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Divider Title: _____

10. American Leadership Abroad - Berger, Steinberg

RANKING OF AMERICAN LEADERSHIP ABROAD PRIORITIES

Since the rigorous transition exercise to establish priorities, as reflected in your State of the Union, we have been pursuing six broad strategic objectives to prepare the American people for the challenges of the 21st century. Our "pillar" in the Long-Term Strategy memo is structured around these six priorities: Constructing an undivided, peaceful, democratic Europe; strengthening our ties to a stable and better integrated Asia-Pacific community; remaining a leader for peace; confronting new, transnational threats; building an open and competitive trading system; and sustaining a ready military force and effective diplomatic capability.

Many, indeed most, of the initiatives we are undertaking can be pursued without significant investments of your time unless there is a crisis or moment of opportunity (e.g., Greece-Turkey; Cyprus; Nagorno-Karabach; Northern Ireland). However, in addition to the ongoing maintenance of your relations with foreign leaders, there are several areas which will require either consistent or some involvement on your part.

HIGH PRIORITY - WILL REQUIRE CONSISTENT PRESIDENTIAL ATTENTION

- (1) NATO Enlargement Ratification
- (2) Advancing self-sustaining peace in Bosnia
- (3) Advancing engagement with China
- (4) Middle East Peace Process
- (5) CTBT ratification
- (6) Fast Track

IMPORTANT - WILL REQUIRE SOME PRESIDENTIAL INVOLVEMENT

- (1) Africa trip and Africa Trade and Investment Initiative
- (2) South Asia/India-Pakistan; trip
- (3) ABM/TMD/START II protocol ratification
- (4) Landmines
- (5) Free Trade Area of Americas
- (6) Containing Rogue States (Iraq, Iran, Libya)
- (7) Energy security (e.g., Caspian oil)
- (8) Open Asia-Pacific markets through APEC
- (9) Ensuring adequate funding for international resources (military, diplomatic)

AMERICAN LEADERSHIP ABROAD

BUILDING BLOCKS OF PILLAR	DESCRIPTION	TIMELINE	BENEFITS (e.g. Who does this help? How does it help them?)	COSTS/FEASIBILITY (e.g. What does it take to achieve? Who pays (\$ or capital)? What is the likelihood it will occur?)	POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS (e.g. How does it affect the party?)
UNDIVIDED EUROPE	UNDIVIDED EUROPE	UNDIVIDED EUROPE	UNDIVIDED EUROPE	UNDIVIDED EUROPE	UNDIVIDED EUROPE
NATO Enlargement Ratification	Secure Senate ratification for admitting Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary to NATO. Implement strategy on second group(s) of invitees	Introduce legislation early 1998; seek ratification by March-April. First new members admitted Spring 1999 NATO summit in Washington. Review timing for second group in 1999, possibly invite others to begin accession talks.	Strengthens NATO to meet core mission of self-defense and to take on new missions like peacekeeping. Helps lock in gains of democracy, free markets in Central Europe and promotes stability in part of world that sparked two world wars.	Ratification likely but not assured. NATO direct costs are \$9 to 12 billion for '97 through '09. US share is estimated at \$1.5 to 2 billion or \$200 million per year for the next 13 years. Allies pay about 50%; new members about 35%. Additional costs of \$8 to 10 billion for Allies and \$10 to \$13 billion for new members for certain national force enhancements. Will require serious effort by the President to convince individual Senators and to rally support from American people.	

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NATO Adaptation and Enhancing Cooperation/Integration	Continue internal NATO adaptation (command structure; Spanish, French integration expand Euro role.)	Now through NATO ministerial in December, 1997.	Adaptation strengthens NATO's ability to meet core mission of self defense and new missions like peacekeeping.	Adaptation on course. Spanish integration likely, French integration questionable.	
	Strengthen Partnership for Peace/EAPC; develop NATO-Russia & NATO-Ukraine partnerships.	Through 1998	Outreach promotes integration and stability throughout Europe.	Leads to more equitable defense burdensharing with Europe, thereby shoring up domestic support for residual defense spending and our presence in Europe.	
	Strengthen integration of the Baltics and Southeastern Europe	Through 1998		Dispute between France and U.S. may require occasional intervention by President	

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Advance Self-Sustaining Peace in Bosnia	Support full implementation of Dayton Accords (including: bring war criminals to justice, help refugees return, promote economic reconstruction, democratization, arms reduction, support institutions.) Complete SFOR mission on schedule. Decide on post-SFOR participation by U.S., if any, to ensure implementation continues. Build public and congressional support for continuing role.	Now through June 1998: use SFOR presence to push for full implementation of Dayton. Fall 1997 decide post SFOR presence, if any; sustain position in Congress.	Strengthen self-sustaining peace in Bosnia; save countless lives; preserve stability at heart of Europe; help hundreds of thousands displaced persons return home.	SFOR likely to complete mission on schedule. But ability to advance individual components of Dayton uncertain – especially provisions on war criminals, refugee return. Will require difficult policy decisions by President, agreement with allies and could entail risks to troops. Will be difficult to build public and Congressional support for post-SFOR military presence by U.S., easier to garner support for out-of-country military effort and/or continued economic, humanitarian assistance. Cost? [Unknown] Presidential involvement includes decision on post-SFOR Fall '97; if some U.S. presence, major effort with Congress on funding/cutoff early '98.	

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Push to improve ties btw. Greece & Turkey	Use current promising circumstances for major effort to improve bilateral ties, building on momentum of Madrid agreement on principles to govern bilateral relations; address core issue of dispute over continental shelf.	Initial push now through end of 1997. Additional steps contemplated for 1998.	Opportunity to further defuse enduring and dangerous flashpoint for conflict in Europe, promote productive ties between NATO allies	Uncertain. Recent steps forward encouraging but history of conflict sobering. Would require high profile engagement by President only if agreement within reach.	
Advance Resolution to Cyprus Dispute	Capitalize on appointment of Presidential emissary, initiation of UN-sponsored direct talks and EU engagement to bring parties to framework negotiations and move them toward bizonal, bicomunal federation	From now until 1998, lay framework for comprehensive negotiations, as well as focus on Aegean issues and the EU-Turkey relationship. 1999-2000: Implement settlement if achieved; otherwise continue efforts to narrow differences.	Same as above.	Same as above.	

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Deepen Turkey's integration with the West	Support democratic, secular leadership that can govern effectively within Turkey and play a constructive role in the region; strengthen the US-Turkish bilateral relationship; and anchor Turkey firmly in Europe.	From now until end of 1997, use possible POTUS-Yilmaz mtg and other opportunities to strengthen security, political and econ aspects of bilateral relationship, foster improved Turkey-EU ties, and address regional issues (e.g., Aegean, N-K, Iraq). 1998-2000: focus on internal political reforms, maximizing economic opportunities (e.g. energy, trade, investment) and further progress on resolving regional problems.	Secure U.S. strategic, political and economic interests in an important country at the crossroads of Europe, the Middle East, the Caucasus and Central Asia.	Increased broad and high-level engagement on a diplomatic, military and economic level with Turkey, and diplomatic efforts with European allies, should yield positive results. Presidential involvement would be Modest. Possible Yilmaz Meting.	

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Russia/NIS	Nurture U.S.- Russian relationship to advance democratic, market reform in Russia and advance U.S. interests in arms control, trade, regional and global stability Advance Minsk Group negotiations on Nagorno-Karabac toward goal of peace agreement. Play more active role in conflict resolution in Georgia/Abkhazia Encourage free and fair elections throughout region	Ongoing Intensified negotiations fall 1997 Target Phase I agreement by end of '97. Phase II agreement by '98 Negotiations process led by UN during fall 1997 Russia: Parliament '99; President '00 Ukraine Parliament March '98; President Oct. 99	Most important transformation in world for U.S. interests. Resolution of NK and Abkhazia conflicts promotes regional stability and cooperation in Caucasus and strengthens prospects of rapid energy development in Caspian Basin. Key to reinforcing principles of democracy and elections as basis for political transition in NIS.	Presidential involvement would be absent crisis, modest, except for annual summits (U.S./Moscow). Prospects for peace are good. Final push could require POTUS interventions. Requires high-level diplomatic engagement on free and fair elections; as needed, consider targeted technical assistance for electoral processes; minimal Presidential Involvement.	

