank Mo and the staff of the Center for the work you do every day, for the enormous effort that went into this dinner. I'm very grateful that members of Congress are here. I am very pleased that members of the Diplomatic Corps are also with us, and also many of you who are friends of the Center. I am especially pleased that Jane Muskie and members of the Muskie family are with us.

I want to add my words publicly to those that have already been said on behalf of Kirk O'Donnell. In the rough and tumble world of politics, his life exemplified public service. He brought great gifts to all that he did, especially making this Center an active and effective voice. He will be missed greatly. I know all of you who knew Kirk much better than I, will continue to support his family in the days and months ahead.

Now you might think, and I wouldn't blame you for thinking, that there needs to be some explanation, perhaps, as to what the connection is between America's leadership in the world -- our national security -- our

diplomatic mission, our future -- and the kinds of scenes you just saw in the video. I think in a way, it's especially fitting that we would gather tonight in honor of Ed Muskie, who had a special way of talking about and explaining the problems of the world. He carried out his responsibilities with great fairness, warmth, and intelligence, whether he walked the back roads of Maine or the corridors of power, he represented the best of America -- our optimism, our deep commitment to forge bi-partisan support for our national and international objectives. How fitting that he would be followed in the Secretary of State's position by someone who shared that optimism and commitment, who is equally devoted to making it clear what America's position is around the world, but also making it clear to Americans why we must do what is set before us to meet the challenges of our time.

So, when I think about this great honor that you have given me, and I view this film that the Center has prepared, I see an unbroken line that runs from people like Ed Muskie to Madeleine Albright, but has roots much deeper than that, that certainly go back to the architecture of our foreign policy after the end of WWII, when our leaders, both Democratic and Republican, understood what America must do to help create a world that would be safe and secure, peaceful and prosperous for us. That unbroken line, as you I'm sure, have observed, has become somewhat frayed in recent years, partly because of historical changes

that have brought deep transformations in how the world is working; because of the impact of technology; because of the changes and the political structure, and so many other reasons.

We are living in what is called the post-Cold War era, hardly a descriptive term, but instead an add-on because we know we are no longer where we were, we just don't know where we are yet. And that poses great challenges to decision-makers because the world has changed so rapidly that we have to catch our breath and as often happens in a time of rapid change, there's a natural inclination to pull in a little bit. To think that maybe there is not much we can do in the world, that we should just attend to our business here at home. One of Secretary Albright's great gifts, which was eloquently described by Mack McClarty, is her unique ability to communicate with Americans about what is going on around the world, to put into down-to-earth terms all of those difficult problems that she has to analyze and deal with every day.

So as we stand here, on the brink of a new century, and as we are amidst of this enormous transformation that is occurring, there is a lot of talk about what must be done to create the conditions for the kind of stable world that we certainly want and that we have to take the lead in creating.

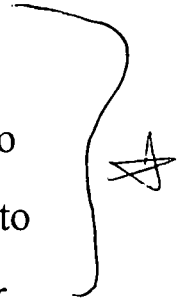
When my husband spoke to the Council on Foreign Relations on New York on Monday, he laid out both an analysis of, and prescriptions

for, the international economic crisis that we are facing today. Those prescriptions require us to think differently. They require our allies and our friends around the world to think and act differently in order to fashion remedies that meet today's problems, not yesterday's. So we all -- in the Center, and those of you engaged in the hard work in the Congress, and in the Administration, and in the private sector, in making sense of this new world, all have to take stock of where we are and where we need to be going, and that brings me back to the video. It brings me back to the issues that I have seen visibly played out in my travels, not only abroad but also here at home. It's certainly clear to me that much of what we have to do, is acquaint ourselves with what is actually going on in the rest of the world, to have a much better idea than we are able to get in our daily viewing of news or receipt of information about what is happening in countries far from our shores.

We have to understand people better. I think it is a grave misconception to believe that the extraordinary increase in local communications, the existence of the Internet with information being passed from place to place in nano-seconds means that we are all becoming alike. There are deep and important differences among us that must be understood and respected. We cannot treat the world as though it were homogenous. And even as the President spoke on Monday about our international

financial challenges, there are different and necessary changes that will have to be made that will not be the same in countries that are very diverse, such as Japan and Russia.

So, how do we once again take stock of the world in which we find ourselves and the one in which we are the indispensable nation? I believe some of what we must do starts with very simple efforts to understand each other and to realize that one of America's great gifts to the world is a sense of optimism and hope, matched by a commitment to providing the tools of opportunity that will enable people to solve their own problems and build their own lives. I am especially impressed by what I have seen of America's foreign assistance around the world.



Like many Americans, before I started living in the White House, I didn't know a lot about foreign assistance. I didn't know where it was going or what it was used for. I had, perhaps, more than the typical knowledge of that, but I was not well versed. I must say that over the past five and a half years I've seen first-hand how America's programs overseas have helped to fuel and further progress. I have been very regretful to see where we have not come forward with aid to help democracy flourish and provide opportunities for people that we have not played the role we could have played.

It is very troubling to me that for the past fifteen years, the foreign assistance budget of our country has steadily declined. Many of you are

well aware of the rather paradoxical situation that exists, where in public opinion poll after public opinion poll, Americans are asked if they want to help people overseas, if they want to provide not only humanitarian assistance but development assistance. In great numbers they answer, "yes." But then they're asked how much money do you think we spend on foreign assistance in the United States, and they say, "well, we spend between ten and fifteen percent of our national budget." Those of you who are familiar with our budget know that we spend less than one percent on our entire foreign assistance budget. So we have this unusual paradox of an American public that wants to see work that is done and is effective but believes we're already spending far more than we actually are. I wish that I could take every American with me to see the results that I have seen in place after place.

From Nicaragua to Uganda I have seen how small loans, subsidized and backed by our government through USAID, or our not-for-profit sector, have transformed the lives of poor women. Sometimes only a few dollars can dramatically improve the resources and living standards of an entire community. One woman in Bangladesh told me about how she borrowed money to buy a milk cow and -- by selling that milk--she bought another. Then when she had finally made enough money, she bought a rickshaw for her husband, so that he could become a taxi driver. I've met other villagers who are renting cellular phones in

places that have no phone service, and are connecting people in these remote villages with the rest of the world by renting out time on their cellular phones. Every time I see that kind of transformation I see two things that are at the root of our foreign policy; the promotion of democracy and the promotion of market economies -- not in abstract and theoretical terms, but down on the earth where people live and work in village after village.

In Bolivia, I met with expectant mothers at a primary health center run by an NGO with support from the government, again because of help we had provided. They had created a safe place for very poor women to get health care. They brought in their babies for immunization. They had prenatal check ups and -- because of this access to health care -- they were limiting the numbers of babies they had. And because their babies were healthier, they were living longer, and the women were understanding how they could be both better mothers and healthier by practicing family planning. Now it may seem a stretch, but to me, there's a direct correlation--a woman in Bolivia who was given the support she needs to receive the health care she requires, who determines based on the information she is given and the education she receives that she wants to limit the number of her children has a positive effect on our future lives together.

In Senegal, I visited a small village where education for girls, and women's adult literacy programs, had become a top priority. I watched how because the women were educated, they began to understand what they needed to do to deal with the environmental damage that was occurring in their village. They were able to go out and take barren land, with the help of some technical assistance, again indirectly provided through USAID, to begin to make that barren land productive, to grow products which they then sold, which helped support sending more girls and boys to school. They realized a very fundamental lesson that when you educate a girl you help create a better informed and educated mother and a potential leader for the community.

Would we look at these, what appear to be very small steps? Just think of aggravating them and think about -- despite all the rhetoric that we have heard filling the air waves since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of communism -- about free markets and democracy. We cannot expect people who have experienced neither to understand how to make that transition without a lot of help and modeling. We are learning now, with the global economic crisis, that we have to do a better job of demonstrating what it means to be part of a democracy, what it means to be a participant in a market economy.

Last year I went to Siberia. I went to outside of Novosibirsk, to a place called Agardamporodo, where I met with three generations of a

Russian family. It was very instructive for me. The grandfather had been a well respected applied mathematician in the closed city, the closed academic center, where he had worked all of his adult life. His wife was a research librarian. They were both retired now. They had two daughters, both of whom were teaching English and they had a grandson. In talking with them I could see the generational tensions that are operating in a society like Russia's as they make this transition, that all of us hope and pray they can successfully navigate, and we're doing all we can to assist them. The grandfather, a very gentle looking man said, "I always yearned for democracy. I always believed in democracy," but he had none. "But now it makes no sense to me. I don't understand how it works. My pension is not paid, I don't have enough money to live on. My bicycle has been stolen. I don't know what the future holds."

One of his daughters broke in and said, "But daddy, don't you remember that we used to have to stand in line to buy butter, starting at four or five o'clock in the morning when it was available. Things are better now." And he said, "Yes, but all I know is that my bicycle is stolen and my pension is not paid." And then his wife said, "No, there used to be respect for learning and for education. Now all that anything matters seems to be what you can sell and there are many, many trying to sell and very few trying to buy."

If you have a chance to listen to people, you understand more clearly what is going on in the headlines that we see every day. You also see the opportunities for our country to be more involved in helping to change attitudes and provide opportunities to those who are making these difficult transitions -- from controlled economies to free markets, from authoritarianism to democracy. It is in our self interest to do what we can to help all of these people navigate this transformation. We also know that powerful, global forces lurk that threaten the gains that are being made. The bombings in Tanzania and Kenya were an attempt to send a tragic and evil message-- to destroy lives to intimidate America and Americans, to intimidate our friends, and to discourage people from pursuing freedom. The global financial crisis -- which is pushing millions of people around the world back under the yoke of poverty and affecting the pocketbooks and stock markets from one end of the world to the other -- is a grim reminder of our inter-connected and interdependent world. We cannot pretend, as my husband has said, that we can be "an island of prosperity."

Therefore, we have a critical challenge, and opportunity, to make the connections for ourselves and with others around the globe. We're doing some of that work, but I don't think we are doing enough of it. Even in the peaceful, yet incomplete, transition of the newly independent states of Eastern Europe, for example, stable market

democracy is vital to continued growth in that region and to 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.

In Africa, we are investing in the rule of law to help prevent future genocides and instability on that continent, in supporting Radio Democracy, which will help strengthen fledgling democracies. Again, we face cuts in programs that are only beginning to have an effect. Through AID's international disaster assistance funds we respond to both natural and man-made disasters world wide, helping to suppress raging fires in Mexico, promoting ethnic reconciliation in Bosnia, and so many other places. Again, the program and effort that is showing the best of America is in danger of being cut.

This is not the time to withdraw our involvement or attention for the world. If we care, as we say we do, that opening foreign markets is essential for American goods and services, then we have to do more than just talk about it. We have to fully fund the International Monetary Fund, including the President's request for additional \$18 billion. We also have to be clear that opening foreign markets for American goods and services is not just an economic undertaking. It rests ultimately on political change as we have seen in the last months. We have to do more to help people understand and promote democracy and rule of law, and

all of the issues that we know are critical to both political and economic success.

If we care, as we say we do, about making our country secure in the face of new threats, then we must pay our debts to the United Nations. Unfortunately, paying our debts to the UN has become entangled with an unrelated issue -- family planning overseas. I respect the deeply held views of both sides, but I have personally seen how our family planning assistance improves women's lives, and not only helps control the population increase, but also helps the reduce the incidence of abortion. We cannot continue to fail to pay our dues because of this unrelated issue.

If we care, as we say 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 have mentioned, that demonstrate clearly America's ideals and gives citizens around the world a chance to relate to us, to be part of this great democratic movement that is sweeping the globe.

And if we care, as we say we do, about the quality of lives of women around the world -- who make up seventy percent of the poor and two thirds of those who cannot read or write -- then we should support investments in lifelines that work by micro credit and education.

I really do wish that our country would join the rest of the world in ratifying the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women.

Now, what we need to do, I think, is not just the government's to do. I've mentioned issues that require administration and congressional action but there is much that we all can do to promote an agenda of security, and stability, peace, and prosperity.

After the end of WWII, the creation of the Marshall Plan responded to a very real need, but it was not an immediately popular idea. Leaders like President Truman and General Marshall had the vision to look beyond the war time devastation and underlying hostilities, to a Europe in which regional cooperation would transcend adversarial boundaries and traditional rivalries. They believed large scale economic cooperation would facilitate post-war recovery which they knew was in the interest of long term prosperity, international peace, and the United States. It was U.S. leadership that was instrumental in creating the UN, The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and of course, NATO. But it wasn't just President Truman and General Marshall and government officials who were able to bring this about. In fact, they had to enlist key constituencies around our country in a major campaign.

It was a difficult sell to go into small towns around America and say, "We want to use to your tax dollars to go rebuild Nazi Germany."

That was a difficult sell, but because they had listed a broad spectrum of leaders from the private sector, academia, foundations, and the like, they were able to get into small towns and civic clubs, and college campuses and make the case for American engagement and American leadership. That is what we need to do again 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--providing jobs, creating markets for exports, enhancing our security.

If we do persuade our fellow Americans that America's leadership is essential, then there will certainly be a greater commitment by the Congress to what needs to be done to fulfill that leadership. Working to engage Americans will not be easy. We have a lot on our plates and a lot of other things to occupy time in our lives. But I think it is an essential challenge that I hope we can meet, because it is not only a one-way street.

Yes, I believe that by investing in education in Uganda, which is engaged in a heroic effort to undo the damage of the 1980's and educate children who have never seen the inside of a school before. Or when we create opportunities for women in Latin American barrios to make a better income for themselves and their families. Yes, we are doing that because we believe it will have a ripple effect indirectly on the state of

the world and our self interest. There are also lessons we can learn from what is going on overseas because of what our foreign assistance has done. We saw on the video examples of micro credit and a particular group called FINCA. Well, because of the lessons of FINCA, from overseas, we brought FINCA to Washington, DC, where I met with a group of lower-income Americans right in our backyard, who felt they were out of the mainstream of the economic life of our country and they needed a little bit of help. They needed credit, they needed technical assistance, to know how to make a living for themselves and their families.

There is much we can give and much we can learn. So, I am very honored and very grateful to CNP, and to all of you who work with it, and all of you people in your individual capacities working on behalf of America's leadership and engagement around the world. I thank you for giving me this honor and I ask that each of us think about how we can promote the vision that would honor Ed Muskie's legacy, that would continue our commitment to be the leader of this new world that is being created, and that would help people in our own country understand better why investments in people a long way away is in the interest of them and their families, and our future.

I believe that we have within our grasp the vision of what needs to be done, if we have the will to do it. There are a lot of people looking



over our shoulders like Ed Muskie or Kirk O'Donnell, people who spent their lives trying to fulfill the ideals of our country. If we take up their challenge and we go forward together, I'm convinced that America's best days and America's leadership in the world will stand firm and confident in the 21st century.

Thank you all very much.

USAID DEDICATION
Ronald Reagan Building

Remarks of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Washington, D.C.
March 16, 1999

Thank you very much. I am overwhelmed and incredibly honored. I've also never seen a bigger plaque in my entire life. Thank you, Brian. Thank you, USAID, for this tremendous honor. But more than that, thank you for what you do every day to help people to help themselves to transform the conditions in which they live so that they can have a better future for themselves and their children.

I particularly want to thank Senator Leahy and Chairman Callahan for their leadership, especially on behalf of the children of the world. We will never fulfill our global responsibilities and we will never let the world see how we see ourselves, as a good and compassionate people, without the support of leaders like the Senator and Congressman. All of us owe them a debt of gratitude, and all the other members of Congress on both sides of the aisle who recognize clearly that leadership includes responsibilities, and therefore support the work of USAID.

I want to thank Ambassador Ssempala for her remarks and her friendship over the years. And I want to thank all of the ambassadors, many of whom I recognize here in the audience, for being with us today. I have been privileged to visit in many of your countries and to see firsthand the work that is being done there, and I am grateful for your attendance here.

I also want to thank the extraordinary Eastern High School Choir that you have enjoyed, and the Marine Corps Brass Quintet. And I know that there are students here gathered over in that area who are part of a new program called Operation Day's Work -- and these students from the McFarland Middle School here in Washington, and St. Louis Park Senior High School, are taking part in this first day of trying to reach out and help the people of Haiti.

We have realized that we need to do more to enlist the imagination and the work of young people who live here in our country in this time of great blessing and prosperity -- so that they would understand what the lives of young people around the world were like. And I am very hopeful that this new program will grow and grow so that many, many American students will have the same experience.

As I was listening to Brian speak -- talking about the many times that he and I have been together and the many places around the world we have visited -- I couldn't help but think of how I have seen him at work and how I have watched his leadership

and his tireless commitment in action. He has brought creativity and passion, effectiveness, and down-to-earth common sense leadership to USAID. And because of that we are gathered here in this beautiful atrium looking out at so many of you who do the work of USAID. And knowing that because of this man's leadership, your work is more understood and appreciated and finally acknowledged than it would have been before.

In some parts of the world -- it may have been hard for those of us here at home to understand -- USAID assistant administrators are treated almost like rock stars. We show up somewhere together and people say to them, "I'm so glad to see you because you brought so much hope." In very concrete ways they talk about the changes that have occurred since the last visit. And when I am there in a village, in a barrio, in any setting around the world, with those of you who work with USAID and our partners in the voluntary sector and in the private sector, I wish I could have every single American with me to see for themselves the work that you do.

Like many Americans, before I moved to Washington and began living in the White House, I hadn't traveled very much around the world. I had traveled some, but certainly not to South America or Africa, most parts of Asia, Central or Eastern Europe. And so for me, when I began the great privilege of representing our country, I began to see things that I had never seen before. I hadn't seen them on our television programs, I hadn't really read about them very often in our newspapers. I knew, because I had friends who worked for both USAID and other voluntary organizations that did development work, that there was a lot of work going on, but it had never been really visible to me. And I began to wonder, as I traveled, what I could do to try to make the work -- that before had been invisible, but now is not only visible but also is making an incredible impression on me -- more available to my fellow citizens.

One of the ways I chose was to be sure to go places that were not likely to make the evening news, because too often we only see the tragedies and the crises. We only hear the stories of deprivation; we don't see the faces of people who are working for themselves and changing their lives. So when I began to travel, I wanted to go to those places. I wanted to see for myself where my tax dollars were going. I wanted to learn what was effective and how it could be more so. And I constantly wished and hoped that more Americans, perhaps through my visits, could see and learn what I was experiencing.

So when I was in South Africa, the first time I could I went out to a small plot of land which was very barren and met the women who told me with great pride that they were going to build their own village, they were going to build their houses, they were going to build the stores and the streets, and they were going to be moving out of the shanty town where they had crowded in deplorable conditions and start new lives with their families. I could see the determination, but the dream seemed so far out of reach.

But through a combination of microcredit loans and assistance not only from their government, but also from religious organizations and USAID and from many independent organizations, when I returned a year later with the President, I said I have to go back out to this housing area. And it was hard to put it on the calendar, and I couldn't get it on the President's calendar, to be sure. But I said, "Well, there is open time here before the President has to make a speech; he'll be working with his speech writers and advisors about what he's going to say to the South African Parliament, so I could just sneak off and go see the women and how they're doing."