	Support regional and international integration of NIS states, e.g. WTO, OECD, NATO and IFIs. Strengthen cooperation in science and technology	Begin in 1998	Promotes democracy by enhancing economic, political and military development. S & T enterprise strengthened, providing economic stimulus and opportunities for former defense scientists.	Requires broad and high-level diplomatic engagement and trade negotiations.	
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STABLE ASIA	STABLE ASIA	STABLE ASIA	STABLE ASIA	STABLE ASIA	STABLE ASIA
Advance Engagement with China	Work to rebuild bipartisan consensus on engagement with China. Draw China into world community to encourage economic and political change, respects for human rights and non-proliferation norms. Promote WTO accession, reduce trade deficit, permanent MFN, end to Tiananmen sanctions in context of Chinese actions improving rights and performance on other issues Gain broad China conformity with non-proliferation regime and cut off arms sales to rogue states (e.g Iran). Stabilize PRC-Taiwan relationship through enhanced cross-strait ties. Strengthen cooperation in science and technology.	Jiang State Visit: October 1997. POTUS return visit: late 1998 (T) Annual summits thereafter? Clean Energy Initiative; VP Forum on Env. and Devel.; Joint Commission	U.S. has profound stake in China's evolution as peaceful, open, stable country. Americans will benefit from cooperation with China on trade, non-proliferation, stability on Korean peninsula. Chinese will benefit from greater political freedom, economic opportunity if China abides by international rules of conduct on trade, nonproliferation, human rights, etc. China that turns inward is destabilizing factor for Asia Pacific region. Cooperative work b/n US and China – large economies, large producers of greenhouse gases – will have significant impact on global problems such as climate change.	In wake of MFN vote, opportunity to rebuild consensus on engagement and reverse demonization of China. Key moments are state visits. Congressional effort (permanent MFN, Tiananmen sanctions) only in context of significant Chinese progress. Serious POTUS leadership needed to convince public, Congress of benefits of relationship despite difficulties.	

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Promote Peace and Stability on Korean Peninsula	Pursue Four-Party Peace Talks toward goal of peace between Koreas, normalize of U.S.-DPRK relations. Implement dismantling of frozen North Korean nuclear weapons program. Seek limits on North Korean missile and CW program. Continue to provide humanitarian assistance to avert famine	Talks: Fall 1997. Nuclear dismantlement: Ongoing. Ongoing Ongoing	Cold War's last armed frontier, Korean peninsula remains dangerous flashpoint for conflict, with 37,000 U.S. troops on frontline. Peace talks could finally defuse danger, increase stability in Asia. Implementing nuclear agreement makes unpredictable North Korea less dangerous to neighbors, region. Helps ensure against massive population displacements and general disorder which might result in irrational military action.	Preliminary negotiations for peace talks difficult but ongoing – chance parties will agree to begin formal talks in fall. But highly volatile, given history. Grave risk of instability in North due to economic collapse. Little POTUS involvement likely. Nuclear accord moving forward. \$30 million/year US costs. Groundbreaking for replacement light water reactor in August. The overall food situation continues to deteriorate. Face continued need to provide emergency assistance to avert famine. Have provided \$60 million over past three years.	

Strengthen U.S.-Japan Partnership	Deepening security cooperation, resolving trade and economic issues and enhancing science and technology cooperation will strengthen alliance that is bulwark for regional stability and catalyst for regional growth. Encourage Russian-Japanese Cooperation	Finish defense guidelines by 1997. Trade and economics ongoing. No defined timeline	Benefits people of both countries in increased security, economic opportunities. Increases stability in volatile region going through profound change. Reduces longstanding regional tensions and opens prospects for more constructive cooperation among the Eight.	Trade deficit and macro-economic issues remain difficult; will become flashpoint if U.S. economy weakens; guidelines pose some potential challenge for Hashimoto, but should prove achievable. Roughly bi-annual summits with POTUS. U.S. encouragement has already facilitated dialogue.	
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South Asia (India- Pakistan)	Use Secretary of State visit, POTUS trip to broaden dialogues; strengthening bilateral ties; promote regional stability including non-proliferation, economic, and regional security	SecState visit: 1997. POTUS trip: 1998 (T)	Regional stability in too-long neglected South Asia; promotes trade and economic development and strenghtens democracy.	POTUS visit 1998, with some prior involvement in lead up if serious initiatives warrant.	

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LEADER FOR PEACE	LEADER FOR PEACE	LEADER FOR PEACE	LEADER FOR PEACE	LEADER FOR PEACE	LEADER FOR PEACE
Promote progress and international cooperation on democracy and human rights	Strengthen authority and resources of international human rights institutions and compliance.	Ongoing	Strengthening High Commissioner will enhance UN's ability to monitor abuses and thus alleviate suffering by victims; strengthening tribunals will help to promote justice necessary for reconciliation and long term stability in post-conflict societies; coordinating democracy promotion among the Eight will improve collective efforts on promoting democratic transitions worldwide; ratification of human rights treaties will bring our commitments into accord with our actions and strengthen our international advocacy efforts on these issues; increased reporting and advocacy on religious freedom issues will bring pressure to bear against offending governments and encourage other democracies to make this issue a greater priority.	Budget costs not substantial. High potential for US impact on High Commissioner and War Crimes Tribunal. Will be more difficult to establish formalized coordination of democracy promotion among the Eight. Given objections of Sen. Helms, ratification of treaties dealing with women and children will be very difficult, though there may be possibility to move on former if we can obtain support from Republican Senators—women in particular. Increased efforts on religious freedom issues will be helpful in augmenting international awareness and curbing individual abuses. Minimal POTUS involvement.	

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Pursue Middle East Peace Process	Restart meaningful Israeli-Palestinian cooperation and negotiations. Fully implement interim accord and make progress on permanent status talks. Pursue peace between Israel and Lebanon and Israel and Syria Promote regional economic and political cooperation	Restart cooperation: Fall 1997. Complete interim accord and progress on final status: 1998. Progress with Lebanon and Syria: 1998-9. MiddleEast/N. African Economic Summit: Doha 1997 (SecState to attend)	Move closer to resolution one of great conflicts of 20th century; avoid breakdown in peace process that will have profound adverse consequences for U.S. in entire region.	Israel/PA progress: Highly uncertain. Will require regular attention by the President; high intensity/high risk involvement if peace process on verge of collapse or breakthrough. Key first step is defusing present crisis and resuming cooperation. Israel/Lebanon; Israel/Syria: likely to take back seat to progress on Palestinian track. President will need to be involved if there is an endgame	

Continue to Support Haiti's Transition to Democracy.	Promote peaceful parliamentary elections, UN mission transition. Work with GOH to improve security. Support free presidential elections	Parliamentary election and UNMIH transition: through 1997. Focus on security: 1998. Presidential elections: 2000	Measurably improve lives of Haitian people (greater security, political freedom, prospects for economic stability.) Sustain one of President's signature achievements. Prevent return to refugee exodus and attendant costs to U.S.. Maintain stability in Caribbean	Haiti bogged down in political paralysis. Need to break election logjam. Security somewhat more positive. Civilian police force major improvement. Need to strengthen court system. Congress fear that gains threatened, could help secure commitment to continued assistance. Cost: \$100 million per year including food aid. Minimal POTUS involvement unless crisis.	
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Pursue Settlement in Northern Ireland	Support British and Irish governments in effort to start all-party talks process toward goal of final settlement. Support economic development in Northern Ireland	All talks beginning Sept 1997; deadline May '98.	People of Northern Ireland and UK benefit from end to terrorism, possibility of leading normal lives and ending inter-communal tensions.	U.S. contributes \$20 million to International Fund for Ireland. Real agreement a long-shot; Presidential visit could be necessary to clinch agreement.	
Promote Peru-Ecuador Peace Process	As co-guarantor of Peru-Ecuador peace process, encourage parties to reach definitive resolution of border dispute while avoiding arms race.	Seek resolution of border dispute by April 1998 Santiago Summit.	People of both countries benefit from absence of tension, increased stability, improved climate for trade and investment, dampened arms race and reduced chance of conflict Strengthens stability and integration, give U.S. stronger partners for dealing with common problems like crime, drugs etc...	Chances are good for significant progress toward definitive resolution by next April. May be minor costs associated with supporting final peace agreement. Current US supported PKO force is paid for by Peru and Ecuador. Minimal POTUS Involvement.	
Continue to Promote Peaceful Transition to Democracy in Cuba	Maintain economic embargo on Castro. Periodically Review Helms-Burton Title III sanctions on foreign entities doing business in Cuba. Continue to reach out to Cuban people.	Helms-Burton review every six months (October 1997; March, 1988.) Continuing review of Cuba policy.	Democracy to last holdout in hemisphere would dramatically improve lives, prospects for Cuban people. remove source of regional instability 100 miles from U.S. Sudden collapse of Cuban regime or internal strife could cause major instability, refugee crisis dramatically affecting southern U.S.	Continuing to suspend application of Helms-Burton Title III feasible if we can show continued allied support for Cuban democracy, condemnation of human rights abuses. Democratic transition unpredictable. Public and private funding by the international community projected in event of democratic transition estimated at \$4-8B over six years. Minimal POTUS involvement unless crisis.	

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Agent for Peace in Africa	In coordination with African & European states, work to promote implementation of Angolan peace accords; political settlements and respect for human rights in Great Lakes; constructive government in Congo; free and transparent elections in Liberia; resolution to civil war in Sudan; free and fair elections in Kenya; return to civilian government in Nigeria; Africa Trade and Investment Initiative.	POTUS trip in 1998 (T)	POTUS trip offers unique opportunity to advance U.S. interests in democracy and economic development in Africa; educate American people to diversity, success stories of Africa; long-term benefits in stability, humanitarian gains, trade and investment.	Africa Trade and Investment Initiative could cost \$200 million in the early stages; will be difficult on Hill but strong CBC allies. Minimal POTUS involvement (speech) until trips.	

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TRANS-NATIONAL THREATS	TRANS-NATIONAL THREATS	TRANS-NATIONAL THREATS	TRANS-NATIONAL THREATS	TRANS-NATIONAL THREATS	TRANS-NATIONAL THREATS
Chemical Weapons Convention	Secure passage of implementing legislation. Advance broader participation including Russia.	Fall 1997.	Brings U.S. law in line with all treaty requirements so we can fully implement landmark agreement that bans production, use, transfer of poison gas. Troops and citizens will be safer.	High probability of passage in the Fall. Minimal POTUS involvement.	
Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty	Submit for ratification to Senate historic treaty banning all nuclear testing by explosions. Seek India's accession to treaty.	Submit: Fall 1997. Seek ratification by early 1998, entry into force by end of 1998.	Achieve goal set by Eisenhower, advanced by Kennedy to end nuclear testing for all time. Will help prevent development of more sophisticated nuclear weapons, and help prevent their spread.	Submission requires closure within administration on funding for stockpile stewardship program (up to \$500 million add on/years for 5 years.) Ratification achievable, but likely to be more difficult than CWC. Substantial POTUS involvement needed for ratification (e.g. CWC) but timing of Senate push can be controlled.	
START II	Encourage ratification by Russian Duma and complete protocol on extension	Fall 1997.	Ratification by Duma would put treaty into force, requiring U.S. and Russia to reduce nuclear arsenals to and opening door for further reductions under START III.	U.S. can have only modest influence on Duma decision. In Russia's hands. Prospects highly uncertain. Occasional POTUS intervention with Yeltsin.	
ABM/TMD	Agts. on ABM/TMD demarcation, ABM succession now completed.	Fall 1997	Would preserve cornerstone of arms control, allow research on defense vs. short range missiles. Make troops, allies safer from theater missile attacks.	Will be highly contentious in Senate which must ratify. Should hold until Duma ratifies START II; then major push, with some POTUS intervention.	

START III	After START II ratification, negotiate START III.	Initiate negotiations 1998; ideally conclude 1999-2000.	Would reduce strategic nuclear arsenals 80% below Cold War levels; historic achievement.	Depends upon Russian ratification of START II, which is uncertain. POTUS decisions will be needed.	
CFE Treaty	Conclude negotiations on an adapted "Conventional Forces in Europe" treaty.	1998	Success would promote stability throughout Europe by ensuring that verifiable limits on conventional weapons are maintained into next century, as NATO enlarges.	Requires agreement of all 30 CFE States Parties; implementation costs of new treaty not likely to be significantly different from current treaty. All states parties share goal of concluding in 1998. Little POTUS involvement.	
Nuclear Weapons Free Zones	Send to Senate for ratification South Pacific and African Nuclear Weapons Free Zones Treaties.	1998	Would help prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons to South Pacific and Africa.	Ratification likely, although there will be opposition. Little POTUS involvement	

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Fissile Material Cutoff Convention	Begin negotiations on international treaty to end production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons.	Start negotiations: 1999/2000.	Treaty would help prevent proliferation and cap existing nuclear weapons program.	Negotiations stalled due to Pakistani/Indian opposition. No POTUS involvement.	
Plutonium Disposition	Reach agreement through G-7/ Russia, complete necessary R&D, build pilot plant to convert plutonium from nuclear weapons to peaceful uses.	Lay out options: 1998. Secure G/7- Russia agreement: 1998 Build plant: 2001.	Dispose of weapons plutonium reduce risk of proliferation and nuclear smuggling.	Delicate negotiations remain with Russia; prospects uncertain; no POTUS involvement.	
Biological Weapons	Strengthen compliance with Biological Weapons Convention to prevent use of disease as weapon of war.	1998-1999.	Help prevent BW proliferation and threat to US and allies.	Negotiation difficult. Would require Senate ratification. POTUS involvement only if needed at end.	

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Landmines	Negotiate ban on anti-personnel landmines and secure Senate ratification of treaty. Achieve Senate Ratification of CCW Amended Mines Protocol restricting use of landmines Expand USG humanitarian demining program	1997 1997 Ongoing	Would help end worldwide scourge of landmines which kill thousands every year. Would help limit threat to civilians from landmine use through specific protections, even as we pursue a global ban. By helping return unproductive lands, the areas once again become inhabitable.	May require key September policy decision by President whether to sign Ottawa treaty that may not meet all the requirements of U.S. military. POTUS involvement in ratification effort (late '98 '99) would be significant. Cost associated with development of alternatives. Budget is on the rise. However, technical advances must be achieved or completion of the goal of returning all landmined areas will be distant.	

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Rogue States	Continue unilateral and multilateral efforts to contain Iran, Iraq, Libya – especially ability to conduct terrorism and access to WMD; establish greater convergence with allies.	Ongoing.	Prevent terrorism against citizens of democracies, including Americans. Advance regional stability. Protect energy supply in Persian Gulf. Advance Middle East peace process.	Will require persistent effort to keep allies behind multilateral sanctions; POTUS involvement in decision-making, ongoing discussions with allies and crisis management.	
Energy Security	Take steps to ensure continued stable supply of energy from diversified sources (e.g. Venezuela; Caspian Basin; Persian Gulf)	Ongoing	New Caspian reserves could provide 1-2 million barrels/day by 2000 in new oil production.	POTUS visit to Venezuela in October will highlight this theme. Increased importance of Caspian region suggests maintaining POTUS relationship with key players (e.g. Aliyev, Nazarbayev).	

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Continue to Combat Terrorism	Reorganize and elevate USG anti-terrorism efforts. Press arrest, extradition, prosecution of foreign terrorists who violate U.S. law. Improve ability to prevent terrorists from entering U.S., locate, expel. Adopt ten major anti-terrorism conventions. Secure funding to implement Gore Commission steps on aviation security. Ensure adequate investment in and coordination of R&D efforts.	These are long term programs, most of which will continue through FY 2000	Protect Americans against increasingly likely terrorist attacks and assure them that we are making "100% effort."	Reorganization planning underway. Programs are feasible, but will not provide total protection against terrorist attacks. Protection of infrastructure, especially cyber systems will be long term and costly both to the USG and the private sector/public utilities whose cooperation will be essential (Critical Infrastructure Committee, preparing recommendations). Building local capabilities to cope with a WMD terrorist attack will cost approx. \$100m over 5 years. As technologies improve and population increases, cost could grow. Minimal aviation security improvement will cost \$220 m over 4 years. Preventing terrorists from entering the US will require additional resources for INS; expelling terrorists will require new legislation. POTUS involvement minimal except in event of terrorist action.	