But when my husband heard that I was going to get to go off and see the housing project and he was going to be in a hotel room talking about a speech, he said to his schedulers, "No, I want to use that time to go as well." And those of you who have ever been around a Presidential visit -- it's hard to just kind of sneak off and show up. So the word went out that the President, indeed, was going to come to the housing project, and all of a sudden all kinds of things began to occur. But when we went out there, there weren't the maybe one or two dozen houses I expected to see after a year's worth of effort. There were, as Brian said, more than a hundred. And the women had purchased a plot of land right over the railroad tracks so that they could expand another four hundred houses. They proudly took me into the houses that had been completed, and they took me to the day care center that they had started, and they took me to the store. And they made Bill and me actually do some work ourselves so that we could contribute to the building of one of their houses.

It is that image, it is that reality, that I have been privileged to see in every corner of the globe. People who, yes, are poor, people without a lot of formal education, but with the same hopes and aspirations for their lives and the lives of their children as you and I share -- who need just some encouragement, some help, some technical assistance -- and if given that, they'll demonstrate their good faith and will be able to create a better future for themselves.

I wish every American could meet the women that I've met in health clinics in Bolivia or Brazil, in Istanbul, in places all over the world. Women who, for the first time, are being given the opportunity to have access to the health care that they and their children need; who are learning about how to care for their young children's nutritional, physical, and other needs.

I remember so well the health minister in Brazil with whom I've met. He was a state health minister; he had been a doctor for many years. And I visited a maternity hospital which took care of women who were in the joyous experience of having their children and learning to take care of them, and also women who were there because they had no family planning and they had unfortunately sought out back-alley abortions. And I remember the health minister saying that his mission was to make sure that poor women had access to the same family planning services that rich women had always had.

And that made a great impression on me, because in country after country -- sometimes even in my own -- I listen to people talk about what poor people are entitled to and what services they should have, in a way that seems to deny their rights to the same opportunities as the rest of us because of our positions in society can take advantage of.

I know that USAID has not always been well known in our country, and sometimes it is better known in other places around the world. But when USAID commemorated the 50th anniversary of U.S. foreign assistance two months ago, it should remind us that the roots of this program are deep. Its origins go back to President Truman's inaugural address in 1949. The White House, as White Houses usually do, sent out a memo asking for ideas for a speech designed to be a "democratic manifesto addressed to the peoples of the world."

A young public affairs officer at the State Department named Benjamin Hardy came up with one such idea. He suggested that we create a program that would allow the U.S. to share its technical expertise with developing nations. The idea was dismissed outright by his immediate superiors. But he refused to let it die. And he figured out a way to take that idea directly to the White House.

And when the idea reached President Truman, he loved it. In the aftermath of World War II, President Truman understood that America needed to play a pivotal role in creating a world that was safe and secure, peaceful and prosperous. He knew that the world was then, as it is now, looking to us for global leadership.

When the speech was being drafted, everyone assumed the foreign policy agenda would include three points: support for the United Nations, support for the Marshall Plan, and support for a security system for Europe that would become NATO. But Benjamin Hardy's idea became point four. It drew applause from the world community and paved the way for the foreign assistance programs that we have enjoyed over the next years.

By adding that point four, President Truman was sending the message that investing in developing nations was not social work, but a pillar of our foreign policy. It was not only the right thing to do, it was the smart thing to do. And I think that that reasoning of President Truman's is just as true today.

Now, certainly, the world in which we live is very different. We are living in what is called, for want of a better description, the post-Cold War era. That means that we know where we've been, and we sort of know where we are, but we're not sure at all where we're going. Because the world around us has changed so rapidly that we barely have time to catch our breath. And in time of rapid change, it is understandable that some are inclined to draw inward and pull back from the obligations, to catch their breaths, thinking that maybe there isn't much that can be accomplished and that we

should just tend to our business here at home.

But of course, in today's world, that's not even really an option. Every day we see how profoundly interconnected we are in this new era of globalization. Whether it is the international economic crisis or the extraordinary boom in worldwide communications or the threat of infectious diseases or terrorism. We have to acknowledge that, in many ways, our lives and even our destinies are intertwined.

If that is true -- and I think it is -- we have to determine what we do with this new set of conditions. It certainly seems an inappropriate time to turn back on commitments to multilateral organizations that help us understand and work through this new era of interconnection. The International Monetary Fund, the United Nations -- those are institutions that we had a great hand in creating, that we have had a great deal to do in leading and shaping, and which hold promise if we are committed to them in making the kinds of contributions that we expect to be made to build a stronger, stabler future.

It is certainly not the time to withdraw support from the United Nations or to be the number one debtor to the United Nations. It is time for the United States instead to demonstrate our leadership and commitment to the United Nations. It is certainly not a time to withdraw support from foreign assistance programs, but to do as Brian and Chairman Callahan and Senator Leahy have said: to make sure that our foreign assistance programs are effective. And I'm pleased that the President's budget for Fiscal Year 2000 includes a \$270 million increase for USAID.

As I talked with my husband about his recent trip to Central America last week, he kept saying over and over again how he was overwhelmed by all he had seen -- starting with the extraordinary site of the body of the young girl that was embedded in the mudslide in Nicaragua. But he wasn't only telling me about the devastation he had seen, he was telling me also about the positive relief efforts that he had learned about -- what USAID and other American institutions and individuals had done to help bring food and shelter and medicine to Mitch's victims.

And I want publicly to thank Senator Leahy and Congressman Callahan for supporting the President's request for almost \$1 billion in supplemental funding to further help the people of Central America and the Caribbean repair and rebuild their lives. The need, as anyone who has visited can see with their own eyes, is urgent. And I do hope that the Congress acts in a bipartisan fashion to approve this package quickly.

Now we know that in opinion poll after opinion poll, Americans say when asked, that they want to help people overseas. But then they're asked how much money do you think we spend on foreign assistance, time after time, in poll after poll, Americans say they think we spend between 10 and 15 percent of our national budget. Now, of course, you know that we actually spend one half of one percent.

So, there is this paradox that exists. Americans are compassionate, Americans do care, Americans want to be helpful. But they have the wrong idea about what we are doing, and they need more information and education about what the facts are. How can we convey that to them?

Well, just as President Truman did 50 years ago, we have an opportunity, today, to make the case for how foreign assistance creates all kinds of obligations and opportunities that we can meet. How it helps us nurture and sustain democracies, strengthens economies and open markets for American goods and services. How it ensures our security in the face of new threats -- especially with the spread of infectious diseases, pollution, global climate change, population growth or the flight of refugees.

And we should talk about what our foreign assistance does, not in the abstract, not in percentages, or even in dollars, but with the stories, the down-to-earth stories that actually occur in village after village. So every time we talk about the need to help nations make the difficult transition to democracy and free-market economies, I hope we will humanize and personalize it so Americans have a better idea of what we're talking about.

We need to hear the voices of the people throughout the world who are struggling now after the end of the Cold War to build their own countries, to strengthen their societies, to seek economic opportunities. I would like Americans to hear the voices of the family that I met in Siberia. The grandfather had been a well respected applied mathematician in the closed academic center, where he had worked his entire adult life.

I met with him and his wife, with his two daughters, his son-in-law and his two grandsons. He said, "I always yearned for democracy. I always believed in democracy, but now it makes no sense to me. I don't understand how it is supposed to work. My pension is not paid. I don't have enough money to live on. And my bicycle has been stolen. I don't know what the future holds."

One of his daughters broke in and said, "But Daddy, don't you remember we used to have to stand in line for hours just to buy butter, starting at four or five o'clock in the morning, and often it wasn't even available. Things are better now." And then her father replied, "But all I know is that my bicycle is stolen and my pension is not paid."

And listening to that dialogue, that conversation that could occur in so many different settings and so many parts of the world, brings home how difficult it is to make these transitions that we are expecting and hoping and working for around the world. One just doesn't snap one's fingers and say, "Have a democracy, open your markets, change the way you've always done things, create a new world for yourselves and your children." It took years and years during the Cold War. It took billions and billions, even trillions, of dollars for us to defend our values. And now we have an opportunity,

through our foreign assistance, to help people like that grandfather and to help countless men and women around the world be able to put into practice those values that America stands for and how they can be made real in their lives.

If we listen to people, we understand more what we can do to help them really create the conditions for democracy to flourish. Brian mentioned a visit that he and I and the President made in Senegal. The year before, when I was in Senegal, I went to a village where, with USAID support, people were learning the fundamentals of democracy. Both men and women were standing up and having discussions and taking votes about what should happen in their village -- a totally new concept that had never before been part of their culture or tradition. And out of the skits and efforts that one of the groups engaged in, they began to ask themselves about things they would like to change and they decided in one village to start talking about the ancient practice of FGM [female genital mutilation]. That conversation led to a vote. That vote led to the banning of FGM in that one village.

And then two men in that village began to walk from village to village talking with other men and women about what they had just done through a democratic process in their village. And pretty soon another village and another village -- and 13 villages in all -- voted to ban FGM. Then they decided to go to the Capital and bring a petition to the president. And just last month, Senegal adopted a law banning FGM. And it became a model and it started with a very small USAID grant that over years began to change attitudes and behaviors.

I believe that we have learned a lot about what makes for effective foreign assistance. We've learned how to be very targeted with our assistance, we've learned how to leverage our assistance, and we've begun to see the results of that changed approach.

In Bulgaria, I met entrepreneurs whom USAID is helping to start businesses to get that economy going as strong as it can. At a small clinic in Nepal, I saw how this little box -- a safe home delivery kit which contains a bar of soap, twine, wax, a plastic sheet, and a clean razor blade -- can dramatically reduce maternal and neonatal deaths. And in Bangladesh, I learned how the government is providing food and money to encourage families to keep their daughters in school.

Now these may seem, in the great scheme of things, small little steps. But every time we stand up as Americans for human dignity, for education, for health care; every time we say we want to help you become full participants in your society, to understand how markets work, to build a democracy; we are saying not only we want to help you, but we want to help ourselves be the kind of leaders that we should be for the next century. We've also brought home some of those lessons with a USAID program called "Lessons Without Borders," and I hope we continue to bring home lessons that we learn

that can help right here in our cities and our rural areas.

I'm going to continue doing what I can to highlight the work of USAID. This Saturday, I will begin a trip to North Africa, with stops in Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco. I am looking forward to that because I know that with populations that total almost one-half of the Arab world, these countries represent a diversity of cultures, ethnic groups, and histories, and provide us an opportunity to learn more about what they are doing, about their history, and to become closer friends and partners in building a better future

For too long, our close ties with the Arab world have been compromised by negative stereotyping on both sides. It is my hope that this trip will help strengthen the bonds of friendship among our nations. Each country I will visit will have certain opportunities for both my learning and, I hope through coverage and the press, learning by Americans in general.

While in Egypt, I will celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty and the breathtaking culture that distinguishes that nation and its past. In Tunisia, I will hear about their remarkable record on women's rights -- which is the envy of most of the world. And in Morocco, I will see how that country's unique experiment with political pluralism, religious tolerance, and the growth of civil society could serve as a model to others.

To be sure, there are many challenges that remain in those three countries, like in any country around the world. Challenges that find people asking themselves: How do we combine political stability with respect for human rights? How do we adapt to the global economy without leaving vulnerable citizens behind? I hope to see how USAID is helping to answer those and other questions.

Later this year, I will complete my tour of this region with visits to two other important allies -- Israel and Jordan. Because of the election in Israel and the mourning of His Majesty King Hussein in Jordan, it was not appropriate to schedule trips there at this time. But I very much look forward to visiting Israel and Jordan in the months ahead.

If we are now looking forward, as we must, to the end of this century and to the beginning of the next one, we can take no better model than to look back at President Truman and the creation of foreign assistance, the creation of the Marshall Plan. I've read a lot about it, and I know it was a difficult sell for the President and others to go around our country and say, "We want to use to your tax dollars to rebuild Nazi Germany."

But because a broad coalition of people in government, and the private sector, and academia, and throughout our country came together and we made the case for

engagement and leadership -- and that is what we must do again today.

Members of Congress, business leaders, journalists, and others who travel throughout the world can help all of us here at home better understand why it is in America's interest to support the work that goes on in this building.

People like Benjamin Hardy had a good idea, and many of you who are development professionals have had many other good ideas over the years. I hope that I will be able to continue to support you, but I hope more than that, that many Americans will come to understand what you do and how your work is part of a fundamental debate about what role our country will play in a changing world. It is not a debate that is limited to one sector of our society -- it is a debate that should engage all Americans. I'm convinced that if Americans have the information about what you do, they will support your work, and they will not only support it, they will understand why it is an integral part of the kind of leadership that we expect to exercise in the 21st century.

I'm fully confident that when the history of the past 50 years is written, we will not only point to the Cold War and its ending, we will not only recognize that the values of America have been given an opportunity unlike any opportunity in human history to flourish, but we will also recognize that our nation has a great deal at stake in working with people all around the world who wish to build a better, more peaceful, more stable, economically prosperous future. And when we recognize that, then the role of USAID and foreign assistance will be understood as I think it deserves to be -- as truly one of the pillars of American leadership.

Thank you very much.

Preliminary Draft Remarks by HRC on US Engagement in International Affairs

Personal Observations

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fostering Democracy throughout the World

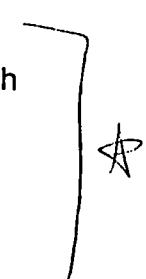
The building of democratic institutions is certainly one crucial, albeit complicated and frustratingly slow, component of helping people live together peacefully over the long term. In a world full of ethnocentrism, prejudice and violent conflict, there is a vital need for core democratic values in helping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

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

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

Why Engagement Now?

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



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

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

What Can We Expect

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

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

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

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

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

The U.S. Role in International Affairs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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We should use it

Building a Constituency for International Engagement

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

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

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

Beatty Currie

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

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

Public Opinion and International Engagement

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

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Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright

Address at Rice Memorial Center, Rice University

Houston, Texas, February 7, 1997

As released by the Office of the Spokesman

U.S. Department of State

But still
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As Prepared for Delivery

"Building a Bipartisan Foreign Policy"

Mr. Secretary, President Gillis, Ambassador Djerejian, thank you for the introduction and for the Texas hospitality.

This is my first official trip as Secretary of State; and I can't imagine a better destination or more distinguished company.

My original thought was to come here next Thursday, on February 13, but one of my advance people who went to Rice told me that you close the University on the 13th of every month -- due to your celebration of the ancient academic rite of streaking. And, as the first female Secretary of State, I wasn't sure I was quite ready for that!

In a world where many claim to have all the answers, this Institute and this University understand the importance of asking the right questions.

And, in your search for wisdom, you have certainly found the right guide.

James Baker's memoirs were entitled "The Politics of Diplomacy"--and, as his record gives evidence, he was a master of both. He has earned our nation's gratitude, and I am delighted to be a witness to the exciting new work he has initiated here. And I am also glad to learn that former Secretaries of State can get day jobs.

This afternoon, I want to talk with you about some exciting new

work of my own. I have just completed my second full week as Secretary of State. Already, I have a reputation for speaking in sound bites. This is not a reputation I have sought. When I speak, I always think I'm sounding like Henry Kissinger; unfortunately, what the audience seems to hear sounds more like David Letterman.

My goal, and it is causing some culture shock back in D.C., is to clear away the fog from Foggy Bottom, a place where the elevator inspection certificates--and I am not making this up--do not refer to elevators, but to "vertical transportation units."

As Secretary, I will do my best to talk about foreign policy not in abstract terms, but in human terms -- and in bipartisan terms -- I consider this vital because in our democracy, we cannot pursue policies abroad that are not understood and supported here at home.



When I was nominated by the President, I said that I would have an obligation to explain to you the "who, what, when, where" and especially the "whys" of the policies we conduct around the world in your name.

Today, I intend to begin that job.

Last Tuesday, in his State of the Union Address, President Clinton said that, "To prepare America for the 21st century, we must master the forces of change in the world and keep American leadership strong and sure for an uncharted time."

Fortunately, thanks to the President's own leadership, and that of his predecessor President George Bush -- Houston's most distinguished adopted son -- I begin work with the wind at my back.

Our nation is respected and at peace. Our alliances are vigorous. Our economy is strong. And from the distant corners of Asia, to the emerging democracies of Central Europe and Africa, to the community of liberty that exists within our own hemisphere,

American institutions and ideals are a model for those who have, or who aspire to, freedom.

All this is no accident, and its continuation is by no means inevitable. Democratic progress must be sustained as it was built--by American leadership. And our leadership must be sustained if our interests are to be protected around the world.

That is why our armed forces must remain the best-led, best-trained, best-equipped and most respected in the world. And as President Clinton has pledged, they will.

It is also why we need first-class diplomacy. Force, and the credible possibility of its use, are essential to defend our vital interests and to keep America safe. But force alone can be a blunt instrument, and there are many problems it cannot solve.

To be effective, force and diplomacy must complement and reinforce each other. For there will be many occasions, in many places, where we will rely on diplomacy to protect our interests, and we will expect our diplomats to defend those interests with skill, knowledge and spine.

Unfortunately, in the words of Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana, our international operations today are "underfunded and under-staffed." We are the world's richest and most powerful nation, but we are also the number one debtor to the UN and the international financial institutions. We are dead last among the industrialized nations in the percentage of our wealth that we use to promote democracy and growth in the developing world.

And diplomatically, we are steadily and unilaterally disarming ourselves.

Over the past four years, the Department of State has cut more than 2000 employees, closed more than 30 overseas posts and slashed foreign assistance by almost one-third.

This trend is not acceptable. Many of you are students. Someday,



one of you may occupy the office I hold and that Secretary Baker held. I hope you do. And I assure you that I will do everything I can in my time to see that you have the necessary diplomatic tools in your time to protect our nation and do your job.

Yesterday, the President submitted his budget request to Congress for the coming fiscal year. That budget, which totals some 1.8 trillion dollars, includes about \$20 billion for the entire range of international affairs programs. This would pay for everything from our share of reconstruction in Bosnia to enforcing sanctions against Saddam Hussein to waging war around the world against drug kingpins and organized crime.

Approval of this budget matters, not only to me, or to those who consider themselves foreign policy experts, but to each and every one of us.

For example, if you live in Houston, more than likely your job, or that of a member of your family, is linked to the health of the global economy, whether through investments, or trade, or competition from workers abroad, or from newly-arrived workers here. This region's robust agricultural and energy sectors are particularly affected by overseas prices, policies and politics.

Your family, like most in America, probably has good reason to look ahead with hope. But you are also anxious. For you see crime fueled by drugs that pour across nearby borders. You see advanced technology creating not only new wonders, but new and more deadly arms. On your television screen, you see the consequences of letter bombs and poisonous serums and sudden explosions and ask yourself when and where terrorists may strike next.

Whether you are a student, or parent, or teacher, or worker, you are concerned about the future our young people will face. Will the global marketplace continue to expand and generate new opportunities and new jobs? Will our global environment survive the assault of increasing population and pollution? Will the

plague of AIDS and other epidemic disease be brought under control? And will the world continue to move away from the threat of nuclear Armageddon, or will that specter once again loom large, perhaps in some altered and even more dangerous form?

If you are like most Americans, you do not think of the United States as just another country. You want America to be strong and respected. And you want that strength and respect to continue through the final years of this century and into the next.

Considering all this, one thing should be clear. The success or failure of American foreign policy is not only relevant to our lives; it will be a determining factor in the quality of our lives. It will make the difference between a future characterized by peace, rising prosperity and law, and a more uncertain future, in which our economy and security are always at risk, our peace of mind is always under assault, and American leadership is increasingly in doubt.