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Continue Fight Against Drug Trafficking	Within Hemisphere, work with major drug-producing countries to develop and pursue multi-lateral strategy against drugs; negotiate agreement with Panama for multinational counter-narcotics center; establish U.S.-Mexico drug strategy. Annually certify counter-narcotics cooperation. Explore new United Nations anti-narcotics unit and possible P-8 Justice Ministerial	Hemispheric goals: 1997-1998. Report to Congress Sept. 1 on prospects of hemispheric alliance. Annual certifications: January-March 1998, 1999, 2000. Zedillo working visit in November will address drug strategy due by end of 1997.	Save countless lives in hemisphere and in U.S. lost to overdoses, drug-associated violence. Diminish corrosive effects of corruption that undermines new democracies.	Absent unsustainable increase in federal budget for enforcement, crop substitution, ending drug trafficking impossible, dramatic supply reductions difficult. Little POTUS involvement.	

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Increase Cooperation Against Arms Trafficking	Negotiate, sign and ratify hemispheric convention against illegal arms trafficking. Develop technical approaches so that sophisticated conventional weaponry automatically disarms if it falls into wrong hands	Negotiate convention: 1997. Sign and ratify: 1998	Convention would save lives by helping reduce gun violence throughout hemisphere, decrease number of legally sold weapons that wind up on black market in U.S., decrease number of weapons easily available to drug traffickers.	Very likely agreement will be signed. Ratification and implementation should be manageable. Little POTUS involvement.	
Increase Cooperation Against International Crime	Pass International Crime Control Act Establish regional law enforcement academy in Panama similar to one in Budapest. Extend Colombia anti-money laundering program to other nations.	Fall 1997 or winter 1998. Regional academy: 1997	Will help train police forces throughout region in modern techniques, imbue respect for human rights, promote cooperation and information sharing.	Cost: TK Little POTUS involvement.	

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Increase Cooperation Against Corruption	Ratify Organization of American States Anti-Corruption Convention.	Ratification: 1999-2000	Will help combat corrosive effect of corruption on fragile democracies in hemisphere.	No POTUS involvement.	
Increase Cooperation on Migration to Promote Regional Stability	Seek legislation restoring ex-ante deportation rules for Central Americans and certain others and/or undertake administrative action to ensure against mass deportations to region.	Through end of 1997	Promote fairness for certain immigrant groups and enhance peace and stability in region.	Same as above	
Combat Illegal Migration	Implement and streamline new criminal deportation procedures	Now through end of 1997.	Help prevent criminals from remaining in U.S. Increase support for generous legal migration laws.	Same as above.	

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OPEN TRADING SYSTEM	OPEN TRADING SYSTEM	OPEN TRADING SYSTEM	OPEN TRADING SYSTEM	OPEN TRADING SYSTEM	OPEN TRADING SYSTEM
Fast Track Trading Authority	Introduce and secure passage of legislation granting President fast track authority to conclude trade agreements.	Introduce legislation September 1997. Seek votes starting in October, final passage by end of 1997, early 1998.	Vital tool for sustaining record economic growth, 25% of which due to exports.	Passage uncertain but achievable. Will require difficult political decision on labor and environment standards, major campaign. Heavy Presidential engagement.	
Caribbean Basin Trade Enhancement Act	Make good POTUS/VPOTUS pledge to win Congressional passage of act to promote trade and investment in Caribbean.	By end of 1997.	Important tool to promote increased U.S. trade with, investment in neighboring Caribbean states. Spur their depressed economies, avoiding destabilizing collapse, creating jobs, while making it easier for U.S. business to take advantage of opportunities.	May be dead for '97. Final effort in fall. No POTUS involvement unless passage on line.	
Free Trade Area of Americas	Negotiate free trade agreement with Chile once Fast Track secured – first step to FTAA. Start negotiations toward FTAA by 2005.	Chile: 1998 FTAA preparatory work: 1997. Begin FTAA negotiations: Santiago Summit in April 1998.	Dramatic benefits to American workers, businesses that export by taking down trade barriers throughout hemisphere (already leading market for U.S. exports.) Will help create, sustain better paying jobs. Will also promote growth, wealth in Latin America and so strengthen new democracies.	Both FTAA and Chile controversial. Tied up with Fast Track authority. Step-by-step approach and long time line should make Chile FTA, FTAA feasible politically in U.S. Passage of free trade agreement with Chile more problematic. Some POTUS involvement with Congress on Chile.	

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WTO Negotiations	Pursue Uruguay Round "built-in" agenda of future negotiations to liberalize trade in key sectors – agriculture; services; government procurement; intellectual property	Initiate negotiations: Agriculture (1999); Services(2000) But preliminary talks could begin sooner if U.S. has Fast Track authority.	Would make trade more free, fair for American workers, business in sectors vital to U.S. economy and/or where U.S. already world leader. Will create, sustain higher paying jobs and growth.	Dependent on President securing Fast Track authority. Negotiations will be difficult but should be achievable. POTUS involvement limited.	
Open Asia-Pacific Markets Thru APEC	In working toward free trade in Asia Pacific by 2010/2020, will seek key sectoral agreements (e.g. energy related technology; environmental technology; medical equipment). APEC agreements could then become basis for global agreements in WTO (e.g. ITA).	Annual APEC Summit: Vancouver '97; KL '98; New Zealand '99; Brunei '00.	Would make trade more free, fair for American workers, business in sectors vital to U.S. economy and/or where U.S. already world leader. Will create, sustain higher paying jobs and growth.	Negotiations difficult. POTUS involvement: annual APEC summit (Vancouver '97; KL '98; New Zealand '99; Brunei '00).	

NIS Economic Reform	Support development on new tax laws, commercial codes, financial markets key to economic growth and opening economies to foreign investment	Pass Partnership for Freedom in 1997; 1999-2000 reforms assistance on investment bottlenecks	Locks in nascent reforms in NIS, opens NIS markets to American exports, creates conditions for American development of NIS resources, needed for NIS integration into global markets.	Partnership for Freedom FY '98 request; \$900 million; Senate mark \$800 million; House mark \$625 million need to preserve Senate level. Little POTUS involvement.	
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Russia/NIS accession to WTO	Help bring Russia and NIS into global marketplace.	1998: Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia possible, all NIS on path to membership	As NIS adopts international standards for trade and investment, U.S. firms will gain access to export markets and vast natural resources. Increased prosperity in NIS will help democracy take hold.	Achievable. Gore-Chernomyrdin and Gore-Kuchma best vehicles to promote progress. Little POTUS involvement.	
China Accession to WTO	Complete negotiations with China to allow its accession to WTO on commercially acceptable terms.	Between now and 2000 (1998 target).	Major benefits to U.S. workers, business as WTO accession requires China to eliminate trade barriers. Important component of engagement policy that seeks to draw China into world community.	Difficult but achievable if good agreement. Jiang Summit in D.C. and POTUS return visit could catalyze progress. Some POTUS involvement on Hill necessary.	
Africa Trade & Investment Initiative	Help secure passage of legislation to promote U.S. trade with and investment in Africa.	Early 1998.	Major benefits to American workers, business by increasing market share (now just 7%) in emerging African economies. By increasing African prosperity, will strengthen stability and fragile democracies.	Strong chance for success given bipartisan support in Congress. \$200 million in the early stages. Little POTUS involvement.	

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STRONG MILITARY, DPLOMACY	STRONG MILITARY, DPLOMACY	STRONG MILITARY, DPLOMACY	STRONG MILITARY, DPLOMACY	STRONG MILITARY, DPLOMACY	STRONG MILITARY, DPLOMACY
Maintain a Strong and Ready Military (QDR)	Implement QDR Report's blueprint for maintaining strong and ready military; increase funding for force modernization; sustain R&D efforts to maintain qualitative edge; take care of our men and women in uniform; work with Congress to enact infrastructure, management and business practice reforms.	1997: Ensure FY-98 Auth and Approp bills support QDR plan. 1998: Ensure FY-99 Auth and Approp bills support QDR plan. 1999: Ensure FY-00 Auth and Approp bills support QDR plan.	By protecting and advancing peace and security, provide foundation for American leadership and a stable environment for prosperity. QDR plan is based on a fiscally-constrained defense budget consistent with the balanced budget agreement, thus ensuring national security while supporting efforts to reduce the deficit and the control national debt.	The QDR was based on a projection that the defense budget would remain level at about \$250 billion in constant FY-97 dollars. The budget agreement that was reached between Congress and the Administration provides slightly more than the QDR projected. Achieving the modernization and readiness goals stated in the QDR Report is feasible if Congress can be persuaded to support infrastructure, defense management and business practice reforms Little POTUS involvement.	
Peacekeeping	Enhance capabilities of US, friends, allies, internt. orgs. for peacekeeping)		Would strengthen capacity of global (e.g UN) and regional (e.g. OAU, ACRF) organizations to stem internal crises and expand peacekeeping burden sharing.	Gradual progress at UN possible; some support for African peacekeeping force. Little POTUS involvement.	

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Gulf War Illness	Continue effort to discover causes for GWI, repair health of veterans, integrate lessons learned into military planning.	Final PAC Report due 10/97. Ongoing effort through 2000.	Help thousands of sick veterans discover cause of illness, find treatments. Restore public confidence in DoD, military, USG. Ensure future recruitment does not suffer. Sustain flexibility of military to deploy troops where and when necessary, improve defenses against disease. Reduce post-conflict/deployment health problems.	Discovering cause highly uncertain given difficulty to date. Improvements in treatment, planning more feasible. Will require continued low level POTUS/FLOTUS engagement; onus of action with Pentagon and VA.	
United Nations	Encourage UN. reform, refocus on challenges of 21 st century, strengthen security council, including international campaign to achieve S.903 benchmarks, thereby enabling payment of arrears.	S.903 benchmarks campaign – 1997. Pay arrears: 1998 – 2000 UNGA opening, New York: Sept 97, 98, 99, 00.	Reform needed for UN efficiency, U.S. support.	Even with S.903, still roughly \$400 million shortfall in arrears. Little POTUS involvement beyond statements.	
International Resources	Ensure passage of Foreign operations and CJS appropriations bills. 	Fall 1997.		President's budget request for function 150 is \$19.45billion; Budget agreement would allow for full funding. Individual appropriations bills still in play. Presidential "enforcement" necessary.	

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Reorg. of State, USIA, AID, and ACDA	Reinvent our foreign affairs agencies to meet the needs of the 21 st century.	Legislation should be passed this year. ACDA will integrate with State over one year; USIA will integrate in two years; AID will integrate certain functions over two years. State will reinvent itself.	Helps foreign policy makers by streamlining operations while preserving functions of integrated agencies. Helps taxpayers by promoting efficiency.	Cost uncertain. Little POTUS involvement.	

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11

Divider Title: _____

11. Science / Technology - Gibbons, Podesta, Gips, Sperling

PRIORITIES WITHIN THE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY PILLAR

Scientific and technological innovation has always been America's competitive edge for improving health, prosperity, and quality of life and for providing national security. The S&T pillar is comprised of a number of select initiatives OSTP is pursuing in collaboration with other EOP offices that would particularly benefit from Presidential leadership. Each of these initiatives underpins a broader goal, such as environmental protection or a healthier population. Realistically, each initiative would require a sustained national commitment to reach fruition -- the big "payoffs" come early in the 21st century rather than in the next few years due to the inherent time scales of research and development. As prioritization occurs among the pillars, we would hope to see the S&T "building blocks" appear as integral features of the President's plan to prepare Americans for the future because science and technology have always been among the principal agents of progress.

The spreadsheet prepared to represent the S&T pillar lists the "building blocks," or initiatives, in priority order:

1. **Maintain Commitment to R&D.** Knowledge generation and participation in the front ranks of research and innovation has been and will continue to be essential for our national capacity to achieve our goals by capturing the gains of scientific and technological advances. Illustrative goal: increase the federal research and development budget at a rate equal to (or greater than) inflation.
2. **Apollo Mission for Climate Change Technologies.** Advances in environmental science and technology hold tremendous promise for assuring quality of life, protecting human health, and safe-guarding the planet for the future. Illustrative goal: work with industry to have a car with triple today's average fuel economy on the road by 2004 (PNGV).
3. **Educational Technologies.** The degree to which our nation flourishes in the 21st century will rest upon our success in developing a well-educated workforce able to embrace the rapid pace of technological change. Illustrative goal: connect every classroom to the Internet by the year 2000.
4. **Advances in Health.** Our past investment strategy in biomedical research has been enormously successful -- new approaches to understanding, preventing, and treating disease at the molecular level are bearing fruit and promise dramatic benefits for our citizens. Illustrative goal: reinvigorate the war on cancer.
5. **Space Exploration.** American leadership abroad depends, in part, on demonstration of our superior capabilities in using science and technology to expand human frontiers. Illustrative goal: establish permanent human habitation of space by the year 2000.
6. **Increase the Societal Value of Information Technologies.** The public perceives high value in programs that turn advanced technology toward every-day needs. Illustrative goal: provide better patient care and reduce hospital costs with telemedicine.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY PILLAR (8/26/97 AM)

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Maintain Commitment to R&D: Dominate in the 21 st Century Economy	Commit to a growth rate in the federal non-defense R&D budget that tracks growth in the CPI. Ensures we continue to reap the long-term benefits of R&D, which are key to increasing U.S. productivity. Maintains our position as a world leader in science and technology. Our nation's overall investment rate in R&D is lagging other industrialized nations. If current projections hold, Japan will be spending more than any other nation on non-defense R&D by 2001. Public support is essential for most basic and some applied research since private firms cannot capture the returns quickly enough. Investments in R&D represent "2-fers:" we get lots of bang for our bucks by maintaining world leadership in science; we get double the bang for our bucks because S&T is the underpinning for all of our other priorities.	Starts in FY '99; continuing	American people; American businesses. R&D investments yield returns as high as 50 percent to society -- double the average private rate of return. New products and processes improve Americans' quality of life and enable firms to cut production costs and become more competitive in the global economy. R&D is a key enabler of all national goals (e.g., health, environmental quality, national security, economic strength). For instance, technology is responsible for half of all productivity gains in recent years.	The increments required over BBA to match inflation: '99: \$0.7 billion '00: \$1.8 billion '01: \$2.5 billion '02: \$3.4 billion <u>Examples</u> for use of '99 increment: \$400 million, biomedical research; \$150 million, global change research; \$50 million, children's research; \$50 million, plant and animal genome research; \$100 million, computational research; \$150 million, basic research facilities (e.g., NSNS). Similar proposals exist now in Congress, which generally views S&T investment favorably.	Recaptures a Clinton-Gore priority that the Congress is trying to usurp. Avoids "negative legacy" of U.S. falling behind Japan on R&D. Keeps the U.S. from falling behind on R&D spending levels, which have tracked close to inflation over the past 4 years. Provides the President the best kind of image: research is a proven, high-leverage investment in the future. Responsive to campaign pledges: '96 -- we ought to [balance the budget] without cutting our investments in things like education and the environment and research and technology . . . the things that will grow the economy.