We are talking here about one percent of the federal budget; but that one percent may determine fifty percent of the history that is written about our era; and it will affect the lives of 100 percent of the American people.

Let me be more specific.

First, foreign policy creates jobs. The Clinton Administration has negotiated more than 200 trade agreements since 1993. Those agreements have helped exports to soar and boosted employment by more than 1.6 million.

For example, earlier today I met with Mexican Foreign Minister Gurria. Our growing trade with Mexico is genuine success story. Last year alone, 125 billion dollars in exports were traded. And with NAFTA now in place, we estimate that this coming year some 2.2 million American workers will produce goods for export to our NAFTA partners.

By passing NAFTA, concluding the Uruguay Round, and forging commitments to free trade in Latin America and Asia, we have helped create a growing global economy with America as its dynamic hub.

This matters a lot down here. Houston is one of America's great ports. Texas is our second leading exporting state. Commerce makes you grow. And there are more direct benefits. For years, Texas grains have been among the leading commodities sold through the Food for Peace Program.

America's economic expansion is no accident. It derives primarily from the genius of our scientists, the enterprise of our businesspeople and the productivity of our factories and farms. But it has been helped along by American diplomats who work to ensure that American business and labor receive fair treatment overseas.

For example, if an American businessman or woman bribes a foreign official in return for a contract, that American is fined or goes to jail. If a European bribes that same foreign official, chances are he will get a tax deduction. We are working hard to create higher standards that apply to all. And we have opened the doors of embassies around the world to U.S. entrepreneurs seeking our help in creating a level playing field for American firms and more opportunities for Americans back home.

Have no doubt, these efforts will continue. For as long as I am Secretary of State, America's diplomatic influence will be harnessed to the task of helping America's economy to grow.

We will also use diplomacy to keep America safe.

The Cold War may be over, but the threat to our security posed by weapons of mass destruction has only been reduced, not ended.

In recent years, with U.S. leadership, much has been accomplished. Russian warheads no longer target our homes. The

last missile silos in Ukraine are being planted over with sunflowers, and nuclear weapons have also been removed from Belarus and Kazakhstan. North Korea's nuclear weapons program has been frozen. The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty has been extended. A comprehensive ban on nuclear tests has been approved.

And we are continuing the job begun under President Bush of ensuring that Iraq's capacity to produce weapons of mass destruction is thoroughly and verifiably dismantled.

The President's budget empowers us to build on these steps. It provides the resources we need to seek further reductions in nuclear stockpiles, to help assure the safe handling of nuclear materials, to back international inspections of other countries' nuclear programs, and to implement the agreements we have reached.

The President's budget also reflects America's role as the indispensable nation in promoting international security and peace.

Our largest single program is in support of the peace process in the Middle East. Even here, the price tag does not compare to the cost to us and to our friends if that strategic region should once again erupt in war. The oil crisis caused by fighting there in 1973 threw our economy into a tailspin, caused inflation to soar and resulted in gas lines that stretched for miles.

Today, as a result of courageous leaders in the region, and persistent American diplomacy, the peace process launched by Secretary Baker has been sustained. Israel has signed landmark agreements with Jordan and the Palestinian authorities. And as the recent pact on Hebron illustrates, the movement towards peace continues despite episodes of violence, outbreaks of terrorism and a tragic assassination.

As Secretary of State, I will ensure that America continues to stand with the peacemakers and against the bombthrowers in this

strategic region. That is in America's interests; it is consistent with the commitments we have made; it reflects the kind of people we are; and it is right.

Because the United States has unique capabilities and unmatched power, it is natural that others turn to us in time of emergency. We have an unlimited number of opportunities to act. But we do not have unlimited resources, nor unlimited responsibilities. We are not a charity or a fire department. If we are to protect our own interests and maintain our credibility, we have to weigh our commitments carefully, and be selective and disciplined in what we agree to do.

Recognizing this, we have good reason to strengthen other instruments for responding to emergencies and conflicts, and for addressing the conditions that give rise to those conflicts.

These other instruments include the United Nations, regional organizations and international financial institutions. Together, these entities remove from our shoulders the lion's share of the costs of keeping the peace, maintaining sanctions against rogue states, creating new markets, protecting the environment, caring for refugees and addressing other problems around the globe.

Unfortunately, in recent years, we have fallen behind in our payments to these institutions. We owe about \$1 billion to the UN and other organizations and almost another \$1 billion to the Multilateral Banks.

In his budget, the President requests enough money to repay many of these obligations. The reason is that these debts hurt America. They erode the capacity of these organizations to carry out programs that serve our interests. They undermine the proposals we have made for reform. And, to those around the world who are hostile to our leadership, they are an open invitation to run America down.

The United States can--and should--lead the way in strengthening and reforming international organizations so that they better serve

the world community, and American interests. But if we are to succeed, we must also pay our bills. As in poker, if we want a seat at the table, we have to put chips in the pot.

Before closing, I would like to highlight one of the President's top early priorities, which has little to do with money, but much to do with America's standing in the world.

The President has asked the Senate to give its approval to a Convention intended to ban chemical weapons from the face of the Earth. That agreement, known as the Chemical Weapons Convention, or CWC, will enter into force on April 29. Our goal is to ratify the agreement before then so that America will be an original party.

Chemical weapons are inhumane. They kill horribly, massively, indiscriminately and are no more controllable than the wind. That is why the United States decided years ago to eliminate our stockpile of these weapons and to purge from our military doctrine any possibility of their use. Countries that join the CWC will undertake a legal obligation to pursue a similar policy.

The Convention makes it less likely that our armed forces will ever again encounter chemical weapons on the battlefield; less likely that rogue regimes will have access to the materials needed to build chemical arms; and less likely that such arms will fall into the hands of terrorists or others hostile to our interests.

The result will be a safer America and a safer world.

Unfortunately, not everyone sees it that way. Senate approval of the Convention is by no means assured. Opponents of the CWC argue that it does not provide full protection, because we do not expect early ratification by the rogue states. We regret that, but the CWC remains very much in our interests.

The CWC establishes the standard that it is wrong to build or possess chemical weapons. That standard will put added pressure on rogue regimes. It will send a message that if a country wants

to be part of the international system, and to participate fully in its benefits, it must ratify and comply with the CWC.

What it comes down to is this question. Who should set the rules for the international community? Law-abiding nations? Or the rogues? Are we barred from establishing any rule that the outlaw nations do not first accept? Or does it serve our interests to draw the clearest possible distinction in law between those who observe international standards and those who do not?

Unfortunately, as General Norman Schwarzkopf recently observed, if the foes of the CWC have their way, the United States would draw a line in the sand, put our friends and allies on one side, and then cross over to the other, joining hands with Libya and Iraq.

If the opponents have their way, we would forgo the right to help draft the rules by which the Convention is enforced and the destruction of chemical weapons assured.

We would lose the right to have Americans help administer and conduct inspections within the CWC.

We would risk the loss of hundreds of millions of dollars in export sales because the American chemical industry would become subject to trade restrictions imposed upon non-members of the CWC.

Finally, we would lose credibility in negotiating arms reduction agreements generally, because our ability to deliver in the Senate what we have proposed at the bargaining table would be undermined, for reasons that friends and allies around the world would find very difficult to understand.

Make no mistake, the Chemical Weapons Convention is in the best interests of the United States. In fact, the CWC has "made in America" written all over it. It was endorsed by President Reagan, and negotiated under President Bush--very ably negotiated I might add, thanks to his Secretary of State.

Now, and until success is achieved, the President, our new Secretary of Defense, Bill Cohen, and I will be working with every member of the Senate to ensure the timely and favorable consideration of this important Convention.

In closing, let me say that I well understand, as I undertake my new job, that there is no certain formula for ensuring public support for American engagement overseas.

Certainly, frankness helps. Consultations with Congress are essential, and we are working with Congressional leaders of both parties to an unprecedented degree. But we Americans are brutally fair. As President Kennedy observed after the Bay of Pigs, success has a thousand fathers, while defeat is an orphan. Ultimately, we will be judged not by our rhetoric or our rationales, but by our results.

The reality is that Americans have always been ambivalent about activism abroad.

At the end of World War I, an American Army officer, stuck in Europe while the diplomats haggled at Versailles, wrote to his future wife about his yearning to go home:

"None of us care if the Russian government is red or not red, (or) whether the king of Lollipops slaughters his subjects."

Thirty years later, that same man--Harry Truman--would lead America in the final stages of another great war.

In the aftermath of that conflict, it was not enough to say that what we were against had failed. Leaders such as Truman, Marshall and Vandenberg were determined to build a lasting peace. And together with our allies, they forged a set of institutions that would defend freedom, rebuild economies, uphold law and preserve peace.

Today, the greatest danger to America is not some foreign enemy; it is the possibility that we will ignore the example of that

generation; that we will succumb to the temptation of isolation; neglect the military and diplomatic resources that keep us strong; and forget the fundamental lesson of this century, which is that problems abroad, if left unattended, will all too often come home to America.

A decade or two from now, we will be known as the neo-isolationists who allowed totalitarianism and fascism to rise again or as the generation that solidified the global triumph of democratic principles.

We will be known as the neo-protectionists whose lack of vision produced financial chaos or as the generation that laid the groundwork for rising prosperity around the world.

We will be known as the world-class ditherers who stood by while the seeds of renewed global conflict were sown or as the generation that took strong measures to deter aggression, control nuclear arms and keep the peace.

There is no certain roadmap to success, either for individuals or for generations.

Ultimately, it is a matter of judgement, a question of choice.

In making that choice, let us remember that there is not a page of American history of which we are proud that was authored by a chronic complainer or prophet of despair. We are doers.

We have a responsibility in our time, as others have had in theirs, not to be prisoners of history, but to shape history.

A responsibility to use and defend our own freedom, and to help others who share our aspirations for liberty, peace and the quiet miracle of a normal life.

To that end, I pledge my own best efforts, and solicit yours.

Thank you very much.

And now I would be pleased to respond to any questions you

might have.

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FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT DOVER AIR FORCE BASE
DOVER, DELAWARE
APRIL 9, 1999

Acknowledgment Page:

First, let me thank Colonel Grieder [Greet-er] and the entire Eagle Wing and Liberty Wing for all you're doing to bring food to the people of Kosovo. Your contribution represents almost half of the 1.1 million HDRs that we are providing right now -- which, as you know, are so important in camps where there are no cooking facilities.

It is an honor to be here with Governor Carper; Senator Biden and Congressman Castle, who are such strong supporters of this base and our humanitarian efforts in Kosovo.

I also want to thank Administrator Brian Atwood for his leadership in coordinating our entire government's response to the humanitarian crisis in Kosovo. And our Assistant Secretary of State, Julia Taft, who is serving on that council and has just returned from that region, where she told me about the progress made in stabilizing the refugee crisis -- and all the work that still must be done. I want to thank General Mike McDuffie, not only for that introduction, but for his leadership of Operation Restore Hope. Having served as a private in the Army himself, he understands that it is our enlisted members who are the backbone of the Air Force and the entire military.

And, so I wanted to come here today, first and foremost, to thank all of you -- the men and women of the Dover Team and your families -- for the long hours you've put in and the enormous sacrifices you've made to make sure the people of Kosovo can receive food, shelter, and care now -- and rebuild their lives in peace in the future. And I especially want to thank the Aerial Port Squadron...who I had the pleasure of meeting earlier -- and who have shown, once again, why they are called "The Superport!"

Earlier, I had the opportunity to see supplies being loaded on the C-5 -- and hear about all the Dover Team has accomplished in the last week alone. I was told how quickly the pallets were built and the planes were loaded. How hard everyone here worked. And how many of you even gave up spending Easter Sunday with your family and friends in order to bring relief to the women, men, and children of Kosovo. And I'm told that it was the same at Travis Air Force Base in California. That the call came at 7:00 a.m. Easter Sunday -- and men and women canceled their plans and set about getting hundreds of tents prepared to be sent overseas.

When you think about it, what you've accomplished here and at Travis is very much in keeping with the meaning of Easter -- and it's message of turning darkness and despair into hope and renewal. One of my favorite preachers, Tony Compolo, in a sermon titled, "Sunday's Coming," makes the point that no matter how grim or hopeless life may appear, just as it did that Good Friday, there is no permanent place for despair because Easter Sunday will dawn, bringing with it the hope of new life.

And that is exactly what all of you are working to make possible in Kosovo -- to bring the hope of new life to the refugees whose tragic stories have horrified us all: The families who walked miles from their towns and villages, forced at gunpoint to leave without belongings or identity papers. The children who endured subfreezing temperatures, rain and snow. And the people who were trapped in a "no man's land" around the Macedonia Border, without food, water, or sanitary facilities.

You are part of a human chain -- that is reaching from the hearts of the people here to save the lives of the people over there. It includes our NATO forces who are working to end Serbian repression and heal its victims. It includes the International relief workers, bringing food, blankets, medicine, toys, and medical care to the refugees.

And it includes every American who is lending a hand -- from the service men and women to the commercial planes, from the children collecting their nickels and dimes to the DART teams telling us what more needs to be done.

The United States has already committed \$150 million to this humanitarian operation -- and we will stand by the Kosovar refugees until they can once again govern themselves and rebuild their lives in security. Just this morning the President said that we will not accept as “permanent the results of [Milosevic’s] ethnic cleansing...not when a quarter of Kosovo’s people are living in refugee camps beyond Kosovo’s borders...not when hundreds of thousands more are trapped inside, afraid to go home but unable to leave.”

The pouches of food you have loaded here are each emblazoned with a message to the Kosovar refugees who desperately need them: A Gift from the People of the United States of America. And that is what you are bringing -- a gift not just from our government, but from our citizens, young and old, men and women.

Because as is always the case in these situations, the American people have responded with compassion to the plight of the Kosovar refugees. Families have organized their own fundraisers. An umbrella group of international organizations, Interaction, has received 70,000 hits on its website. And, at the White House, we've received countless calls, letters, e-mails, from people who want to know how they can help.

A woman from Indiana wrote: "I have watched the refugees on the television all evening and am deeply concerned. Is there anything the mothers of this country can do to assist the mothers who have been displaced?" A veteran from Ohio wrote: "I spent 25 years helping to defeat the Soviet Union. What can I do now to help the suffering of the refugees." A group of junior high students from Minnesota wrote: We all feel it is horrible what is going on in Kosovo and we want to help the people who have no food and made it past the border."

And a woman in Florida wrote: "Tonight I will close my eyes haunted by the image of the refugees fleeing, the looks in the eyes of the children and elderly. We are so blessed in our beloved country and I really believe the majority of American folks would like to help these folks in some way, but really don't know how."

We need to get the word out. The most important thing for any American to do is reach deep into their pockets and contribute whatever they can to the relief organizations that are working to provide food, shelter, clothing and medical care to the refugees.

We need to tell people here and around the world that if they want to make a contribution, there is a toll-free number they can call. 1-800-USAID-RELIEF. Already more than 22,000 people have called. And right after this, I will be filming a PSA to give more Americans this number -- so they too can find out how to help.

Every single one of us needs to stand up to the hatred and violence and sheer inhumanity that Milosevic has inflicted upon his people. I want to thank the men and women of the Dover Team -- and your families -- for all you have done and sacrificed for the people of Kosovo who desperately need your help. With every plane that takes off from here, you are sending with it a message to people you will probably never meet that Sunday is Coming. That old hatreds can yield to new and peaceful beginnings. And that despite the horrors they've endured there is hope for a new life -- where families can be reunited and lives rebuilt. Thank you for all you've done and will do to make that possible.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS - FUNCTION 150
SUMMARY AND HIGHLIGHTS
Fiscal Year 2000 Budget Request

PREFACE

Function 150, the International Affairs category of the federal budget, includes funding for the programs and activities of four cabinet departments, seven independent agencies, three foundations, and numerous other international organizations.^{1/}

Appropriations for Function 150 derive from four separate Appropriations Subcommittees of the U.S. Congress with jurisdiction over International Affairs programs and accounts. This *Summary and Highlights* document correlates to the International Affairs appropriations accounts presented in legislation of the Subcommittees on: Foreign Operations; Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary (CJS); Agriculture and Rural Development; and Labor-Health and Human Services.

From FY 1995 to FY 1997, America's International Affairs program resources were reduced in real terms by over 14 percent. With the introduction of the FY 1998 budget, the Administration proposed a new agenda for enhancing America's international leadership through federal government-sponsored and supported programs. The proposed FY 1998 budget for Function 150 programs was \$19.451 billion, while Congress appropriated \$18.721 billion for FY 1998.

Again in FY 1999, the Administration requested adequate funding to maintain America's investment in international affairs programs and activities that support America's national interests. The FY 1999 base budget request of \$19.648 billion was about \$1 billion more than the FY 1998 enacted level.^{2/} Congress appropriated \$18.662 million in base programs, and provided additional appropriations of \$1.014 billion for arrears payments to international organizations and financial institutions,^{3/} as well as supplemental appropriations in the amount of \$1.899 billion for emergency security requirements in the aftermath of the 1998 embassy bombings and for anti-narcotics activities.^{4/} Including supplemental appropriations, total enacted FY 1999 appropriations were \$21.556 billion.

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For FY 2000, the Administration proposes a total Function 150 budget request of \$21.311 billion, just over one percent of the total federal fiscal budget. Included in the Function 150 total is \$19.906 billion for base programs, \$1.244 billion more than enacted in FY 1999. The FY 2000 Function 150 request also includes \$614 million in arrears payments;^{5/} \$304 million for continuing security upgrades;^{6/} and \$500 million in supplemental appropriations for implementation of the Wye Plantation Memorandum.^{7/}

This budget proposes a rational approach for meeting new, encroaching policy demands; preventing compromises to our citizens' security; and providing generous, consistent humanitarian relief to our neighbors and allies confronting extraordinary natural disasters and civil strife. The FY 2000 budget for international affairs proposes to ensure strong diplomatic leadership and implementation of a broad array of bilateral and multilateral assistance programs in support of American interests.

The FY 2000 budget has been developed by each of the international affairs agencies of the U.S. government cited in the following *Summary and Highlights*. The budget correlates to the seven nation interests outlined in the *International Affairs Strategic Plan*, recommending resources as necessary to achieve specific foreign policy goals. The U.S. national interests served by the FY 2000 international affairs budget are:

- To secure peace; deter aggression; prevent and defuse, and manage crises; halt the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; and advance arms control and disarmament;
- To expand exports, open markets, assist American business, foster economic growth, and promote sustainable development;
- To protect American citizens abroad and safeguard the borders of the United States;
- To combat international terrorism, crime, and narcotics trafficking;
- To support establishment and consolidation of democracies, and uphold human rights;
- To provide humanitarian assistance to victims of crisis and disaster; and
- To improve the global environment, stabilize world population growth, and protect human health.

The success of U.S. foreign policy and programs depends upon a secure infrastructure and systems platform complemented by a well-trained corps of foreign and civil service professionals and a robust public diplomacy program. The FY 2000 budget proposes to strengthen America's diplomatic readiness and provide an installment in capital investment, infrastructure repair and upgrades, systems implementation, and human resource development. Simultaneous with presentation of this budget, a \$3 billion advance FY 2001 supplemental appropriations request will be submitted to Congress in order to continue long-range plans for embassy security construction and upgrades.

^{1/} These include

Department of State (State)
Department of Treasury (Treasury)
Department of Defense, Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA)
Department of Agriculture (USDA)
Agency for International Development (USAID)
Export-Import Bank (Ex-Im)
International Trade Commission (ITC)
Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC)
Peace Corps
Trade and Development Agency (TDA)

U.S. Institute of Peace
African Development Foundation (ADF)
The Asia Foundation (TAF)
Inter-American Foundation (IAF)

^{2/} Added to the FY 1999 base budget request of \$19.648 billion was \$538.952 million in arrears owed to Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs) to which the U.S. has membership. Including arrears, the total FY 1999 budget request was \$20.15 billion.

^{3/} Of the \$1.014 billion enacted in FY 1999 for arrears, \$539 million was for MDBs and \$475 million was for the United Nations (UN) and other international organizations.

^{4/} Of the \$1.898 billion FY 1999 supplemental appropriations, \$1.428 billion was for security upgrades, \$46.2 million for reconstruction and relief to victims of the 1998 embassy terrorist attacks; \$20 million for anti-terrorism assistance programs; \$50 million for child survival programs; \$75 million was for Y2K system compliance; \$46 million for New Independent States programs; and \$233 million for anti-narcotics programs.

^{5/} The \$614 million requested for arrears in the FY 2000 budget is comprised of \$168 million for the MDBs and \$446 million for the UN and other international organizations.

^{6/} The \$304 million requested for the on-going cost of the FY 1999 security supplemental is comprised of: \$254 million for on-going security-related operations, and \$50 million for design and site acquisition for new embassies and other recurring security costs related to the Foreign Buildings program. Simultaneous with the budget submission to Congress, there will be a \$3 billion request for an advance FY 2001 supplemental appropriation for security construction requirements.

^{7/} The FY 2000 budget request for Function 150 includes an advance supplemental request for implementation of the Wye Plantation Memorandum totaling \$1.9 billion. Of this amount, \$900 million is requested for FY 1999, \$500 million is requested as part of the FY 2000 budget, and the remaining \$500 million is requested for FY 2001.

FY 2000 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS REQUEST
(Accounts By Appropriation Subcommittee)

Budget Authority (in Millions)	FY 1998 Actual	FY 1999 Estimate 1	FY 2000 Request 2
TOTAL INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	19,069.67	22,458.38	21,511.44
FOREIGN OPERATIONS	13,412.59	15,442.00	14,300.73
Multilateral Development Banks (MDB)	1,458.94	1,476.26	1,394.53
MDB Arrearage Payments	[359.75]	[538.95]	[168.38]
Treasury Technical Assistance/TFI Commission	-	1.50	8.50
Debt Restructuring	27.00	33.00	120.00
International Organizations & Programs	294.50	292.00	293.00
Agency for International Development (AID)	2,433.89	2,520.90	2,611.00
Development Assistance	1,174.63	1,194.00	780.44
Child Survival & Disease	550.00	595.00	555.00
Development Fund for Africa	-	-	512.56
AID Credit Programs	11.05	8.50	10.00
AID Operating Expenses	478.86	492.65	507.74
Inspector General	29.05	30.75	25.26
International Disaster Assistance	190.30	200.00	220.00
Freedom Support Act (FSA)	770.80	847.00	1,032.00
Support for Eastern European Democracy (SEED)	485.22	430.00	393.00
Voluntary Peacekeeping Operations (PKO)	77.50	76.50	130.00
Economic Support Fund (ESF)	2,419.60	2,432.83	2,389.00
International Military Education & Training (IMET)	50.00	50.00	52.00
Foreign Military Financing (FMF)	3,361.07	3,350.00	3,430.00
Nonproliferation, Anti-Terrorism, Demining (NADR)	133.00	218.00	231.00
Overseas Private Investment Corporation (net)	(198.00)	(117.00)	(204.00)
Trade and Development Agency	41.50	44.00	48.00
Export-Import Bank (net)	717.61	799.00	881.00
Inter-American/African Foundations	36.00	31.14	36.70
Migration and Refugee Assistance	700.38	670.00	690.00
International Narcotics and Crime	230.00	493.60	295.00
Peace Corps	225.58	241.27	270.00
Special Defense Acquisition Fund	(52.00)	(48.00)	-
Wye Supplemental & Advance Appropriations		900.00	500.00
Rescission	-	(18.00)	-
COMMERCE JUSTICE STATE	4,378.92	6,858.72	4,910.71
State Programs (D&CP, CIF)	2,584.69	3,427.89	2,927.77
Educational & Cultural Exchanges	197.73	200.50	210.33
Other State Programs (including State IG)	72.30	72.40	79.35
Security & Maintenance of US Missions	397.94	1,030.56	483.68
Contributions for International Peacekeeping Activities	210.63	231.00	235.00
Contributions to International Organizations	888.88	922.00	963.31
UN Arrearage Payments	100.00	475.00	446.00
Related Appropriations (including Asia Foundation & NED)	52.56	54.38	62.88
International Broadcasting	431.51	397.71	452.59
International Trade Commission & Other Prgs.	42.68	46.80	49.80
AGRICULTURE PL 480 (Titles II & III)	867.00	862.00	787.00
LABOR HHS - US Initiative on Peace	11.16	12.16	15.00

Includes FY 1999 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations totaling \$1,899 million.

The FY 2000 Request consolidates USIA and ACDA into the Department of State and establishes International Broadcasting as an independent agency.

**FY 2000 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BUDGET
EXPLANATORY NOTES TO TABLE BY APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE**

1. Included in the FY 1999 and FY 2000 columns for the Multilateral Development Banks are respectively \$538.952 million and \$168.383 million in arrears payments.
2. Contributions to the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) appear in the International Organizations & Program account (IO&P).
3. Funding transferred out of the Freedom Support Act (NIS) and Support for Eastern European Democracy (SEED) to other accounts in FY 1998 are included in the NIS and SEED totals and not in the estimates and requests of the receiving accounts.
4. The Voluntary Peacekeeping Operation (PKO) account does not reflect transfers to the account made pursuant to Section 632 of the Foreign Assistance Act.
5. The FY 1998 column of the Contributions to International Organizations account (CIO) reflects the transfer of \$12 million to the International Conferences and Contingencies account for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organization.
6. The FY 2000 request proposes the final tranche of arrears payments to the UN and other international organizations in the amount of \$446 million. This payment would complete the \$1.021 billion total arrears package approved in the Balanced Budget Act of 1997.
7. The Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining and Related Programs (NADR) account was expanded in FY 1999 to include funds for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) Preparatory Commission (PrepCom). In FY 2000, the NADR account request is comprised of the following: the Nonproliferation Disarmament Fund; Export Control Assistance; International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Voluntary Contributions; CTBT PrepCom; Korean Energy Development Organization (KEDO); Anti-terrorism and Counter-Terrorism Assistance; and Humanitarian Demining.
8. Virtually all assistance commitments made by President Clinton during his March, 1998 visit to Africa were funded in FY 1998 and FY 1999. The only exceptions now included in the FY 2000 budget are: \$5 million in ESF for the Great Lakes Initiative, and \$5 million for the Africa Food Security Initiative. In addition, a portion of the \$35 million debt reduction commitment is being met in the FY 2000 request.
9. The FY 2000 State Programs budget request reflects the Reorganization Plan and Report submitted pursuant to Section 1601 of the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998, as contained in Public Law 105-277. Under this reorganization plan, with the exception of amounts for functions of the United States

Information Agency (USIA) related to International Broadcasting which are transferred to the Broadcasting Board of Governors, operations previously funded by appropriations made to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the USIA will now be funded by appropriations made to the Department of State. Accordingly, the FY 2000 State Programs budget request incorporates, with the Diplomatic and Consular Programs appropriation, the appropriations formerly made for ACDA Salaries and Expenses (S&E) appropriation and USIA's International Information Programs (IIP) and Technology Fund appropriations (less the transfers discussed below). In this regard, resource tables include FY 1998 and FY 1999 amounts for these ACDA and USIA accounts. In addition, the summary resource table displays IIP amounts transferred to other appropriations including International Broadcasting Operations (\$33.236 million), Educational and Cultural Exchanges (\$1.246 million), Security and Maintenance of U.S. Missions (\$16.883 million), and Representation Allowances (\$1.4 million).

The FY 2000 budget also merges the State Department Salaries and Expenses (S&E) appropriation with the Diplomatic and Consular Programs appropriation. This merger of the appropriations into one Diplomatic and Consular Programs appropriation with clear program and bureau demarcations for arms control, nonproliferation, and international programs and exchanges will greatly facilitate the efficient and effective reorganization and merger of USIA, ACDA and State employees, organizations, and functions into existing Department bureaus and offices.

11. The FY 1999 estimate reflects the following FY 1999 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations:

- Child Survival (for children affected by the global AIDS epidemic) \$50 million;
- USAID Operating Expenses (security upgrades) \$2.5 million;
- Freedom Support Act - Assistance to the NIS \$46 million;
- Economic Support Funds (assistance to the local victims of the East African bombings) \$46.231 million;
- Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining and Related Programs (enhanced anti-terrorism programs) \$20 million;
- Peace Corps (security upgrades) \$1.27 million;
- International Narcotics and Crime (to combat international drug trafficking) \$232.6 million;
- State Programs (worldwide security upgrades) \$785.7 million;
- Security and Maintenance of Buildings Abroad (overseas capital security upgrades) \$627 million;
- Emergencies in the Diplomatic and Consular Service (emergency costs associated with the bombings in East Africa) \$10 million;
- State Department Office of the Inspector General (security oversight requirements) \$1 million;

- Year 2000 Computer Compliance (additional funding to ensure that agency information systems are year 2000 compliant) \$77.29 million as follows:
 - ◊ State Capital Investment Fund (\$57.89 million)
 - ◊ USIA Technology Fund (\$7.06 million)
 - ◊ USAID Operating Expenses (\$10.2 million)
 - ◊ Overseas Private Investment Corporation (\$2 million)
 - ◊ Africa Development Foundation (\$0.137 million)

12. The Administration is requesting \$3 billion for an advance appropriation (FY 2001-FY 2005) in the Security and Maintenance of U.S. Missions account for the construction costs of relocating embassies at high security-risk locations.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

THE UNITED NATIONS AND AMERICAN INTERESTS

International Cooperation Serves U.S. Interests

(4) The United Nations was created under U.S. leadership. For more than 50 years, it has helped to advance U.S. foreign policy interests in key areas. The UN and its affiliated organizations provide an indispensable framework for international cooperation not only in broad areas such as peacekeeping, nuclear security, and refugee assistance, but also in areas of everyday importance to Americans such as disease control, environmental protection, and standard-setting in numerous vital global industries.

Member States Bear Responsibility for UN Programs and Reform

The UN is not an independent international entity; it is a cooperative assembly of sovereign states. All policy decisions are made by the 185 member nations. The large membership and sharing of power makes the UN an often unwieldy vehicle, but also confers unique legitimacy upon it as a means of addressing global challenges. To the extent that some UN organizations and programs do not work as well as they should, it is the responsibility of member states to see reforms adopted and implemented. The U.S. has taken the lead role in pushing for badly-needed reforms. Over the past few years a solid start has been made toward greater efficiency and accountability in the UN system, though much work remains to be done.

International Burdensharing Lowers Costs to U.S. Taxpayers

Countries pay dues, called assessments, to the UN organizations to which they belong primarily based on their share of the global economy. Voluntary contributions also play an important role in funding

some UN programs, particularly those involving humanitarian aid and emergency relief. This common sense approach pulls together resources from around the world to meet challenges that virtually all countries have an interest in addressing. For the U.S., this system enables our nation, in keeping with its international leadership role, to pursue wide-ranging political, security, economic and humanitarian goals at lower cost to U.S. taxpayers. Total annual U.S. support for the UN system amounts to around one-tenth of one percent of the federal budget.

Debt to UN Hurts the U.S.

The U.S. owes the UN system more than \$1 billion. This debt detracts from our effort to build support for UN reform, undermines

U.S. leadership on global issues, and could weaken respect for the sanctity of international contracts and the rule of law. The Clinton Administration has asked Congress for funding to pay arrears over the next three years as progress is made in the adoption of further reforms. Payment of UN arrears is among the top U.S. foreign policy priorities this year. (4)

Examples of how the UN serves American interests..... (4)

- Supervising elections in newly-democratic nations
- Maintaining sanctions to punish unacceptable international behavior by states such as Iraq and Libya
- Reducing the threat posed by diseases, from polio to ebola
- Guarding against the diversion of nuclear materials into weapons programs
- Setting international food product safety and quality standards, protecting U.S. consumers and underpinning our \$60 billion in annual agriculture exports
- Maintaining international air travel safety standards; 40% of all international air travel is by Americans



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

UNITED NATIONS HUMANITARIAN PROGRAMS SUPPORT AMERICAN VALUES

Americans are a compassionate people, and strongly support our country doing its part to alleviate suffering in the poorest and most troubled regions of the world. In line with these humanitarian values, and reflecting our country's status as the world's wealthiest and most powerful nation, the U.S. has traditionally been a major supporter of humanitarian programs such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the World Food Program (WFP), and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). These programs are an integral part of the UN system.

Our support, primarily motivated by humanitarian concerns, also is key to broad U.S. foreign policy goals, as it fosters political stability and economic and social progress in the developing world. As a nation, and as individuals, we will be safer and more prosperous in an international environment in which the U.S. continues to do its part to support global humanitarian and emergency relief programs.

UNHCR: Caring for Refugees

UNHCR is the largest international organization providing food, water, shelter, and medical care for refugees and internally displaced persons. Currently 26 million people—victims of wars, persecution and disasters—are under UNHCR's concern in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Central Europe, and Latin America.

More than 80% of UNHCR's 5,500 employees work in the field, alongside private relief organizations, delivering desperately needed services in often dangerous and remote locations. When conditions allow, UNHCR helps refugees return home; the number of refugees worldwide is now at a six-year low, thanks to programs that have helped 8 million people return to their homes in once war-torn countries such as Mozambique and Cambodia. The European Commission is the largest source of support for

UNHCR (\$233 million in 1995), followed by the U.S. (\$227 million), and Japan (\$121 million).

WFP: Food for the Starving Millions

WFP is the main vehicle by which nations join forces to address the chronic hunger and malnutrition afflicting one out of every seven people on earth. The organization, mobilizing and handling the shipment of food and other basic commodities to populations desperately in need, works closely with UNHCR. WFP provides one-third of all global food aid, benefiting 50 million people around the world.

Beyond the provision of emergency food aid, WFP targets people in poor countries at the most vulnerable times of their lives: in childhood, during maternity, and in old age. In addition, WFP promotes self-reliance through food-for-work projects, paying workers with food to build roads, replant forests, and replace worn out infrastructure. The U.S. is WFP's largest supporter (\$642 million in 1995), followed by the European Commission (\$221 million) and the Netherlands (\$154 million).

UNICEF: Focusing on Child Survival

UNICEF programs provide primary health care, nutrition, education, and safe water and sanitation systems to help children and mothers in 140 countries. In conjunction with the World Health Organization and private partners, such as Rotary International, UNICEF runs the global child survival immunization program. This long-running program raised the percentage of children immunized against six deadly diseases from 20% to 80% during the 1980s. This program saves the lives of about 3 million children each year, and UNICEF and other UN programs follow through to help the young grow into productive members of their communities. The largest three contributors to UNICEF are the U.S. (\$129 million in 1995), Sweden (\$110 million), and the Netherlands (\$87 million).

U.S. IN THE UNITED NATIONS

What is at stake? What is the U.S. interest?

- o We work through the UN to advance many U.S. interests, such as air safety, disease control, non-proliferation, democracy-building, copyright protection, and other areas -- all for less than \$6 annually per U.S. taxpayer.
- o The UN's World Health Organization gives medical experts a virtual global passport, admitting U.S. doctors and their international colleagues to foreign countries to trace, control, and eradicate diseases before they infect Americans.
- o When Americans fly overseas the International Civil Air Organization (ICAO) helps protect us through airport, flight, and other safety standards, developed in close partnership with our own Federal Aviation Administration.
- o Standard-setting by the International Labor Organization (ILO) helps level the playing field faced by U.S. exporters. For example, the ILO's Core Labor Standards, adopted in 1998, encourages compliance with standards regarding forced labor, freedom of association and non-discrimination in employment.
- o 1998's anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was a powerful reminder that for fifty years the UN has been a persistent advocate for personal liberty. Using the megaphone of the UN, the voice of human rights has been heard in prisons, torture camps, and the jail cells of brave defenders of human rights.
- o The UN is no longer a sterile talking shop on terrorism. It has called on all states to join global counter-terrorism treaties, urged governments to prosecute or extradite terrorists, and helped encourage the kind of international cop-to-cop cooperation that has helped us apprehend and extradite terrorists.
- o The UN directly serves the core security interests of the U.S. and the global community when it is a rallying point for turning back the forces of aggression, as it was in 1990 and 1991 when Desert Storm reversed Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

What is the UN's financial status?

- o The UN is owed over \$2 billion by member states for the regular budget and peacekeeping; the U.S. owes the most. We hope to begin arrears payments this year.

Contact: S/P: PFromuth x7-2706 2/19/99

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Fact Sheet

The Role of the United Nations in the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights

Released by the Bureau of International Organization Affairs, U.S. Department of State, February 27, 1997.

Few issues command the world's attention so quickly as a well-publicized alert of human rights violations. It is no accident that the subject of human rights is at the top of the news and the international agenda. Years of work by the United Nations, in collaboration with international scholars, diplomats, and private citizens, have made it so. The UN Charter, signed in San Francisco in 1945, is among the first international treaties expressly based on universal respect for human rights.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: An International Standard Since 1948

One of the first UN documents, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, reflects many of the ideals of the Bill of Rights in the United States Constitution. The Declaration spells out what the member states of the UN believe are minimum human rights of all people. Among the basic rights it mandates are the right of people to determine their government, freedom of thought and religion, the right to privacy, and the right to a fair trial. It goes on to condemn slavery, torture, and arbitrary arrest. Americans take these rights for granted, but even today they are not the standard in many parts of the world. The universality of the Declaration was reaffirmed at the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna.

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

—Article 1, Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Commission on Human Rights

In the United Nations, issues of human rights fall under the jurisdiction of the Economic and Social Council of the General Assembly, which established the Commission on Human Rights as the main policy-making body to deal with human rights issues. Composed of 53 member governments which serve on a rotating basis, it strives for universal recognition of human rights for all people regardless of "race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

The Commission, based in Geneva, Switzerland, investigates and reports on a wide range of issues, including the prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities, the use of the death penalty, the eradication of modern-day slavery, the status of women, crime prevention and criminal justice, and matters relating to children and indigenous populations. Responding to allegations of human rights abuses, the UN sends its "eyes and ears," special rapporteurs or representatives of the Secretary General, to monitor compliance with the various international human rights instruments and investigate allegations of abuses. In addition, individuals who allege their human rights

have been violated may communicate directly with the Center for Human Rights in Geneva.

The Commission may be "just talk," but it has considerable power to generate international publicity on human rights issues. Even the most repressive regime shies away from negative publicity, a fact that has been proven again and again in cases where "bad press" has brought relief for individuals or groups subjected to violation of human rights. In some instances, even the threat of being singled out for criticism in a UN human rights resolution has inspired reform efforts.