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"Apollo Mission" for Climate Change Technologies	Prepare for Kyoto and beyond by implementing a long-term strategic vision that includes a diverse portfolio of technologies, more efficient conversion of fossil fuels, lower carbon fuel usage, greater renewable energy usage. Specific near-term targets include: triple fuel economy of personal vehicles (PNGV); reduce new home energy use by 50 percent (PATH); produce 120,000 barrels per day of fuel from biomass by 2005 (biomass). Additional technologies to target include: efficient motors, new generation of trucks, advanced aircraft, fuel cells, renewable energy sources. To ensure international engagement on this global issue, implement joint ventures, such as a U.S.-China Clean Energy Initiative.	Several decades of sustained energy R&D. International initiatives to begin in FY '99.	Health and security of people around the world, particularly the next several generations. Creates a sustainable future in which environment, economic prosperity, and quality of life are mutually reinforcing. Directly addresses climate change imperatives. Reduces future costs of environmental degradation. Creates vital new industrial market opportunities, domestically and internationally.	Redirect current R&D spending in DOE and other departments to higher priorities. Create cost-shared partnerships with industry. In the international arena, we could help mobilize up to <u>\$10 billion in private capital</u> for a U.S.-China initiative to reduce greenhouse gases. Most costs off-set by resulting monetary savings. New \$500 million effort in FY '99 would target an applied technologies strategy.	Positive if the appropriate incentives are in place and deliberate pacing is adopted. But government funding for clean energy has been difficult to sustain in the past. Bolsters the President's vision that S&T can enable us to achieve simultaneously a high standard of living, a high quality of life, and a fine legacy for the future. Substantiates the Administration's image as forward-thinking and focused on high-technology. If successful, avoids higher-cost, more politically difficult approaches to addressing climate change.

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Educational Technologies	Connect every classroom to the Internet by 2000. Train teachers – including a Master Teacher program. Develop educational software for classrooms and provide access to just-in-time training using next generation training technology to 35% of American workers by the year 2000. Federal education and training programs must enable the development of a national, technically competent workforce if we are to remain economically competitive in the 21st century. This initiative envisions a robust program of research, development, and evaluation in teacher training, materials development, and the impact of technology on improving student performance.	Major components complete by 2000	Equips children (future workers) to compete in a technical, global marketplace. Introduces greater efficiency in businesses by providing a more flexible and better trained workforce.	\$2 billion for Technology Literacy Challenge Fund. (Existing \$\$) \$2.25 billion for schools and libraries for connectivity. (Existing \$\$) \$200 million in FY '99 to train every new teacher in how to use technology, using a Fannie Mae-type mechanism. (NEW \$\$) \$100 million in FY '99 for experimental R&D and evaluation of classroom teaching and learning (with technology). (NEW \$\$) Approximately \$5 million in FY '99 for Smithsonian online project to digitize 3 million objects by 2000. (NEW \$\$)	Popular if results are visible. Access by all students is essential. Reinforces the Administration's reputation for governing with an eye on the future. Key to the commitment to good jobs and a dominant middle class.

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Advances in Health: Human Genome Project, AIDS Vaccine, Cancer Initiative, Combating Infectious Diseases	Human Genome Project: Mapping and sequencing of the human genome are critical components of genetic medicine – the application of DNA technologies to the diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of disease.	Sequence of the Human Genome by 2004.	An array of new technologies for the diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of disease	No plus-up for genome sequencing. \$250 million in new FY '99 spending for speed-up of genetic medicine research and operation of National Bioethics Advisory Commission.	Scientific elements of the programs are popular (e.g., cancer eventually impacts every family). Some applications raise serious ethical questions (e.g., genetic privacy, access to care) and provide leadership opportunities for the Administration.
	Develop -- through a partnership of NIH, the pharmaceutical industry, and other developed nations -- a vaccine to prevent HIV infection.	Within 10 years (as announced by the President).	Stop the spread of HIV, in the U.S. and around the globe.	Existing budget includes \$150/year; some plus-up will be required.	
	Implement the Vice President's proposal to revitalize the war on cancer by seizing upon recent advances in science to better understand, prevent, detect, diagnose, and treat cancer.	Start in FY 1999.	Reduce cancer deaths by 10-20 percent using existing technology. Generate dozens of specialized tools to prevent, diagnose, and treat cancer, fundamentally changing the way we battle cancer.	TBD -- much of the funding expected to come from the tobacco settlement.	
	Initiate a worldwide program to use biomedical research and information systems to combat emerging infectious disease and the spread of antibiotic-resistant pathogens.	Start in 1999.	Will maintain our defenses against infectious disease.	\$150 million per year in new spending would support comprehensive research, including international surveillance.	

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Space Exploration: Human and Robotic Missions	International Space Station: 15-nation project to build a permanently inhabited laboratory in orbit. Robotics/Origins Research: A multi-disciplinary scientific investigation of the chain of events from the creation of the Universe through the formation of galaxies, stars, and planets, to the rise of life on Earth and possibly elsewhere. Would include robotic exploration of the surface of Mars, Venus, and the moons of Jupiter.	Station: First component launched in 1998; human occupation by 1999. Robotics/Origins: Cassini international probe of Saturn beginning in 1997; Mars missions in 1998, 2001, and 2003; Gemini Telescopes completed in 1998 and 2000.	Unique, cutting edge research will have benefits for all economic sectors. Specifics include scientific knowledge, advanced microsatellite technologies, and contributions to the educational community. Past experience has demonstrated this effect -- provides pull for new technology development with important applications to civilian (and defense) needs. Provides mechanisms to focus energies of participants on non-military ventures, and to develop enduring, friendly relationships. Global symbol of leadership, international cooperation, and shared adventure in discovery.	Station: Program already budgeted but some additional resources may be required depending on Russian contributions and prime contractor performance. Robotics: no plus-up over current budget. Both programs require stable budget support.	Space program has strong and growing bipartisan support. Core support in TX, FL, and CA. Competes in House appropriations process with other priorities, such as veterans, EPA, and HUD. Program has strong popular appeal, domestically and internationally, particularly in the aftermath of the Mars Pathfinder mission. Helps leverage our foreign policy objectives.

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Increase the Societal Value of Information Technologies	Promote new applications of information technology through: --pilot projects --removing legal barriers --improving government uses --linking regions together --mitigating natural disaster impacts	Long-term commitment.	Workers benefit from programs for learning on demand. Citizens benefit from online government (efficient delivery of services) and digital libraries and museums. Law enforcement improves with criminal databases. Small and large businesses thrive with the growth of electronic commerce. Patients get better care and hospitals reduce costs with telemedicine. Access to real-time information reduces citizens' vulnerability to natural hazards.	Could do a lot with Cabinet leadership and small amounts of incremental funding in different agencies. Effective uses for \$200 million in new funding in FY '99. Multiple opportunities for cost-sharing.	Bipartisan support on most issues, but some, such as privacy and encryption, are controversial. Public perceives high value in these programs.

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12

Divider Title: _____

12. Racial Reconciliation - Echaveste, Mathews

RANKING WITHIN THE RACIAL RECONCILIATION PILLAR

This cover memo summarizes the high-priority commitments and key decision points within the racial reconciliation pillar. This pillar is somewhat preliminary because the work plan for the President's Initiative on Race is being developed and its review by the President will be important to defining the direction of the Race Initiative. However, this cover memo and the attached pillar should help frame the priorities and issues.

In general, issues on race will require a relatively significant amount of the President's time both indirectly and directly. By *directly*, this means the events solely on race, such as the Little Rock commemoration, the upcoming ethnic roundtable and the town hall meetings. By *indirectly*, we mean that this should be part of many events the President does that are not direct race events, such as events and announcements regarding economic issues, international trade or other areas where our themes on race will complement the basic announcement.

Also, the race initiative and the race-related issues are generally items that will require a lower-level, but consistent attention, as opposed to a short-term, intensive campaign, such as fast track. For example, helping to educate the nation about the facts on race will be part of all the race events directly and indirectly on many non-race events (e.g. diabetes). Thus, it should be a constant theme throughout the year.

HIGH PRIORITY COMMITMENTS

- 1) Helping to educate the nation about the facts surrounding the issue of race, particularly demographic trends, the economic asset of diversity and American stability.
- 2) Policy development on affirmative action, educational diversity, education and economic opportunities, immigration and civil rights enforcement.
- 3) Recruiting and encouraging leadership to help bridge racial divides.
- 4) Playing a role in dialogue through the bully pulpit.

KEY DECISION POINTS

- 1) Building new consensus on incorporating new immigrants into American society.
- 2) Defending affirmative action and implement post-Adarand program changes.
- 3) Enhancing civil rights enforcement.

RACIAL RECONCILIATION PILLAR					
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PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE ON RACE: Recruit and encourage leadership to help bridge racial divides.	Recruit leaders in business, government, faith communities, not- for-profit who will help build bridges within their companies, communities and houses of worship.	Beginning Fall 1997 with leadership structures in place by Summer 1998.	Helps all Americans by bridging the racial divide in all areas - work, faith, community.	Resources to complete this building block are within race initiative budget.	Should be bi-partisan effort based on those issues that we have in common, recognizing there are issues that divide us.