United States Participation in Promoting Human Rights

Human Rights are the indispensable basis for the "quiet miracle of a normal life," as President Clinton said recently. The United States has supported human rights projects, such as in Cambodia and Namibia, where we participated in the UN's successful implementation of free and fair elections. After El Salvador's peace accords were signed in 1992, the United States participated in the UN observer mission to monitor the ceasefire and ensure continued observance of human rights in an atmosphere of democratization and political stability. Closer to home, in Haiti, the United States helped the UN to train and equip hundreds of new National Police officers to take the place of paramilitary gangs and abusive police officers. In addition to working through the United Nations, the United States also publishes an annual





United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

UN FACTS: UN-AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

The World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization, serving to foster growth and stability in the global economy, are perhaps the best known organizations in the UN system. Numerous other UN-affiliated autonomous intergovernmental organizations perform a variety of functions of importance to the American public and the U.S. business community.

Nuclear Energy: The *International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)* guards against the diversion of nuclear materials for weapons purposes, advances operating safety at nuclear power plants, and promotes the safe storage and disposal of nuclear waste.

Health, Food: The *World Health Organization (WHO)* fights the spread of disease worldwide, saving millions of lives and in some areas reducing the need for health spending at the national level. The Codex Alimentarius, a trade standardization program sponsored by WHO and the *Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)*, sets international food product safety and quality standards which benefit U.S. consumers and food exporters. FAO programs dealing with plant, pest, and animal disease controls protect U.S. agriculture from potential losses of billions of dollars in farm production.

Communications: The *International Telecommunications Union (ITU)* allocates worldwide use of radio frequencies and assigns positions to communication satellites and deals with other international telecommunication issues of importance to U.S. industry. The *Universal Postal Union (UPU)* facilitates international mail delivery and sets standards for national postal services.

Transportation: The *International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)* and the *International Maritime Organization (IMO)* set safety standards for air and sea transportation, enhancing the safety of Americans traveling abroad. By setting high international standards, ICAO also helps support global markets for American-made aircraft and other aviation equipment, the largest category of U.S. exports.

Intellectual Property: The *World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)* is key to international cooperation to protect inventions, trademarks, and copyrights, and thus helps to protect tens of billions of dollars in U.S. intellectual property exports (e.g., movies, books, music, computer software).

Labor Standards: The *International Labor Organization (ILO)* sets international labor standards, helping to "level the playing field" faced by U.S. exporters and promoting humane working conditions in foreign industries.

Weather Forecasting: The *World Meteorological Organization (WMO)* collects and disseminates worldwide weather data which aid U.S. shipping, aviation, and agricultural industries and help save lives and mitigate property damage affecting millions of Americans.

PEACEKEEPING

What is at stake? What is the U.S. interest?

- o UN peacekeeping protects U.S. interests by helping to prevent and resolve conflicts before they directly threaten our national security. Working through the UN allows us to share the risks and costs. It gives us a valuable alternative to either acting alone or doing nothing at all.

What are we doing?

- o We are using our authority in the Security Council to make UN peacekeeping operations better disciplined and more effective. This has led to fewer new operations and better management of existing ones.
- o We and the UN now ask the tough questions before we act. As a permanent member of the Security Council, we have substantial influence over UN decisions on peacekeeping, including the ability to veto operations we don't support. Less than 400 of the UN's 14,000 peacekeepers are American.
- o We are working with other member states to revise peacekeeping dues. As of October 1, 1995, our share of UN peacekeeping costs is 25%.

Where are we on paying for peacekeeping?

- o The U.S. owes the UN over \$650 million in unpaid peacekeeping bills. Most of these arrears date from 1995, when Congress appropriated less than half the money to pay our bills in full. Congress failed to authorize funding for our UN peacekeeping arrears in FY99. Payment of arrears is a top U.S. priority. Our aim is to gain Congressional agreement to enable us to start paying arrears.
- o Because of shortfalls in peacekeeping payments, the UN has had to limit reimbursements to governments that provide troops, equipment, goods and services. Current and future UN peacekeeping operations could be jeopardized if we and other countries do not pay our debts.

What about putting U.S. troops under UN command?

- o As Commander-in-Chief, the President never gives up his command authority over U.S. troops. The President must retain the flexibility to allow temporary foreign operational control of our troops when it serves U.S. interests.

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***SECRETARY ALBRIGHT'S
TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
COMMITTEE***

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES



THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1999

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, good morning, I am delighted to be here to testify regarding the President's proposed Fiscal Year 2000 budget request for international affairs, and to review the principles and practice of U.S. foreign policy around the world.

I begin with the observation that we all know America's purpose. It is freedom. We Americans are dedicated to the rights of all people. We promote government with the consent of the governed. We believe in law. We cherish peace. We seek prosperity.

Having said this, we have not said very much. For it is easy to list goals. Our task, together, you and me, America and our friends overseas, is to achieve them.

About a decade ago, our generation began a journey into a new era. We set out free from Cold War bonds, but were soon plagued by a viper's nest of other perils. Along the way, we have not always put our foot right, but overall we have made great progress.

Because the signposts of the past have fallen, history demands that we be innovators and trailblazers, builders of new institutions and adapters of old.

So in virtually every part of every continent, we work with others to bring nations closer together around basic principles of democracy and law, open markets and a commitment to peace.

We do this because it is right, but also because it is essential to protect the best interests of our nation and people. In this era, our security, prosperity and freedom hinge on whether others, too, have access to these blessings. And the future depends on whether we can help shape a world in which disputes are settled, prosperity is shared, criminals are caught, aggressors are deterred and basic human rights are respected.

I. AMERICAN LEADERSHIP AROUND THE WORLD

A) The Western Hemisphere

Nowhere are these truths more evident than in the community of democracies we are building with our neighbors in this hemisphere.

Earlier this month, the President and I visited Mexico, with whom we share a 2000-mile border and a host of common interests. We place a high priority on our economic ties with Mexico, and on working through the U.S.-Mexico Binational Commission to enhance cooperation on matters ranging from counternarcotics to environmental protection to immigration. We also have an urgent and shared interest in helping the people of Central America recover from the destruction caused by Hurricane Mitch.

The President's trip to that region next month will remind the world and our own citizens that, though the floods have receded, the hard work of rebuilding from that terrible storm has just begun.

This morning, I ask your support for the President's request for emergency supplemental funds to help our neighbors plant crops, replace schools, reconstruct communities and resume normal lives.

An early and sustained recovery in Central America matters to us both for human reasons and because economic dislocations in that region could contribute to social conflict, illegal immigration and crime. We have a strong interest in helping Central America strengthen its democracies and provide a good life for its people at home. Sustained recovery means expanding trade and creating jobs. These are the goals of the enhanced Caribbean Basin Initiative legislation the Administration will soon submit and for which I ask your support.

It is appropriate that we help our neighbors not only in Central America, but also in the Caribbean and Colombia, to recover from recent natural disasters. For this spirit reflects the flourishing partnership that has grown out of the Summit of the Americas process.

That process began in Miami in 1994 and gained momentum in Santiago last year. Its purpose is to build a hemispheric community based on shared interests and democratic values.

On the economic front, we have forged a commitment to growth and integration based on open markets, open books, better schools and broader participation. Already, we export more to

the Americas than to any other part of the world. And the United States is firmly committed to achieving a Free Trade Area of the Americas by 2005.

We are also working closely with Brazil and other countries in the region to prevent the further spread of financial instability.

In the area of security, our hemispheric community has also made great strides. With our help, and that of others, the troubling border dispute between Ecuador and Peru has been resolved. In Central America, after decades of fighting, differences are being settled by ballots, not bullets. And overall counter-narcotics cooperation is stronger than ever, because the understanding is broader than ever that the drug plague threatens us all, and that we must all do our part in the struggle against it.

At the heart of the Summit of the Americas process is a commitment to democracy.

In nations such as Venezuela and Peru, Paraguay and the Dominican Republic, we are helping democratic forces to assemble the nuts and bolts of lasting freedom.

In Colombia, President Pastrana is committed to the rule of law and a future of peace for his people. I urge your support for our efforts to help him end his nation's bloody civil conflict, fight drug traffickers, support alternative development, and create a climate in which the rights of all Colombians may be respected.

In Haiti, the long-unresolved conflict between President Preval and majority legislators has stalled economic reforms and led to the de facto dissolution of Parliament. The Haitian people deserve better. It is in our interest to continue assisting them as they struggle to build better lives.

And in Cuba, we have taken a series of steps designed to help the Cuban people without strengthening their repressive and backward-looking rulers.

Our goal is to do what we can to help Cubans lay the groundwork for civil society and prepare for a peaceful transition to democratic rule. To this end, we have sought to make it easier for the people of Cuba to be in touch with family

and friends here in the United States; and easier for the Cuban-American community to help those who remain on the island.

B) Europe and the New Independent States

We will mark this year the tenth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the birth of a new Europe--undivided, democratic and working together for peace.

With allies and partners, we are creating new institutions and adapting old ones to meet the challenges of the new era.

With the President's personal leadership, and crucial help from former Senator George Mitchell, we have supported the people of Ireland in their desire to end terror and live in peace through implementation of the historic "Good Friday" agreement.

We have joined Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in signing the U.S.-Baltic Charter, to show support for the freedom and security of those nations and for their efforts to join western institutions. We are pursuing our Northeast Europe Initiative to build bridges among the nations of the Nordic and Baltic region.

We strongly support the expansion of the European Union (EU) into central and eastern Europe, and Turkey's desire to be part of that process. We are working hard to ease tensions in the Aegean and continue to explore every opportunity for progress towards a settlement on Cyprus.

We are among those striving to help the Organization for Security Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) meet its potential as a catalyst for democratic change, tolerance and respect for human rights.

And in two months, here in Washington, we will meet with our allies to set the course for NATO's second fifty years.

The Washington Summit will be the largest diplomatic gathering at the Head-of-State level in the history of our nation's capital. Together, we will affirm NATO's success in safeguarding freedom, as we formally welcome the three new members who will have joined our alliance--a step made possible by strong Congressional support--and have discussions with 25 other partners who will participate during the Summit's second day.

Together, we will recognize collective defense as the core mission of the Alliance; prepare to respond to the full range of threats the Alliance may face; further develop our partnerships with other European democracies; and coordinate our activities with key institutions such as the EU and OSCE.

The NATO of the 21st Century will confront a changed and ever-changing strategic environment. Possible threats include those posed by international terror, dangerous regional conflicts and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the missiles that deliver them. As we have already seen in the Balkans, these dangers could emanate from well beyond NATO's borders, and while staying true to our character as a Euro-Atlantic Alliance, we must prepare ourselves to respond to them.

As we do so, we bear in mind that although NATO stands tall, it does not stand alone. NATO and its partners, the OSCE, and the EU form the core of a broader system for protecting vital interests and promoting shared values. We learned in Bosnia earlier this decade that such a system is vital. We face a test now in Kosovo to see how effective the system we are developing can be under demanding and complex circumstances.

As we have seen in both places, NATO's ability to use or credibly threaten to use force can be essential in countering threats to stability. But the efforts of other institutions and organizations are required to prevent such dangers from recurring.

Tuesday night, I returned from France where we were striving to lay the groundwork for lasting peace in Kosovo. In our discussions there, we did not reach full agreement. But we did hammer out a viable plan for autonomy and democracy in Kosovo through an interim political settlement. And we made progress on and clarified, although we did not settle, the security issues.

The parties have agreed to meet again on March 15. In the interim, we call upon both sides to refrain from acts of provocation and violence, and to respect fully the security of the Kosovo Verification Mission. Officials in Belgrade know that NATO's authority to use force, if necessary, remains in effect.

The proposed interim agreement is the best deal either side will get and should be agreed to by both.

If a settlement does occur, the United States will participate with NATO and its partners in implementing it. There are compelling reason for this. Kosovo lies within the Balkans--where there is no natural border to conflict. A new explosion of fighting in Kosovo could expand into regional hostilities that could cause massive suffering, displace tens of thousands of people, undermine stability throughout South Central Europe and directly affect key allies.

As I said, Kosovo is also a critical test of NATO and other institutions in which we have a vital stake.

These institutions are being challenged now, especially by Serb President Milosevic, who has lied repeatedly to them. If we fail in our resolve, we will weaken the institutions we rely upon not only in the Balkans, but also throughout the continent. That is a weakness we cannot risk and must not allow.

We also have an interest in seeing that the situation in Kosovo is resolved in a way that promotes ethnic tolerance and democratic principles. Failure to achieve this could harm progress elsewhere, especially in Bosnia.

Having returned from Rambouillet, I can also tell you, Mr. Chairman, that there is no chance that the Kosovar Albanians will sign on to this deal if the U.S. does not participate in its implementation. The President has made it clear that others must provide the lion's share of the troops and we have seen our allies step forward and offer to do just that.

The stakes in Kosovo are high and I will not sugarcoat the difficulties we face. We did not achieve all we hoped for at Rambouillet, but Rambouillet was not the end of the road. The people of Kosovo, whether ethnic Albanian, Serb or other, deserve to live in democracy and peace. They deserve to have their rights and heritage respected. And I am convinced that by far the majority of respected leaders within the Kosovar Albanian community support the interim agreement we proposed and they helped to refine.

The primary obstacle to peace remains Slobodan Milosevic. It was his brutal campaign of repression that gave birth to the KLA. And it was at his orders that so much of the worst violence and suffering has occurred. Milosevic no longer has a choice. If the Kosovar Albanians accept the Interim Agreement, Milosevic must, too, or face the consequences.

In Bosnia, we remain deeply committed to full implementation of the Dayton Accords. Success here would remove a major threat to European security, and establish a model for inter-ethnic collaboration that is needed throughout the Balkans and around the world.

Since the peace accords were signed more than three years ago, enormous strides have been made. The fighting has long since stopped; tens of thousands of refugees and displaced have returned home; elections have been conducted at all levels; the symbols and substance of nationhood have begun slowly to come together; and we and our partners in SFOR have begun slowly to reduce the international military presence.

It is essential, however, that we not allow events elsewhere in the region to distract us, or conclude from past progress that the future of peace in Bosnia is assured. The nation's bitter divisions are only partially healed. The job of enabling refugees to return safely is ongoing and difficult. Local authorities have not yet assumed the responsibilities for democracy and peace that they must if Bosnia is become truly independent, united and free.

The Dayton Accords remain the linchpin of hopes for stability in the Balkans. If those accords are to be implemented, the United States must continue to help the people of Bosnia realize the benefits of peace. The President's budget ensures that we will.

As we enter the last year of the old century, democracy and economic reform have taken firm root in most parts of Central and East Europe. However, much work remains to be done in the Southern Tier of Balkan countries, particularly in Bosnia, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. We are helping to sustain progress through the Southeast Europe Cooperative Initiative and other measures that support regional cooperation in sectors such as trade and law enforcement.

Further to the east, towards the Caucasus and Central Asia, democratic change remains very much a work in progress. In many countries, respect for human rights and the rule of law is unsatisfactory and economic reforms have been slowed by financial turmoil.

With the aid of our soon-to-be-created Bureau of East European and Eurasian Affairs, we will vigorously pursue

diplomatic and programmatic efforts to help countries in the region find the right road. We do this for reasons of principle, but also because this part of the world is critical to our own long-term security and prosperity.

I want to express my appreciation for past congressional leadership, through Nunn-Lugar and the Freedom Support Act, to safeguard the handling of nuclear materials and lay the groundwork for economic and political reforms in the New Independent States. We will need your continued help this year in providing the resources and the flexibility we need to advance our goals, for we have entered a pivotal period.

Every country in the region will hold parliamentary or presidential elections in 1999 or 2000. We hope to see progress on Nagorno-Karabakh and on withdrawal of Russian troops from Moldova. We will also renew our request this year for legislation to repeal Section 907 of the Freedom Support Act. And we will press for completion of CFE negotiations by the OSCE summit later this year.

We attach high importance to our strategic partnership with Ukraine, knowing that an independent, democratic, prosperous and stable Ukraine is a key to building a secure and undivided Europe. In 1999, we will continue to support Ukraine's economic and political reforms, press for a free and fair Presidential election, deepen our cooperation under the NATO-Ukraine Charter and strengthen our joint nonproliferation efforts. Last week, I was able to certify--after careful consideration--that the requirements of U.S. law with respect to Ukraine's business climate have been met--albeit just barely.

We are also striving to strengthen our partnership with Russia. During my visit to Moscow last month, I found a Russia struggling to cope with economic setbacks, high rates of crime, and political uncertainty. I was heartened by my meeting with leaders of Russian civil society, and urged them to persist in efforts to build democracy and to resist the forces of extremism and intolerance--including anti-semitism--that are threatening progress.

On the official level, we continue to work closely with Russia. Our constant communication helps us to manage differences and make progress on important issues such as the CFE negotiations and Kosovo.

A peaceful and democratic Russia that is tackling its economic problems and playing a constructive international role can make an enormous contribution to the 21st Century. It should not be surprising that the Russian transition from Communism to a more open system is proving difficult. Our own democracy took many decades to mature and remains unfinished. We have an enormous stake in Russian success and will continue to help as long as Russia is committed to the path of reform.

C) The Asia Pacific

In the Asia Pacific, we are working with allies and partners to improve security cooperation, restore economic momentum and build democracy.

Our alliance with Japan remains the cornerstone of regional security, and we are reinvigorating that alliance through the implementation of new guidelines for defense cooperation. Clearly, with the world's second largest economy, Japan is also an economic key. We are encouraging Tokyo to expand its program of deregulation, open its markets, and take other measures to restore growth.

There is no greater threat to peace and stability in the Asia Pacific than the situation on the Korean Peninsula. With our Korean and Japanese allies, and China, we are discussing with North Korea the prospects for achieving a permanent end to tensions.

We are also engaged in direct talks with North Korea on ways to resolve our concerns regarding its suspicious underground construction activities at Kumchang-ni and its long-range missile development, deployment and exports.

There can be no improvement in our relations until our concerns about Kumchang-ni are resolved.

North Korea must also address our concerns about its missile program if it wishes to enjoy good relations with nations in its region and improve its standing in the world. Further, the Agreed Framework to freeze and dismantle North Korea's ability to produce fissile material must be implemented in good faith and by all sides--and we will need the help of Congress in ensuring that our own obligations to the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization are met.

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Also in East Asia, we have continued our strategic dialogue with China, a nation of increasing economic influence, diplomatic prominence and military strength.

Since our dialogue began, we have seen China move from being part of the nuclear proliferation problem to becoming part of the solution. It has endorsed extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty; signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT); become party to the Chemical Weapons Convention; promised not to assist unsafeguarded nuclear facilities; agreed to study membership in the Missile Technology Control Regime; supported peace talks on Korea; and played a responsible role during the Asian financial crisis.

These developments matter. China's international role is evolving in a way that could aid regional prosperity and security for decades to come. We need to recognize these gains, even as we press for further progress.

Next week, I will visit China, and I will bear with me from President Clinton a two-part message. The first is a firm commitment to our continued dialogue and to the spirit of mutual respect with which it has been conducted. We will seek serious discussions about possible Chinese accession to the World Trade Organization, export controls, and the need to prevent renewed tensions related to Taiwan.

But I will also bring a strong message of American concern about areas where we have differences, including human rights. This will come as no surprise to Beijing. In recent months, we have condemned the arrest, trial and sentencing of Chinese who sought peacefully to establish an opposition political party. In our human rights dialogue with China, Assistant Secretary of State Harold Koh has emphasized the importance of Chinese compliance with international human rights standards, including a free press, freedom of religion and freedom of political expression. And we have urged China to open a dialogue with the Dalai Lama regarding the protection of Tibet's religious, cultural and linguistic heritage within China.

As I have said before, in our relations with China, engagement is not endorsement. We continue to have sharp differences with Beijing. But we also believe that the way to narrow those differences, and to take advantage of the many areas where U.S. and Chinese interests coincide, is through regular contacts and dialogue.

Economically, the past 20 months have been extremely painful for many in Asia. Governments have been challenged and millions of people face the prospects of unemployment, reduced living standards and a more uncertain future. Currently, we are working with a number of governments and with the international financial institutions to encourage policies that will restore growth, attract long-term investment, improve financial transparency, sustain momentum towards open markets, and help citizens adjust to change.

One of the central lessons of the current crisis is that nations with strong democratic institutions are better able to withstand the turbulence of the new global economy. This is a message I will carry with me in my visits next week to Thailand and Indonesia.

In Thailand, I will convey strong U.S. support for the government's economic reform programs and the efforts of the Thai people to strengthen democratic institutions across the board.

To Indonesia, I will bring a message of concern and friendship from the American people; including support for free, fair and credible elections and a commitment to stand by the Indonesian people in what promises to be an extended period of economic recovery and political change. I will also discuss with Indonesian leaders the ongoing negotiations to reach a peaceful resolution of the status of East Timor. My emphasis will be on the need to minimize violence, promote stability, and respect human rights as the transition to a new status takes place.

Elsewhere in the region, we will continue to work with ASEAN, Japan and others to strengthen democracy in Cambodia, and encourage a meaningful dialogue in Burma between the authorities there and the democratic opposition, led by the National League for Democracy (NLD). We are deeply concerned by the attempts made throughout the past year to harass and intimidate NLD leaders. Burmese authorities must understand that the path to international acceptance and economic progress lies in movement towards a legitimate and popularly supported government in Rangoon.

D) South Asia

If the past year was a time of disappointment and unfulfilled promise in South Asia, we are working hard to see

that the coming year is one of opportunity and progress. Following last May's nuclear tests, we worked with India and Pakistan to prevent a nuclear arms race. Both agreed to adhere to the CTBT by year's end, join negotiations for a fissile materials production cutoff and tighten export controls. And both have taken encouraging steps to improve bilateral relations with the other. The two Prime Ministers just concluded a very successful summit in Lahore. In the months ahead, we will be pressing for further stabilizing actions.

Throughout the region, we will be working hard to advance our core foreign policy objectives of strengthening democracy, enhancing economic ties, countering terrorism, extending the rule of law and promoting respect for human rights--including religious freedom, worker rights and women's rights.

E) The Middle East

In the Middle East, our primary objective remains a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors.

Earlier this month, this cause lost one of its great champions with the passing of Jordan's King Hussein. As Secretary of State, I knew King Hussein as an eloquent and deeply committed partisan of peace. I hope his death will inspire us all to even greater efforts. In this regard, we are seeking expedited congressional consideration of \$300 million in assistance to support Jordan during this critical transition period. I have met with the new King and am confident that he will carry on the wise policies of his father; whose passing we all mourn.

Let me also note that March 26 marks the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Egypt-Israeli peace treaty, which remains the bedrock of all subsequent regional peace efforts. The anniversary also marks the beginning of our strategic relationship with Egypt, which continues to contribute to peace and stability throughout the region.

In the months ahead, we will persist in our efforts to help the peace process move forward. We are in regular contact with Israeli and Palestinian leaders, encouraging them to focus on implementing the Wye River Memorandum. To this end, I urge the Committee to support the President's request for funds to help the parties carry out that agreement.

In the Gulf, we will continue to work with our allies and friends, and within the United Nations Security Council, to confront the threats that the Iraqi regime's aggression and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) capability pose to Iraq's own people, its neighbors, the international community and our own vital interests.

In mid-December, we joined our British allies in a military operation that degraded Iraq's WMD capacity and its ability to threaten its neighbors. We have since continued to enforce the southern and northern No-Fly Zones and have repeatedly acted against Iraqi military assets in the zones that threaten our pilots and aircraft.

At the United Nations, we are working within the Security Council to develop a basis for resuming inspection and monitoring of Iraq's remaining WMD capabilities. We will insist that sanctions against the regime continue until Iraq meets its obligations, although we support easing the burdens on the Iraqi people through an enhanced oil-for-food program.

Our policy towards Iraq is to counter the threat Saddam Hussein poses to his people, his neighbors, our allies, and our interests in the region. We must and will persist in thwarting Iraq's potential for aggression. And we will support the Iraqi people's desire to reintegrate themselves into the international community and free themselves from a leader they do not want, do not deserve, and never chose.

Across the border from Iraq in Iran, there are clear signs of popular support for a society based on the rule of law and a more open approach to the world. We welcome that, though we are concerned that Iran continues to pursue policies--on proliferation, terrorism, and human rights--that violate international norms.

Iran's President Khatami has called for a dialogue between our two peoples. Last summer, I endorsed that call and expressed a willingness to work with authorities in Tehran, when the time is right, to develop a roadmap for more normal relations. The official Iranian response thus far has been disappointing, but we stand ready for a dialogue in which both sides would be free to discuss all issues of concern.

America's interest in a stable and prosperous Middle East also depends upon whether the nations there work together to reform their economies, attract investment, move in the

direction of democracy and create opportunities for their people. In Algeria, we support a credible, peaceful, Presidential campaign, which will transcend radicalism and violence and carry out President Zeroual's stated commitment to economic and political liberalization.

Under Secretary of State Stuart Eizenstat is leading our North African partnership initiative, which aims to encourage structural reform in the region, increase regional commerce and improve political relationships. I hope we will continue to have the Committee's support for U.S. programs and policies that encourage progress in these directions.

F) Africa

The new century will demand from us a new approach to the vast and diverse African continent, where both exciting opportunities and grave dangers are present.

The good news is that dozens of countries are implementing political and economic reforms. A majority of governments in sub-Saharan Africa were democratically elected. Overall economic growth is a healthy 4.5%. Africa's potential as a participant in world trade has barely been tapped, and yet the United States already exports more to Africa than to the entire former Soviet Union. Moreover, we import almost as much oil from Africa as from the Middle East.

On the negative side, Africa is a major battleground in the global fight against terror, crime, drugs, illicit arms-trafficking, and disease. And an array of immediate crises demand our attention.

We are actively engaged with South Africa and other regional leaders, and with the United Nations, in efforts to end the senseless war in the Horn of Africa, salvage the peace process in Angola, achieve a lasting settlement in the Democratic Republic of Congo, find a solution to the decades-long strife in Sudan, and help the West African peacekeeping force, ECOMOG, try to end the brutal fighting in Sierra Leone

We are also working with the World Health Organization and through USAID to slow the spread of HIV/AIDS, which is causing incalculable human suffering.

It is vital, however, that we not allow immediate crises to cause us to neglect long-term goals. In Africa, as elsewhere, we must build relationships and forge institutions that will serve as the foundation for future progress.

This is the approach that drives our policy and for which I ask the support of this Committee and the Congress.

For example, I urge your backing for efforts to assist the long-delayed and often-betrayed transition to democracy in Nigeria, Africa's largest nation.

I urge your support for our efforts to assist conflict resolution through our Africa Crisis Response Initiative and the new African Center for Strategic Studies, and to approve funding for key African programs such as the Great Lakes Justice Initiative, VOA's new Radio Democracy for Africa program, the African Development Foundation, and USAID's assistance for development and democracy.

I urge you once more this year to approve the African Growth and Opportunity Act, a trade measure that would afford greater market access for selected products from the strongest reforming countries of Africa. This proposal would also benefit American companies and workers by expanding our trade with the largest underdeveloped market in the world.

I ask you to listen to the voices of the African diplomatic community here in Washington who have requested Senate approval of the UN Convention to Combat Desertification. This is a Presidential priority. And I invite members of this Committee to participate in next month's first-ever U.S.-Africa Partnership Conference with senior foreign ministry, trade and finance officials from 46 of the 48 countries of Sub-Saharan Africa.

Mr. Chairman, I will be frank. There are those both in and outside of public office in our country who look at the deep-rooted problems in Africa and throw up their hands. Many others throw up their hands without even the slightest glance at the cross currents presently at work in Africa.

The sources of crisis in Africa, which include ethnic rivalry, greed, unchecked ambition and ignorance, are hardly unique to that continent. And Africa does not lack the qualities out of which a freer and more prosperous future may be built.

Many in Africa are laboring hard to heal ethnic divisions, advance the status of women, clear landmines, care for refugees, and build civil society. An increasing number of leaders understand that the continent's future prosperity depends on trade, and are committed to the kind of market-opening and rule of law initiatives that will create a sound environment for domestic and foreign investment. And I have spoken with Africans from all walks of life who admire deeply the democratic institutions they equate with America and urgently desire our help in strengthening their own.

Looking ahead, we know that progress towards stability, prosperity and democracy in Africa will be neither constant, nor universal, nor as swift as we would wish. But we owe it to those striving to build the new Africa, and to ourselves, to assist their efforts when and where we can, understanding that our strategies must be based less on the promise of short-term breakthroughs, and more on the potential for long-term results.

II. GLOBAL OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS

Mr. Chairman, to protect the security and prosperity of our citizens, we are engaged in every region on every continent. Many of our initiatives and concerns are directed, as I have discussed, at particular countries or parts of the world. Others are more encompassing and can best be considered in global terms.

A) Protecting American Security

The first of these is our strategy for ensuring the fundamental security of our citizens and territory--a challenge that differs substantially from the past.

The risks of Cold War confrontation have ended, and for that we remain grateful. But we face a variety of other dangers, some fueled by technology's advance; some by regional rivalry; some by naked ambition; and some by outright hate.

During the past year, we were witness to terrorist attacks against two of our embassies in Africa, the testing of longer range missiles by North Korea and Iran, periodic threats from Saddam Hussein, and nuclear explosions in South Asia that challenged the global nonproliferation regime.

The new year promises little relief from such perils. In his State of the Union Address, President Clinton outlined plans for further strengthening our military, reinvigorating our alliances, and preparing--down to the community level--for the possibility of a terrorist strike.

The defense of our country requires both the capacity and the will to use force when necessary; and as the President made clear, we have both. But force can be a blunt instrument and nearly always entails grave risks.

So our security also requires the vigorous use of diplomatic tools to bolster the forces of law and prevent weapons of mass destruction and the missiles that deliver them from falling into the wrong hands.

The economic crisis in Russia and elsewhere in the New Independent States (NIS) adds urgency to the need for effective action. The President is seeking \$4.5 billion over the next five years for threat reduction programs in this region to dismantle or store strategic weapons safely, secure fissile material components, and engage scientists to prevent the proliferation of WMD expertise. We are determined that no nukes become "loose nukes."

Around the world, we are engaged with allies and friends in a multi-year, multi-faceted campaign to deter and defend against terrorist acts; and to pursue, prosecute and punish the criminals who commit them.

We are striving to ensure effective implementation of the Chemical Weapons Convention. We have stepped up efforts to hammer out an accord that will strengthen compliance with the Biological Weapons Convention. We have begun to make progress toward a treaty to end the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons.

And we are supporting the entry into force of the CTBT. This Treaty, sought by U.S. Presidents since Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy, holds the promise of a world forever free of nuclear explosions, making it harder for other nations to develop nuclear arms. But if we are to fulfill that promise, America must lead the way in ratifying the CTBT, just as we did in negotiating and signing it. The CTBT cannot enter into force without our ratification, and that of other key countries, such as India and Pakistan. Those two nations have pledged to adhere to the CTBT by September. We should not give them an excuse to

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delay, nor should we lag behind. I strongly urge the Senate to approve the CTBT this session.

During my recent visit to Russia, I emphasized the need to prevent the destabilizing transfer of arms and sensitive technologies. This is a problem we address not only with Moscow, but worldwide. We provide material or technical assistance to more than two dozen countries to enhance the effectiveness of their export controls. We also share information. These efforts, although rarely publicized, have prevented numerous transactions that would have threatened our allies, our friends and ourselves.

Mr. Chairman, it is especially important that we work together on a bipartisan basis to respond to the potential dangers posed to our citizens, troops, territory and friends by long-range missiles that may carry weapons of mass destruction.

We have lived with this danger for decades. But its character is changing now as more nations develop the means to launch longer-range missiles.

Our policy includes diplomatic efforts to restrain missile development, an option that a number of countries have voluntarily foregone. Almost three dozen nations are cooperating to limit technology transfers through the Missile Transfer Control Regime. And we are strongly urging nations such as North Korea, Iran, India and Pakistan not to further develop or deploy missiles that could be de-stabilizing.

We understand, however, that nonproliferation efforts may not be enough. Our military power serves as a mighty deterrent against any potential adversary. Further, to protect ourselves and our allies abroad, we are working to develop theater missile defense systems, as allowed under the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty.

To protect ourselves at home, the President is requesting \$10.5 billion between now and Fiscal Year 2005 for a national missile defense (NMD) system, including the funds that would be necessary during this period to deploy a limited NMD, should the technology prove viable and a deployment decision be made. The purpose of such a system would be to protect against attacks by outlaw nations.

I know that Congress may soon consider legislation that would mandate deployment of a national system as soon as it is

technologically feasible to do so. The Administration opposes this approach as too narrow. We believe a deployment decision should be based on four factors. These include a thorough assessment of the technology and the proposed system's operational effectiveness; the status of the ballistic missile threat; and the cost of deployment. A decision regarding NMD deployment must also be addressed within the context of the ABM Treaty and our objectives for achieving future reductions in strategic offensive arms through START II and III.

I have personally made clear to Russian leaders that deployment of a limited NMD that required amendments to the ABM Treaty would not be incompatible with the underlying purpose of that Treaty, which is to maintain stability and enable further reductions in strategic nuclear arms. The ABM Treaty has been amended before, and we see no reason why we should not be able to modify it again to permit deployment of NMD against rogue nation missile threats.

We could not and would not give Russia or any other nation a veto over our NMD decisions. It is important to recognize that our sovereign rights are fully protected by the supreme national interests clause that is an integral part of this Treaty. But neither should we issue ultimatums. We are prepared to negotiate any necessary amendments in good faith.

Mr. Chairman, the threat to the security of America and its partners is most obvious from weapons of mass destruction, but that is not the only danger. In many parts of the world, instability is fueled by the unregulated and illegitimate sale of large quantities of conventional arms. These are the sales that equip brutal rebel movements, such as that in Sierra Leone, and make it harder to sustain peace processes in places such as Angola and Afghanistan.

In response, the Clinton Administration has launched a small arms initiative designed to curb the flow of weapons to Central Africa, and to negotiate an international agreement aimed at making global standards for the regulation and sale of firearms closer to our own. We are also working to negotiate an agreement to control the export of shoulder-fired missiles, which are ardently desired by many terrorist and other criminal organizations, and which pose a severe danger to civilian aircraft.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, we also protect our security by strengthening the rule of law in areas of potential

misunderstanding and conflict. That is why the Defense Department and our military leaders have strongly urged Senate approval of the new and improved UN Convention on the Law of the Sea.

B) Sustaining American Prosperity

A second overarching goal of our foreign policy is to promote a healthy world economy in which American genius and productivity receive their due.

The American economy is strong today because of the energy, innovation, and skills of the American people. We have the most competitive economy on Earth. Our foreign policy cannot take credit for that; but we can and do support it.

Since President Clinton took office, we have negotiated more than 240 trade agreements, including the Uruguay Round and agreements on information technology, basic telecommunications and financial services. This matters because trade has been responsible for almost one-third of the sustained economic growth we have enjoyed these past six years. Today, more than ten million U.S. jobs are supported by exports, and these are good jobs, paying--on the average--significantly more than non-trade related positions.

I urge the Congress to restore the President's fast track trade negotiating authority so that he may take full advantage of the opportunities for further lowering barriers to trade in American goods and services.

I ask your backing for our efforts to negotiate market-opening aviation agreements, and an international policy on telecommunications that could reduce the cost to our citizens of overseas phone calls and mail.

And I hope you will lend your support to agencies such as the Export-Import Bank, the Trade Development Agency, and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, which help our businesspeople find new markets abroad.

The State Department also supports prosperity by using embassy expertise and contacts to provide appropriate help to American firms. Under President Clinton, the Department has worked hard to develop a dynamic partnership with the American business community and to ensure that business interests are taken into account when foreign policy decisions affecting them

are made. As further evidence of this, we have included in our budget this year a proposal for a modest pilot program to help our smaller embassies work with our businesspeople to develop markets in countries where other U.S. agencies are not represented.

During the past decade, the trend towards more open rules of investment and trade has helped to spur record economic expansion and raise living standards in much of the world. Over the past 18 months, however, the financial crisis has applied the brakes to many national economies and plunged a number, particularly in East Asia, into reverse. Although the U.S. economy has remained healthy, important sectors such as agriculture, aircraft and steel have been adversely affected by shrinking export markets and increased pressure from low-priced imports.

We have responded on two levels. First, we have rigorously enforced our laws against unfair trade. For example, the Administration expedited consideration of hot-rolled steel antidumping cases; helped persuade Korea to curtail government support for its steel industry; and urged the EU to take more steel imports. These efforts have borne some fruit. Imports of steel mill products in December were 32 percent lower than in November.

More broadly, President Clinton has responded with proposals designed to restore world economic growth, reform international financial institutions, ensure fair treatment for U.S. workers and firms, and assist our trading partners in improving the management of their financial sectors.

We have encouraged Japan to implement reforms that would help make that country once again an engine of economic expansion. We have joined forces with the World Bank and the IMF to prevent the financial contagion from spreading further and to meet urgent humanitarian needs. And we have made it clear, in promoting trade and supporting the role of the international financial institutions, that serious consideration must be given to environmental and worker standards.

Unfortunately, there are no quick or simple solutions to the problems many countries now face. Success in the global economy requires sound fiscal and monetary policies, transparent financial systems, good governance and the rule of law. It is no accident that nations with these attributes have fared best in the current crisis.

Nations with deeper problems must take the tough steps required to develop broad-based and accountable democratic institutions that will earn investor confidence and engender public support. It is in our interest to help nations that are prepared to undertake these reforms and we are committed to doing so.

One example of this is by calling attention to the crippling effects of corruption on economic growth, investor confidence, political stability and popular morale. I thank Congress for backing U.S. participation in the OECD's landmark Convention against Commercial Bribery. We will be asking your support for a broader convention negotiated in the OAS. We are seeking support for anti-corruption initiatives in Asia and Africa. And, as we speak, Vice President Gore is chairing a conference with representatives from around the world to discuss ways to fight corruption.

In recent years, trade and investment have played increasing roles in efforts to foster development and raise living standards around the world. But this does not diminish the critical role played by professional development organizations such as USAID.

We know that many of our fastest-growing markets are in developing countries where the transition to an open economic system is incomplete. By helping these countries, we contribute to our own prosperity while strengthening the international system, in which the United States has the largest stake.

Over time, we hope that every country will have a seat at the table in the international system, and that each will fulfill its responsibility to observe global norms. This will not happen automatically or by accident. Certainly, globalization and the free market alone will not make it happen. It will never happen without the right kind of hands-on assistance, in the right places, at the right times, from those who understand how the process of development works.

So I urge your support for the varied and vital work of USAID. And I hope you will embrace other economic and humanitarian assistance programs such as the Peace Corps, our contributions to the multilateral development banks and support for vital UN organizations such as UNICEF, the UN Development Program, and the UN Population Fund.