RACIAL RECONCILIATION PILLAR

Help educate the nation about the facts surrounding the issue of race, particularly demographic trends, econ. asset of diversity and American stability (eg Bosnia and Rwanda).	Help educate through town meetings; Advisory Board and race initiative staff activities and events such as the Little Rock Commemoration, Hate Crimes Conference and Report to Am People.	Began with address at UCSD in June 1997 and will build over 1997 - 1998 culminating with report to the Am People in summer 1998. May result in annual national report card on race.	Builds support for consensus on value of diversity, leads to better understanding of the imperatives resulting from dynamic racial changes in the country.	Resources to complete this building block are within initiative budget and travel budget. Controversy surrounds racial "facts" regarding discrimination.	Should be bi-partisan effort based on those issues that we have in common.
Enhance civil rights enforcement.	Refocus on enforcement of federal civil rights laws. Ensure that federal government becomes a model workplace with effective methods of resolving discrimination issues.	FY 1998 budget process.	Results in renewed confidence of minority communities in federal government as protector of civil rights, such as in employment, housing, education. Sends message to public that illegal acts of discrimination will not be tolerated, thereby making public more aware of unacceptableness of discrimination.	Requires a thorough review of current budget outlays for various civil rights enforcement agencies, but not an incredibly significant increase. Requires thorough analysis of effectiveness of enforcement agencies. Likely requires budget increases for enforcement agencies. Requires possible negotiations with federal employee unions on EEO and grievance procedures.	Very positively received by civil rights advocates and would help quiet criticisms that race initiative is only about talk and not action May generate negative reaction from employers and conservative groups

RACIAL RECONCILIATION PILLAR					
Increase confidence in criminal justice system.	Devise policing strategies that are both effective and race-neutral (e.g. community policing efforts in minority communities to build trust and add protection.)	1 - 2 years.	Increases minority communities' confidence in criminal justice system by restoring and renewing belief in equal justice under the law. May result in less crime and better protection in under-served areas.	Require a re-allocation of funds to minority communities. May require re-focus of certain existing programs (e.g. charge Community Relations Service to work with communities before serious problems arise.)	Working against strong anti-police views in certain communities.
Devise strategies to combat lack of educational diversity resulting from Hopwood and Prop 209.	Policy planning in progress.	Fall 97 / Spring 98	Promotes minority representation in graduate classes in California and Texas. Avoids continued re-segregation in undergraduate universities in these states.	Requires involvement in divisive issue.	Conservative opponents will continue to vigorously fight. May gain moderates from both parties.
Provide better education and economic opportunities for minorities (eg Teachers announcement at NAACP convention).	Ensure that children of all incomes and races receive a quality education.	1 - 3 years	Provides minority children with tools to develop their lives fully. Better integrates areas such as post-secondary education specifically and work-force generally.	Depends on particular initiative. (eg \$350 million for teachers initiative) Difficult to provide significant funding under budget realities. With school finances locally controlled, it is difficult to have impact from federal level.	Depends on particular initiative. Some have significant bi-partisan support (eg Chaka Fattah plan).

RACIAL RECONCILIATION PILLAR					
OTHER RACE-RELATED ISSUES: Defend affirmative action and implement post- <u>Adarand</u> program changes.	Rebuild consensus on affirmative action through education and reframing debate. Successfully implement "mended" programs.	1 - 3 years	Provides economic and educational opportunities to minorities. Helps country prepare for the dynamic change in racial demographics. Integrates American schools and work places.	Could lose fight against such initiatives as Prop 209. Involves President in divisive and complicated issue. Requires a balance between objectives of affirmative action and costs of promoting race/gender-based programs.	Many conservative opponents are rallying around momentum of recent decisions regarding <u>Hopwood</u> , <u>Piscataway</u> and Prop 209.
Build new consensus on incorporating new immigrants into American society.	Help ensure that new legal immigrants become part of America and share its values in ways that respect our cultural differences. Find effective mechanisms to stem illegal immigration without causing legal immigrants and residents to feel attacked.	1 - 3 years	May result in reducing the fear of immigrants. As country becomes multi-ethnic society, reduces general racial hostility. Encourages the positive contributions that immigrants bring to country.	Requires development of absorption strategies that respect cultural differences. Requires new approaches regarding language differences that end divisiveness, which currently surrounds the issue.	May be construed as being soft on illegal immigration.

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13

Divider Title: _____

13. REGO / Effectiveness of Government - Stone

RANKING OF "REINVENTING GOVERNMENT" PILLAR PRIORITIES

The National Performance Review has six key sets of initiatives. Four are related and are underway. Two depend on external events and we put energy behind them when we can. In general, these efforts will require little of POTUS's direct time. However, there will be occasions when his involvement in priority issues will send a clear signal as to his interest.

Reinvention Impact Centers

NPR has probably achieved as much as it can over the past four years using the "silver bullet" approach, such as governmentwide procurement reforms. It is shifting its role from being a catalyst of hundreds of small successes across the government to helping a smaller number of important agencies to reinvent their entire operations. These 32 agencies, dubbed "Reinvention Impact Centers," include IRS, Park Service, INS, OSHA, and FDA. They cover 1.1 million of the 1.9 million civilian civil servants.

As part of their Results Act plans, these agencies have each committed to specific, achievable goals to be completed by 2000 within existing budget resources. These commitments, which the heads of these agencies discussed with the Vice President, are things the public will see as visible improvements in service. For example, FDA will reduce the review time of important new medical devices by an average of one year.

With these agencies as its primary focus, NPR will continue its efforts to:

- improve customer service;
- reinvent the regulatory system to reduce burden and improve enforcement; and
- use technology as the enabler for dramatic improvements in services.

Take Advantage of Targets of Opportunity

Two other initiatives are important but are lower priority because NPR has less control over events surrounding their :

- Reinvent the government's human resource management system. The Vice President's 1993 report recommended major changes. However, when the Republicans took control of Congress, efforts to legislate major personnel changes were put on hold. OPM shifted its energy to administrative changes. More administrative changes are possible, but many agency leaders see the need for legislative changes. The question is: should legislative changes be actively pursued or is this too risky in a Republican Congress?
- Follow through on past NPR commitments. While about 60 percent of NPR's formal recommendations are completed, and nearly 70 laws signed containing its recommendations, others are still underway. Occasionally, opportunities arise that allow legislative items on hold to be moved forward. For example, there are recent, positive efforts to eliminate GPO's monopoly on government printing.

REINVENT TO IMPROVE PUBLIC TRUST IN GOVERNMENT

BUILDING BLOCKS OF PILLAR	DESCRIPTION	TIMELINE	BENEFITS (e.g., Who does this help? How does it help them?)	COSTS/FEASIBILITY (e.g., What does it take to achieve? Who pays? What is the likelihood it will occur?)	POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS (e.g., How does it affect the party)
Go from examples of reinvention to entire reinvented agencies.	NPR will work directly with 32 high-impact agencies to dramatically improve their operations. Vice President Gore has already met with agency heads involved and told them this is one of his most important initiatives.	3 years.	Benefits a wide range of Americans by focusing on more than 200 specific, concrete goals to be completed by 2000. For example, DOD will internally shift \$13 billion in resources to modernize forces by cutting administrative costs. NASA will cut payload costs from \$10,000/lb. to \$1,000/lb. and launch more satellites. FDA will cut one year from major drug approvals.	Will be done in the context of a balanced budget. Any increased costs will be borne through increased operational efficiencies. Agencies have committed to completion by 2000, with the help of NPR.	Increased public confidence in government to deliver services. Would have strong bipartisan support.
Improve customer service to the public.	Cut red tape and empower employees to better serve their customers. Agencies have already publicly committed to more than 4,000 service standards.	3 years.	Helps the public at first point of contact, which will reduce costs and errors and increase public satisfaction with services. It will also improve employee satisfaction with their jobs.	This will take concerted, sustained leadership attention to change the behavior of the bureaucracy to put customers first.	Increased public confidence in government to deliver services. Would have strong bipartisan support.
Use technology to improve public access to government.	An interagency task force has already committed to 18 specific initiatives ("Access America") that will dramatically improve citizens' interaction with government	3 years.	Technology will allow direct citizen interaction, for example paperless tax filing, instant access to environmental hazard information, and getting student loans on the Internet.	Need to solve privacy and security issues and build cooperation across agency lines.	Strong bipartisan support.

Use partnerships to reinvent regulatory systems.	Expand compliance assistance and collaboration for "good players" and better target enforcement actions on "bad players."	3 years.	Cleaner air, safer workplaces, safer food, etc.. Will also improve international competitiveness and relations with the business community -- and blunt Republican efforts to lessen the national commitment to health and safety goals.	Need to dramatically change the internal cultures in key regulatory agencies (e.g, OSHA, IRS, EPA, FDA) and bring Congress along.	Traditional stakeholders (unions, environmentalists, consumer advocates) have been wedded to the traditional approaches and are wary of more collaborative approaches.
Reinvent Human Resource Management	Empower managers to hire, reward, promote, retain, train, and remove employees so agencies can better manage for results.	1998	Would give agency heads and managers the keys to being held accountable for their performance by allowing them the tools to manage for results.	Probably unlikely to gain governmentwide statutory reform, but may be possible to do agency-by-agency reforms, similar to FAA and those flexibilities sought in Performance-Based Organizations. In tandem, aggressively pursue administrative reforms with OPM within current merit principles and veterans preference policies.	Cong. Mica will introduce limited reform package shortly. Possibility this may be a platform for Administration changes. Unions are wary of proposing major changes, especially with a Republican Congress. Key Democratic members of Congress may oppose. Republicans may want to go farther than Administration will be willing to support.
Follow through on previous Reinvention commitments.	NPR has been charged with follow through of more than 1,500 recommendations and has completed more than half. It is committed to progress on the remainder.	3 years.	Savings have reached \$130 billion out of \$178 billion promised; downsizing has been completed 2 years ahead of schedule. This progress and sustained follow through has created the credibility needed to make the more difficult changes in agency culture.	About one-quarter of remaining recommendations are contentious. While large savings and major improvements are contained in them, there has been little interest in a concerted effort to bring them to the fore.	There is no clear political consensus on moving forward in these difficult areas, such as civil service reform, budget reform, cutting National Guard costs, cutting Corps of Engineer projects, etc.

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14. Campaign Finance / Political Reform - Waldman, Emanuel

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM/ POLITICAL REFORM

As Governor of Arkansas, President Clinton successfully championed ethics reform, going over the heads of the legislature to the people through a referendum. The first 4 ½ years of this administration have been a time of some genuine achievement in the area of lobbying reform, but frustration in the area of campaign finance reform. 1995 saw enactment of lobbying disclosure, a ban on gifts from lobbyists to lawmakers, and the Congressional Accountability Act, which applied to Congress the laws that apply to ordinary businesses and citizens. However, campaign reform has been killed by filibusters in the last five congresses (save the Congress when it was vetoed by President Bush).

Immediate choices (before end of 1997)

There are now several choices to make in the area of political reform. Most significant are:

- McCain-Feingold will be on the Senate floor as early as mid-September. What should the administration do to push for enactment, or at least to shine a spotlight on those senators who continue to obstruct?
- If McCain-Feingold fails, what steps should the administration take?

Recommended overall priorities

1. McCain-Feingold legislation
2. Free TV time for candidates (not likely to be included in final bill, now before FCC)
3. Legal campaign for spending limits (asking Court to revisit *Buckley v. Valeo*)
4. Election reform initiative (e.g., two day voting, voting by mail) to broaden debate

PILLAR -- CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM/POLITICAL REFORM

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1) Campaign finance reform: McCain-Feingold bill	- soft \$ ban - free TV time for candidates who agree to voluntary spending limits; - other limits on contributions.	Senate floor in September. Possible move by Lott for later date certain. Full timeline: 16 months	Mirrors President's 1992 reform proposals, and is culmination of his longtime commitment to reform. Soft money ban and free TV would have significant impact; spending limits would be less effective, but would still level playing field.	As ever, fight is uphill, but widespread attention creates classic conditions for reform to succeed. Needed from President: constant pressure on Congress; strong show of public effort; deftly timed public statements. Bill could be significantly watered-down in legislative process (perhaps to little more than soft \$ ban). No significant budget costs.	GOP, led by McConnell, opposes nearly all reform. But with McCain and Thompson aggressively pushing slimmed-down bill on the Senate floor, simple resistance won't be easy to sustain. Democrats now markedly more favorable than GOP. However, many Democrats still nervous about soft \$ ban or other reforms. President will be attacked for hypocrisy if he supports; will be more savagely attacked if he isn't vigorous in his support.
Free TV time	President has asked FCC to require broadcasters to give candidates free time. Ornstein & Moonves chair advisory panel to guide FCC's decision.	2 years.	Would address the main source of campaign fundraising arms race. Would "raise the floor" for candidates without spending limits or public funding. Could improve information to voters (e.g., free time in longer blocs, as debates among candidates, etc.). Also, if free time is given to parties instead of candidates, could strengthen parties.	Key stumbling block: need majority vote on FCC. Presidential public involvement minimal. VP more aggressive public schedule.	Broadcasters oppose free or low cost time. Advisory panel is to seek compromise/consensus. Congress will want role if FCC acts.

PILLAR -- CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM/POLITICAL REFORM

FEC soft money ban	The FEC is considering a ban on soft money, in response to President's petition.	FEC will take next step in fall	Would cut off most dangerous campaign finance practice, in a way that applies to both parties.	FEC is likely to deadlock on party lines (or even fail to do that). If it proceeds, its actions will be subject to legal challenge.	Soft money ban raises party issues as described above.
Court challenge to <i>Buckley v. Valeo</i>	DOJ has said it will argue to SC that spending limits <u>are</u> constitutional	18 months (2 cases on spending limits now being heard in federal court)	<i>Buckley</i> has made it hard to enact effective reform.	Unclear whether <i>Buckley</i> is on shaky ground with court or stronger than ever. A large group of legal scholars are making this a cause celebre. ACLU etc. oppose.	Democrats strongly support spending limits and would support DOJ's position.
More dramatic campaign reform	Carville proposal -- ban fundraising by incumbents, but give them public funding. Other similar proposals: full public funding with fundraising ban (John Kerry, based on new Maine law) Sharp restrictions on contributions from lobbyists (proposed by administration in 1993)	Depends upon fate of McCain-Feingold	If McCain-Feingold loses or is stripped of many reforms, President could seek high ground with more dramatic proposal. These proposals would be simpler than current bill. They would transform system more fundamentally.	Public funding would cost -- depending on how crafted, several hundred million dollars per cycle. However, funds could come from lobbying tax, broadcast fees, voluntary checkoff, or other "non-taxpayer" sources.	Public funding is controversial and lacks a base of public support. It is possible that linking it to a fundraising ban increases support.

PILLAR -- CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM/POLITICAL REFORM

2) ELECTION REFORMS a package of proposals to increase voting & revive elections	A package of proposals that could include: - weekend voting - voting over 2 days - voting by mail - early voting (as in Texas) - changing terms for lawmakers (e.g., House terms of 4 yrs) - uniform national poll-closing time (Feinstein)	Could be ready for SOTU 1998	Voting continues to drop to lowest level since early 1800s. These proposals would increase voting.	Unclear whether proposals would actually increase participation (motor voter had disappointing results). Some oppose measures that would take community element away from voting (e.g., voting by mail). Some costs -- shared by states and federal government. Voting by mail, for example, is expensive.	GOP has generally opposed any measures to increase voting. States generally oppose such mandates, as well.
3) INTERACTIVE DEMOCRACY	Develop new proposals, using internet and other technologies, to make government/politics more directly responsive. Options could include: - internet voting - increased e-mail to public by officials - institutionalized town meetings	2-3 years	Information revolution could transform how public gets information about politics & gov't, and could give voters new tools to help make policy and hold officials accountable.	Proposals are not now developed. Possible <u>White House Conference</u> in 1998 or 1999 on Democracy and the 21st Century.	