C) Fighting International Crime and Narcotics

Mr. Chairman, a third global objective of our foreign policy is to fight and win the struggle against the hydra-headed evil of international crime. Drug cartels and the criminal empires they finance threaten us every day whether we are traveling abroad or going about our daily business here at home.

President Clinton spoke to this danger last spring when he unveiled a comprehensive strategy to integrate all facets of the federal response to international crime. Led by our Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, the State Department is a key partner in this effort, which is designed to extend the first line of defense against crime far beyond U.S. borders.

To this end, we are working with other nations as never before to train police, prosecutors and judges, seize drug assets, help farmers find alternatives to illicit crops, expose and close front companies, halt money laundering, track criminals and bring smugglers of contraband to justice.

These efforts have paid off in significantly reduced coca cultivation in Bolivia and Peru, and the promise of a more concerted anti-narcotics program in Colombia.

In Africa, Nigeria is a key, and we are encouraged by the prospect of a democratic transition in that country. It is essential, however, that we have the flexibility in administering our anti-narcotics and crime programs to devote a higher percentage of our resources to this continent. Thirty percent of the heroin interdicted in the U.S. is traceable to African smuggling organizations.

In Asia, we are handicapped by the repressive nature of the authorities in the world's two largest producers of heroin, Burma and Afghanistan. We are doing our best to address the problem by working through neighboring states, regional organizations and the UN.

Around the world, we strive to disrupt the vicious criminal empires which endanger citizens and threaten democratic values from Moscow to Manhattan.

There are no final victories in the fight against international crime, but--as our increased budget request for this year reflects--we are pushing ahead hard. Our purpose,

ultimately, is to create a tightly woven web of agreements, laws, inspectors, police and judicial power that will deny drug kingpins and other criminals and the space they need to operate and without which they cannot survive.

D) Safeguarding the Environment

The United States also has a major foreign policy interest in ensuring for future generations a healthy and abundant global environment and in working to prevent environmental problems that could lead to conflict or contribute to humanitarian disasters.

The wise stewardship of natural resources is about far more than aesthetics. Misuse of resources can produce shortages that breed famine, fear, flight and fighting. And as societies grow and industrialize, the absorptive capacities of the Earth will be severely tested.

That is why we have incorporated environmental goals into the mainstream of our foreign policy, and why we are pursuing specific objectives through regional environmental hubs in every part of the world.

It is why we are seeking an international agreement to regulate the production and use of persistent chemical toxins that have global impacts.

It is why we are working hard to bring into force better standards for preserving biological diversity and managing marine resources.

And it is why we will be working to limit the emission of greenhouse gases that most scientists believe cause global warming. Last November, in Buenos Aires, parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change agreed to an action plan for advancing the agenda outlined in the 1997 Kyoto Protocol. In that Protocol, leading industrialized countries agreed to binding limits, at reduced levels, on greenhouse gas emissions and adopted, in key respects, the U.S. market-based approach to achieving those reductions.

In the year to come, we will continue our vigorous diplomatic efforts to implement the Buenos Aires work plan and to encourage developing country participation, without which international efforts to control global warming cannot succeed.

E) Human Rights, Democracy and the Rule of Law

American policy is to promote democracy, the rule of law, religious tolerance and human rights.

We believe, and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights affirms, that "the will of the people...expressed in periodic elections" should be the basis of government everywhere. We are working actively to promote the observation of this principle around the world.

Earlier in this statement, I mentioned some of the specific programs we use to aid democratic transitions, support free and fair elections and help democratic forces build civil society.

These programs reflect our ideals and serve our interests.

When we support democratic leaders, we are aiding our natural partners and helping to forge a community of democratic nations that will work together to defend freedom where it exists and promote it where it does not.

We also know from experience that democratic governments tend to be more successful at preventing conflicts and coping with the turbulence of the global market than regimes that do not answer to the people.

Our support for the right to democracy is part of our broader effort to elevate global standards of human rights and respect for the rule of law. Our goal is to enter the 21st Century moving ahead in these areas, not just settling for the status quo.

Accordingly, the United States will continue to support democratic ideals and institutions however and wherever we can effectively do so.

We will continue to advocate increased respect for human rights, vigorously promote religious freedom and firmly back the international criminal tribunals for Rwanda and the Former Yugoslavia.

We will support efforts to help women gain fair access to the levers of economic and political power, work with others to end the pernicious trafficking in women and girls, and renew our request for Senate approval of the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

As the President pledged in his State of the Union Address, we will continue working through the International Labor Organization to raise core labor standards, and to conclude a treaty that would ban abusive child labor.

And we will remain leaders in the international effort to prevent harm to civilians from anti-personnel landmines. Through the President's "Demining 2010" Initiative, we are working with official and nongovernmental organizations everywhere to detect, map, mark and destroy mines; increase mine awareness; improve mine detection technology; and care for the victims of mines.

III. UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Mr. Chairman, perhaps the best way to begin the new year's work is to finish with old business. We have been trying, it seems forever, to find a way to encourage further reform while meeting America's obligation to pay our arrears to the United Nations and other international organizations.

This stalemate has dragged on far too long. We need to stop treating the United Nations like a political football. We need a fresh start based on a bipartisan consensus that falls somewhere between those who have nothing but praise for the UN and those who would like nothing better than to bury it. Most Americans are in this mainstream.

With their backing in mind, we need an approach that is realistic, grounded in U.S. interests, and based on a small number of constructive and pragmatic principles, of which I would offer four.

First, we should recognize that the United States has important interests in the work that the UN and other international organizations do. These range from our security interest in UN peacekeeping and multilateral sanctions against Iraq and Libya; to our economic interest in the protection of intellectual property rights and fair worker standards; to our humanitarian interest in feeding children, fighting disease and caring for the world's refugees.

Second, we should be realistic in our demands and expectations of the UN. The UN provides no guarantee of global peace or prosperity. But in peacekeeping, development and other

areas, it can play a vital role as catalyst and coordinator, and as a bridge spanning the gaps between the contributions of others.

Third, we must maintain pressure for reforms that will make the UN more effective. With help from the United States and other leading nations, the UN system has achieved more reform in the last half decade than in the previous 45 years. It is better led, more ably managed and far more disciplined than it was when I arrived in New York as our Permanent Representative to the UN in 1993. We should do all we can to see that this process of modernization and reform continues.

Finally, while insisting that others do the same, we must--as the President proposes in his budget--pay our bills. This is not just a question of dollars and cents. It is a matter of honor, of keeping our word. It is also a question of national interest because we will be far more influential--and far better able to spur further reform--within the UN system and other international organizations if we are meeting our obligations to them.

IV. WORLD-CLASS DIPLOMACY

The efforts we make to advance our security, prosperity and values are essential for our future. But we cannot lead without tools.

It costs money to counter modern terrorists; protect American jobs; cool regional disputes; aid child survival; and spread the gospel of freedom.

But these costs do not begin to compare to the costs we would incur if we stood aside while conflicts raged, terrorists struck, democracies unravelled and weapons of mass destruction spread unhindered around the globe.

Unfortunately, despite strong support from many in both parties in Congress, we have lost ground during this decade. In real terms, funding has declined sharply. We've been forced to cut back on the life's blood of any organization, which is training. We must modernize our information systems. We face critical infrastructure needs. We have seen the proportion of our nation's wealth that is used to support democracy and prosperity around the globe shrink steadily, so that among industrialized nations we are now dead last. And the embassy

bombings in Africa were tragic evidence of the imperative to do far more, far more quickly, to reduce the vulnerability of our diplomatic missions.

On this last point, let me stress my own personal commitment to do all I can to protect our people. Last year, Congress approved our request for \$1.4 billion to enhance security through construction upgrades, new personnel and improved equipment. The President's FY 2000 budget includes funds to sustain those efforts. And we are asking \$3 billion in advance appropriations over five years to build new and safer posts. Meanwhile, I am in regular contact with White House and other senior officials to assess security threats and needs. This is a year-round, around-the-clock, concern.

Given all this, I urge the Committee to support the President's budget request for international programs in its entirety. By so doing, you will serve our nation and your constituents very, very well. And you will give deserved support to the foreign service officers, civil service personnel and foreign service nationals--who work every day, often under difficult and dangerous conditions, to protect our interests around the world.

V. CONCLUSION

Fifty years ago, only a short distance from where we are now, President Harry Truman delivered his first and only inaugural address.

In what came to be known as the Four Point speech, he challenged Democrats and Republicans alike to lend their full support to international organizations; to continue programs for world economic recovery; to join with free people everywhere in defense of democracy; and to draw on our country's vast storehouse of technical expertise to help people help themselves in the fight against ignorance, illness and despair.

Today, we are summoned to build new institutions, adapted to the challenges of our time, based on principles that will endure for all time.

In so doing, we must heed the central lesson of this century, which is that problems abroad, if left unattended, will all too often come home to America.

We Americans draw immense strength from the fact that we know who we are and what we believe. We have a purpose. And like the farmer's faith that seeds and rain will cause crops to grow; it is our faith that if we are true to our principles, we will succeed.

Let us, then, do honor to that faith. In this final year of this turbulent century, let us assume, not with complaint, but welcome, the leader's role established by our forebears.

And by living up to the heritage of our past, let us fulfill the promise of our future--and enter the new century free and united, prosperous and at peace.

To that mission, I pledge my own best efforts, and respectfully solicit both your wise counsel and support.

Thank you very much. And now I would be pleased to respond to your questions.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 19, 1996

**REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TO THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK**

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you so much. I am delighted to be here. I want to extend my congratulations to the council and to Lesley Gelb, Pete and Dwayne and all who have not only kept it going, but have kept it vital, and for this invitation to come and speak with you about women and development.

When a friend of mine found out that I would have this opportunity, which struck him as somewhat odd, he asked what my subject was. And I told him that I intended to talk about women and development. And his response was all too typical. He said, "Well, why would the council really care about that?" And I think it's a great tribute to the council and to all of you here that you do care about this issue, which I believe is among the most compelling, yet most overlooked, in the foreign policy arena. I also believe it has direct consequences for how we attempt to develop our own country.

My ideas on this subject are rooted both in personal observations and experiences here at home and overseas, and in the growing body of research and literature about social development.

Some of you may have wondered how I've spent my time lately. Among the areas that I have spent time working on for the past three years are those that effect women's' development and their children, with particular emphasis on what we as a nation can do both alone and through multi-lateral arrangements.

I have been very fortunate to meet with women literally all over the world. I've met with new mothers in Jojakarta, Indonesia, who gather in their village each week to learn about family planning and better nutrition for their children. I have talked with doctors and nurses in Belarus and Ukraine who are trying to keep alive the children of Chernobyl. I have met with women from Tokyo to London to Ottawa to Santiago, to talk about what we have in common, what we can learn from one another and how we can best utilize our resources to assist in the process of development.

On Saturday, I will be heading for Bosnia, Turkey and Greece -- again to highlight both what we are doing alone and with our partners in the reconstruction work in Bosnia, and the many efforts that are ongoing in Turkey and Greece.

So this is an opportune time for me to share with you a few of my own observations, and I hope you will accept these comments in the spirit in which they are offered. I am not here as a foreign policy spokesman for the White House or the Clinton Administration, or even for my husband, but as a person who cares deeply about our nation's engagement in the world, and who sees investing in women as a realistic, practical and moral approach -- a way to fuse both American ideals and interests.

I have long subscribed to the belief that investments in people, particularly women and children, are just as essential to the prosperity and stability of our national family and global community as investments in open markets and trade. I certainly have seen first hand, having had the privilege to travel on behalf of the United States, what that means in practice.

I remember very well the stop that I made last spring, in Ahmedabad, India, a textile center. On the edge of town is a women's bank, founded by a disciple of Gandhi, named Ela Bhatt. The bank has one room. The teller's counter is an old kitchen table. Bank clerks record all the transactions by hand, on yellow sheets of paper bound in volumes that look like worn-out telephone books.

I was there for only a few hours. But in that time I met women who had walked 12 to 15 hours from remote villages to take out their small loans -- some as small as \$1 -- to invest in dairy cows, or plows, or goods they could sell at market.

Women run the bank. Only women are allowed to make deposits and borrow money. And today this bank has assets of more than \$3 million. Its loan repayment rate, which would be the envy of most commercial banks, is nearly 100 percent. It has 60,000 members -- all women, many of whom are among the poorest, least educated and most ostracized in India.

Against enormous political, social and economic odds, these women have joined together in a trade union and cooperative, called the Self-Employed Women's Association, or SEWA, that provides them with job training, microcredit and mutual support. One after another, these women who had gathered together in a tent behind the small building with their bank, stood up to tell me their stories: There was a sea of saris, mostly reds and pinks; there were translators as these women told me what being part of SEWA and taking out these small loans had meant to them and their families. Their lives had been transformed. They had acquired authority over themselves to an extent that they had

never dreamed possible. And as a result of their cooperation through SEWA, they were beginning to influence local government, police and commerce, all because they were finally recognizing they had a contribution to make and had been given the tools of opportunity needed to make that contribution.

That is but one example of grass-roots enterprises targeted at women that are reshaping local and regional landscapes around the world. Many of the projects that I have visited have received some support from the United States Agency for International Development. And after seeing those dollars at work on several continents, I am more convinced than ever that small amounts of American aid can be a catalyst for untangling the web of poverty, illiteracy, inadequate health care and cultural hostility that today still prevents women and girls from becoming full and equal partners in their societies.

I am also pleased that based on these results -- which we can point to and measure -- the Clinton Administration has doubled the investment in social development through the development banks.

These investments that we make with our tax dollars are not a one-way street. In fact, I have also visited projects here in the United States, projects that have borrowed from what works overseas. Not only from a project like SEWA, but other microcredit enterprise projects, most notably one begun by Dr. Mohammed Yunus, the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. I have also visited projects run by FINCA, another microcredit enterprise bank in Latin America.

I wish that all of you could have been with me in Bangladesh, to visit the village that was picked out to show me the way the Grameen bank worked in action. It happened to be a village of Hindu untouchables, and once that village was selected, the village down the road a few miles demanded that they too wanted a visit. It was a Muslim village. Because of my schedule there was no way that I could go to both villages, so for the first time ever the Muslim women came to the Hindu village. They worked together to prepare the village for my visit. I met with all of them in their borrowing groups, and listened to them tell stories about the way their being a borrower of the Grameen Bank had changed the way they looked at sending their daughters to school, working outside their homes, cooperating to sink wells. It was one of the most amazing experiences that I have ever had.

And then half a world away, in a barrio in Managua, Nicaragua, I met with women that had borrowed from the FINCA bank. After they finished telling me about their own enterprises, I asked if they had any questions. And one woman said, "I saw you on television, talking to other women very far

away. I think in India. What did you talk to them about? What do we have to learn from them?"

That's the kind of experience that I have also seen beginning to be replicated here at home. We are starting to invest in microcredit efforts. I have visited a program called Mi Casa, in Denver, that helps many women on the model of the Grameen Bank or SEWA, to acquire the same skills and the same access to credit that transformed lives many, many miles away.

I will never forget one woman in Denver who said to me that she had tried for years to borrow enough money to be able to expand a small bakery business because she considered herself the best baker in her neighborhood in Denver. She would go to the bank and the bank would tell her she didn't have enough collateral, she didn't have enough experience. They weren't going to lend even the \$1,000 she asked for, until finally she found this program at Mi Casa. She said, "You know, many great ideas die in the parking lots of banks." I thought that was a telling statement, because in this country, particularly with the way banking has changed, many, many ideas die in the parking lots. And to provide credit to small entrepreneurs, to those who are on the brink of poverty themselves but who have a market in neighborhoods and communities that other businesses shun, is one of the best investments we can make in helping to lift our own people out of poverty.

Certainly, we know that the kind of investments that work in helping people to become self-sufficient -- particularly in an economy as complicated as ours -- will take time and effort, just as it has taken time and effort elsewhere. But we are finally beginning to put into action some of what we have learned. The Small Business Administration is making more loans than ever to women. And through the Treasury Department we are finally seeing the Community Development Financial Institutions Fund, recognizing through new Presidential awards, programs to honor outstanding American micro-lending organizations.

Certainly these kinds of cross fertilizing lessons -- that we can learn from because we have helped to seed them elsewhere and to bring them home here -- are a way of demonstrating that our national interest must take root in the values that we profess here and abroad.

There is another example I would like to mention, and that concerns our support for family planning programs to help stabilize populations, to help reverse or ameliorate the environmental degradation and to help reduce abortions in the developing world.

At the moment, roughly 100 million women cannot get or are not using family planning services because they are poor,

uneducated or don't have access to care.

Some 20 million women will seek unsafe abortions. Some will die, some will be disabled for life, some will go through with unintended pregnancies, some will find their lives, their opportunities therefore curtailed. If the United States does not want women here and elsewhere to have abortions, then the United States should do more to support family planning programs, particularly in overpopulated developing nations.

I have visited hospitals where I have seen half of the women admitted being there as a result of the consequences of self-induced abortions. Most recently I visited a hospital in Salvador, Brazil. I saw classrooms throughout that hospital displaying charts and diagrams of information about reproduction and family planning. I also met with the Minister of Health, who told me about what a difference it was beginning to make that USAID was supporting family planning information and services. And he said something that I have long remembered. He said, "The rich women and the middle class women here in Brazil have always had access to family planning. It is only the poor women who have not." And so even there, in a predominantly Catholic country, there is growing recognition that family planning saves lives, and that American aid to such efforts is in our interests as well as those who need help.

Now I'm not suggesting that through microcredit or family planning programs, or through any of the other social investments that I believe make a difference, U.S. foreign aid is a panacea for women or for developing countries. Nor am I starry-eyed enough to believe that every just cause in the world, whether or not it is related to women, is ours to embrace.

But I do believe that as long as discrimination and inequities persist, and are so commonplace around the world -- so long as women are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, not schooled and subjected to violence in and out of their homes -- the potential of all of us to create a stable, peaceful, and ultimately prosperous world will be far from realized. And that in turn affects stability, peace and growing prosperity that is in our national interest.

If we care, as we do, about opening foreign markets for American goods and services...if we care about making our country secure in the face of new post-Cold War threats...if we care about enlarging the world's community of democracies, then I believe we have to address the conditions and circumstances of the world's women, who after all comprise more than half of the population, but are 70% of the poor and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write.

So many of the everyday indignities and tragedies that women

around the world face -- seeing a child die of malnutrition, watching a son go off to school, but not a daughter, being forced into prostitution or indentured servitude, being barred from the bank or the ballot box -- are reversible if enough women have enough education and enough authority over their own lives.

Women remain the primary caretakers of the world's children and elderly, and families throughout the world rely on women for emotional support and increasingly for outside income. In a time when the pressures of consumption and technology place greater burdens on family life in virtually every country on the planet, women will be relied on even more to sustain and protect the family unit. And investing in those women will ensure that they have at least an even chance of being able to do that.

The single most important investment any developing nation can make today is in the education of girls and women. What we are discovering in country after country is that education is not just a means of acquiring knowledge, but that it has positive effect on women's health, nutrition, wages, and level of political participation.

Deputy Treasury Secretary Lawrence Summers, who has studied for a number of years and written about the economics of women and development, argues that, "investment in the education of girls may well be the highest return investment available in the developing world."

Today, more than 600 million women worldwide are denied the opportunity for education. I have seen some of the reasons and talked with people about why women fall into that category. It's so clear that for many families, sending a girl to school still makes no economic sense since the girl will be sent away to live with someone else's family. Sending them to school in the face of the daily struggle to survive, planting crops and harvesting them, and fetching water, and doing all of the other domestic chores, makes no sense. Sending a daughter to a doctor when money is scarce, or feeding her when she is hungry but the boys have not yet eaten, makes no sense in the cultures and the reasoning of so many families.

But where we see exceptions to that kind of thinking, we see positive results. Take the very poor state of Kerala, in India. Now, Kerala has the highest literacy rate and life expectancy, as well as the lowest infant mortality rate, in India. "Why?" many people have asked. The answer seems to lie in their tradition of investing in health care and education, and including girls in that investment. We have also seen that a commitment to education is slowly making a difference in countries as far from one another as Jordan, or Pakistan, or Nepal.

In Bangladesh, I saw the struggling efforts of a country to

deal with the problem of girls not attending school. I visited a school run by the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, a non-governmental organization, that believes education is a precondition for economic development. They also believe that educating girls is essential. Because of that, some of the BRAC schools have been burned, because extremist groups disagreed with educating girls and even with education itself. The schools keep being built.

Also in Bangladesh, I have seen the government working to provide incentives for families in two ways: The food for education program, where very poor families are enticed to send their children, including their daughters, to school in return for food allotments, given out every week. And then, as further encouragement to give girls the chance to go onto secondary school, the government is actually paying families by depositing a small amount of money in a bank account, so long as the girls attend school.

In Sri Lanka, women have had the right to vote for the better part of this century. Not surprisingly, they also demanded and received more education. So again, Sri Lanka, in comparison, has the region's best health care system and lower maternal mortality rates than many wealthier nations.

Outside Lahore, Pakistan, in a very small village, I met with ten women who talked to me about how they view their children's' futures. We were sitting in a dusty courtyard of a school that had been built for girls to receive primary education. One mother of 10 children, 5 boys and 5 girls, said that she had sent her daughters to this school, but now that her daughters had graduated, there was nowhere for them to go. There were no secondary schools nearby, and the family would not send the daughters, unlike the sons, to attend school somewhere else. That woman asked me, and the other mothers echoed her, if I would pass on to the government of Pakistan their interest in having a secondary school for girls built in their village.

Many of the problems that stand in the way of educating girls are ones that will take both government action and the concerted support of non-governmental organizations.

But we can begin to see the results. Chile has made enormous strides thanks to education reform and a return to democracy. I visited a poor area of Santiago where the schools are open on weekends to accommodate parents' work and provide babysitting. I also saw other examples of efforts to involve parents in their children's' education, and to persuade fathers to accept parenting responsibilities.

The United States recognizes the truth of what we are now learning about investing in girls education. And in Copenhagen,

last year, I was pleased to announce a new \$100 million USAID initiative for girls' and women's' education in the developing world. The first distribution has been made to India. This American aid can make a huge difference. And certainly those of us who believe that investing in people, particularly their education, is good for the United States should be supporting such programs.

Sadly, though, there are some in our country today who question the value of our political, economic, military and social engagements abroad. They believe that our commitments to other nations, and even to multilateral arrangements including the United Nations, are undermining our national sovereignty and sacrificing American interests.

I believe that America's global engagement is essential to strengthening our free market interests and spreading our democratic ideals, as well as providing for our security. By contrast, it is isolationism and its corollary, misguided unilateralism, that pose a great threat to our position in the world, as well as to the hopes and dreams of hundreds of millions of women, children and men.

We are at a turning point, as many of you in this audience know far better than I, where we, as a nation, have to decide whether we will remain engaged and then how we will act upon that engagement.

Over time, we have learned that our ideals and interests cannot be divorced from the political, economic and social cross-currents swirling around us. And I hope we have also learned that engagement represents opportunities as well as obligations.

For these reasons, it is troubling to see our bipartisan tradition of engagement and multi-lateralism threatened today. It is troubling to see negative stereotypes fostered purely for narrow political purposes, whether it is the distorted idea that the U.S. military would be under United Nations command, or the public ridiculing of the U.N. Secretary General's name.

This brand of demagoguery is a poor substitute for a forward-looking and forceful foreign policy.

Social development, the investment in people and their potential, is foreign policy, not social work. It is a realistic and moral way for the United States to help expand the global economy, nurture young democracies, and improve our own chances for peace and prosperity.

So as we reconsider today, and as we look forward into the future about what kind of leadership our nation intends to

provide to the rest of the world, I hope we will consider as a very practical part of that engagement social investments in women that will create a dynamic a new source of energy for a growing global economy and civil society.

I believe this development policy must become a central priority of our own foreign policy, and also it must be understood as a part of what we need to do here at home. By following through on such an investment approach we have the chance to bring us closer to a world in which distinctions between men and women are viewed ultimately as complementary parts to a greater whole. And we...really converge to reconsider what is in our best interests both here at home and abroad. Thank you very much.

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OPINION ANALYSIS

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American Leaders and Public: Areas of Convergence and Discord in How They View U.S. Foreign Policy

By and large, American leaders and the American public share similar ways of looking at U.S. foreign policy. But the priorities they want assigned to goals and policies such as using U.S. troops and protecting U.S. jobs differ sharply. This broadly shared perspective suggests that the public's opinions on foreign policy issues likely are more discerning than many think. Also, differences between the public and leaders on specific proposals often are rooted in different attitude sets discussed below.

Attitudes of Leaders and Public Are Similarly Structured

Several major post-cold war surveys on foreign affairs show both the public's and leaders' views on U.S. foreign policy goals consistently fall into distinct groups. These are two *outward-focused* groups (Global Altruism and U.S. Global Interests), an *inward-focused* Domestic Issues group – foreign policy objectives that impinge directly on U.S. society (e.g., protecting U.S. jobs), and Military Security (e.g., “defending our allies”). Leaders differ to the extent that they split Global Altruism into two components – Economic Altruism (e.g., aiding developing nations) and Political Altruism (e.g., promoting democracy abroad).

Foreign Policy Priorities of U.S. Leaders and Public

Converging views – U.S. leaders (top officials in various government and private organizations) and the public accord similarly high priority to a number of

“global interests” the U.S. shares with other countries. These include “preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction” (rated a “top priority” by 87% of U.S. leaders and 70% of the public in PEW 9/97) and “improving the global environment” (rated a “top priority” by 48% of the leadership and 50% of the public).

U.S. leaders and the public also concur in giving relatively low priority to various “global altruism” objectives that are seen as benefitting primarily other countries. These include four Global Altruism goals given similarly low priority by the U.S. public (average of 22% “top priority” – Table 1) and the leaders (average of 25% “top priority” – Table 2). For both leaders and the public, the four Global Altruism measures are among the lowest-rated goals on the 1997 PEW survey. Support for “global altruism” in the mid-to-late 1990's is down sharply from cold war levels among leaders and the public, making the current climate the worst yet recorded by polls for building support in the U.S. for “altruistic” programs abroad.¹

¹The most striking example of shared attitude change comes from the Global Altruism goal questions. All five of these measures for the public – and four out of five for the leaders – recorded 20-year low points on the most recent long-term trend measures (CCFR - 10/94, FPLP - 2/96). The most recent PEW Center survey on U.S. foreign policy goals (9/97) found these low readings on Global Altruism have persisted.

This report is based mainly on polls by the PEW Research Center (9/93 and 9/97) and the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations (CCFR, quadrennially between 1974-1994). Both the PEW and CCFR surveys covered samples of U.S. leaders as well as the general public. Also examined are the quadrennial surveys of the Foreign Policy Leadership Project (FPLP) between 1976-1996. These three sets of surveys have contained comparable U.S. “goals” questions which are relied on in this report. Further information on how the surveys were conducted is contained at the end of this report, which has been prepared by Alvin Richman, Office of Research and Media Reaction (202-619-5140), richman@USIA.gov.

Diverging views -- The public usually has given higher priority than leaders to Domestic Issues, while the reverse is true for Military Security measures. The public is more concerned than leaders about the possible adverse personal impact of U.S. policies, and therefore gives higher priority to restricting the flow of people and products into the U.S. The goal that consistently has shown the sharpest disagreement between leaders and the public is the Domestic Issues goal, "Protecting the jobs of American workers." About four-fifths of the public usually have rated this goal "very important" on CCFR surveys between 1974-1994 (77% "top priority" in PEW 9/97), compared to about two-fifths of the leaders. In contrast, the Military Security goal, "Defending our Allies' security," usually has been rated much higher by U.S. leaders than by the public. For example, in the CCFR 1994 survey, 60 percent of the leaders thought this goal was "very important," compared to 41 percent of the public who believed this. The PEW survey (9/97) did not include this question about U.S. allies' security, but it did show U.S. leaders are more supportive than the public on a number of other Military Security issues:

Use of military force -- U.S. leaders make much sharper distinctions than the public on where the U.S. should commit its military forces. The leaders are much more willing than the public to use U.S. forces to defend such allies and friends as Saudi Arabia (against invasion by Iraq -- 86% of leaders approve using U.S. forces compared to 54% of the public) and South Korea (against invasion by North Korea -- 77% of leaders compared to 35% of the public). But, leaders are much less willing than the public to use U.S. forces to intervene in the single case of internal conflict tested on the poll -- "if the Mexican government was about to fall because of revolution or civil war" (leaders -- 28% approve vs. 68% disapprove compared to public -- 43% vs. 49% -- PEW survey 9/97)).

Extension of U.S. mission in Bosnia: Leaders were much more willing than the public to extend the U.S. military mission in Bosnia beyond the mid-1998 deadline existing at the time of PEW's 1997 survey (leaders -- 78% support vs. 20% oppose compared to public -- 48% vs. 46%). Analyses of Times Mirror surveys (9/93, 6/95) indicate that U.S. involvement in Bosnia has been a complex issue for many Americans, reflecting their altruistic motives in foreign affairs (Global Altruism), as well as their sense (Military Security) that U.S. security is tied to a stable Europe. Support for the Bosnia mission presumably has been enhanced by the fact that it is viewed in part as serving Military Security interests (i.e., U.S. interests in a stable Europe), rather than being entirely an expression of Global Altruism.

How the Surveys Were Conducted

Trend data from three separate series of surveys were used in preparing this report: The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations (CCFR), The Foreign Policy Leadership Project (FPLP), and the PEW Research Center. Both CCFR and PEW polled samples of U.S. leaders and the public. All three sets of surveys -- CCFR, FPLP, and PEW -- used similarly-worded *goals* questions.

The *goals* questions from two of these data sets -- the CCFR public sample in 1994 and the FPLP elite sample in 1992 (the 1996 data set being not yet available) -- were analyzed in depth (using various "factor analyses") to discern the attitude structure used by the public and elites when considering foreign policy issues.

The Table below summarizes the trend data, the in-depth analyses and the samples used in these surveys. Sample sizes for the general public range from about 1,500 (CCFR) to 2,000 (PEW). Nineteen times out of twenty, the results based on a sample size around 1,500 will differ by no more than 3 and one-half percentage points in either direction from what would be found if it were possible to interview every adult in the country. The results on a sample size around 2,000 will differ by no more than 3 points in either direction from the *real* figure in the population from which the sample is drawn.

<i>Polling Firm</i>	<i>Survey Dates</i>	<i>Interview Method</i>	<i>Sample Size and Composition</i>
<u>Pew Research Center:</u>			
General Public	9/93, 6/95 & 9/97	Telephone	2,000 adults, 18 years of age or older
U.S. Leaders	9/93 & 9/97	Telephone	About 600 U.S. "influentials" each survey from 10 different groups, including media, business, labor unions, foreign affairs (members of Council on Foreign Relations), academia, Congressional (policy) staff, Governors and Mayors.
<u>CCFR:</u>			
General Public	Every 4 years Between 10/74-10/94	In-person Interviews	Approx. 1,500 adults each survey
U.S. Leaders	Every 4 years Between 10/78-10/94	Telephone	About 400 U.S. "leaders" each survey, from various government and private organizations involved at least partly in foreign affairs.
<u>FPLP:</u>			
U.S. Leaders	Every 4 years Between 3/76-3/96	Mail	About 2,000 adults each survey representing a wide range of occupations, including politics, business, media, the State Department and foreign service.

Table 1. Foreign Policy Goals: U.S. Public
 (PEW - % "Top Priority"; CCFR - % "Very-Important")

<u>U.S. Goals:</u> (By Opinion Group)	<i>PEW Center</i>		<i>CCFR</i>			
	9/97	9/93	10/94	10/90	10/86	10/78
<i>Global Altruism</i>						
Aid LDC's	23%	19%	22%	41%	37%	35%
Promote human rights	27	22	34	58	42	39
Promote democracy	22	22	25	28	30	26
Protect weak nations fr aggression	16	17	24	57	32	34
Combat world hunger	--	--	56	--	63	59
<i>Global Interests</i>						
Strengthen U.N.	30	41	51	44	46	47
Improve global environment	50	56	58	58	--	--
Prevent nuclear arms proliferation	70	69	82	59	--	--
Secure adequate energy supplies (PEW: "....for the U.S.")	58	60	62	61	69	78
<i>Domestic Issues</i>						
Protecting jobs of U.S. workers	77	85	83	65	77	78
Protecting U.S. business interests	16	27	52	63	43	45
Stop flow of illegal drugs into U.S.	67	82	85	--	--	--
Reduce illegal immigration	42	--	72	--	--	--
Reduce U.S. trade deficit	42	55	59	56	62	--
<i>Military Security</i>						
"Defend our allies' security"	--	--	41	61	56	50
Maintain superior military power worldwide	--	--	50	--	--	--

Table 2. Foreign Policy Goals: U.S. Leaders
 (PEW - % "Top Priority"; CCFR - % "Very Important")

<u>U.S. Goals:</u> (By Opinion Group)	<i>PEW Center</i>		<i>CCFR</i>			
	9/97	9/93	10/94	10/90	10/86	10/78
<i>Global Altruism</i>						
Aid LDC's	31%	24%	28%	42%	46%	64%
Promote human rights	32	29	26	45	44	35
Promote democracy	28	21	21	26	29	15
Protect weak nations fr aggression	10	11	21	28	29	30
Combat world hunger	--	--	41	--	61	27
<i>Global Interests</i>						
Strengthen U.N.	22	37	33	39	22	26
Improve global environment	48	44	49	72	--	--
Prevent nuclear arms proliferation	87	84	90	94	--	--
Secure adequate energy supplies	63	56	67	60	72	88
(PEW: "....for the U.S.")						
<i>Domestic Issues</i>						
Protecting jobs of U.S. workers	37	37	50	39	43	34
Protecting U.S. business interests	18	20	38	27	32	26
Stop flow of illegal drugs into U.S.	56	--	57	--	--	--
Reduce illegal immigration	27	--	28	--	--	--
Reduce U.S. trade deficit	31	42	49	62	--	--
<i>Military Security</i>						
"Defend our allies' security"	--	--	60	56	78	77
Maintain superior military power worldwide	--	--	54	--	--	--

Delivered by Noel Lateef,
President & CEO, EPA, to the World
Affairs Council of Long Island
Foreign Policy in the Information Age (Aug. 13, 1998)

Speaking before the Foreign Policy Association forty-five years ago, Dag Hammarskjöld noted that one of the many contradictions of life is the frequency with which we refer to ourselves as living in a period of rapid change while we are so often reluctant to acknowledge the need for adjustment in our ways. The seductive, if illusory, notion that nothing really changes (*Plus ça change, plus ç'est la même chose.*) underpins a continuing paradox of the modern world: the co-existence of globalization with national introspection, indeed isolationism.

In the U.S., one measure of this phenomenon is the ratio of international to domestic news coverage. Hall's Magazine Editorial Reports found that from 1985 to 1995 space devoted to international news in U.S. news weeklies slipped from 24 percent to 14 percent in Time, from 22 percent to 12 percent in Newsweek, and from 20 percent to 14 percent in U.S. News & World Report.

In 1987, Time published eleven covers relating to international news and only one in 1997. For this year's May 18 issues of Time and Newsweek, two stories competed for the cover: India's testing of nuclear devices and the death of Frank Sinatra. As you may recall, Sinatra prevailed on both covers.

The shifting balance away from international news is even more evident on the evening television news coverage. According to the Shorenstein Center at Harvard University, the evening news was almost evenly divided between international and domestic coverage in the seventies. By 1995, international coverage had been cut back to a mere 13.5 percent of the evening news.



While the frontiers of economics expand limitlessly, our new media serve a relentlessly parochial fare. Even such prestigious publications as the Wall Street Journal consistently devote less space to international news than foreign counterparts, such as the Financial Times, which devotes 80 percent of its

coverage to international news in contrast to the Journal's 20 percent. Speaking for Time, its editor-in-chief recently said, "You obviously balance telling them what you think they ought to read with giving them what they want to read, and that balance has clearly shifted away from international news in the last decade." Consequently, many Americans who rely on the media are being shortchanged in their capacity to learn about what is going on in the world.

It is problematic to rebut that readers and viewers prefer it this way. In a democracy, newsworthy information is not just another commodity. Many voters learn about the actions of their elected and appointed representatives from what they read in the printed press and from what they see on the television news.

Voters must know something about how they are governed if they are to form intelligent opinions about the condition of their government. And without intelligent opinions about government, a

vibrant democracy is in doubt.

Happily, it is not a bad thing to be worldly in America today. A recent issue of the Yale Alumni Magazine featured an advertisement for a dating service. The caption read: “Meet someone who doesn’t think Cofi Annan is just another decaffeinated brew.” The universal reach of information technology, with its sometimes sudden, often irreversible, extensions of communication, is having unprecedented impact at home and abroad. Indeed, the borderless nature of information technology is propelling globalization.

Communication, by definition, is a two-way process. In the words of FPA board member and Yale Law School Professor Michael Reisman: “Each of us inhabits a universe that is different from others, but we are constantly seeking to bridge that gap. That is the function of communication. Wholly apart from ethical imperatives, understanding other cultures is as minimal a

requirement of social interchange as understanding another human being.” Well, today, record numbers of Americans are communicating with the rest of the world.

- Overseas phone calls have increased exponentially from 411 million in 1985 to 2.8 billion in 1995, according to the Federal Communications Commission.
- In 1986, 12 million Americans traveled abroad (not including to Mexico and Canada). By 1996, the figure had risen to 19.8 million.
- Forty-five million passports are in circulation, meaning about 1 American in 6 holds one.
- In a sign of bottom-up change, the number of American public and private elementary schools offering foreign languages has risen by 9 percentage points in the past decade to 31 percent of all schools, according to a study by the Center for Applied Linguistics. Today, 51 percent of high school students in public

schools and 78 percent in private schools are studying foreign languages.

Perhaps the most explosive growth in communications is occurring in cyberspace. Internet traffic is doubling every 100 days. The interactive medium is transforming the way we connect, do business, become informed and learn. In the new millennium, the bulk of information resources will be in cyberspace. The Internet promises to become a critical way to sustain learning communities.

The Internet, though still in its infancy, is already having a profound effect on our ability to exchange information and ideas on a global basis. The United Nations website, alone, receives 25 million hits this past year from around the world. While speculation about the demise of the nation-state in the Information Age is premature, there is no question that sovereignty in the most traditional sense is being affected. As the demise of the Soviet Union so amply demonstrated, we live in an era when a nation's