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PRESIDENTIAL REVIEW DIRECTIVE/NSC-26

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
THE CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
ADMINISTRATOR OF THE AGENCY FOR
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR ECONOMIC POLICY
CHAIR, COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
PRESIDENT, OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION
DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF PERSONNEL AND MANAGEMENT

SUBJECT: Democracy Programs (U)

Support for democracy and human rights is a guiding principle of the Administration's foreign policy. President Clinton has declared: "Our strategic interests and our moral values are both rooted in this goal. As we help democracy expand, we make ourselves and our allies safer. Democracies rarely go to war with each other or traffic in terrorism. They make more reliable partners in trade and diplomacy. Growing market economies expand individual opportunity and social tolerance." (U)

In addition, democracies are less likely to harm the environment and more likely to respect human rights and to foster tolerance for ethnic and religious minorities. Ultimately, our concern with opportunities to promote democratization abroad both draws upon and reinforces democratic traditions in the United States. (U)

Japan and Western Europe have added democratization to their international agenda. The USG is challenged to consider how to coordinate its own democratization programs with its industrial allies while working with like-minded developing and formerly socialist countries. (S)

This review process will proceed in two stages. First, agencies will describe their current programs, policies, funding levels and institutional mechanisms that promote democratization. The Interagency Working Group (IWG) will then schedule a meeting to discuss these items. Second, agencies will propose options for policy and programs. The IWG will be chaired by the Department of State. Final reports will be submitted by May 15. (S)

A special sub-group on Public Diplomacy and Broadcasting will be formed to consider that subject, co-chaired by State and OMB.

(S)

I. BACKGROUND

A. TRENDS (INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY)

1. Describe the trends in the number and type of democratic governments over the past ten years, five years. Describe the main factors that account for the trends, including those which are regional in nature. Include examples of democratization including the building of a civil society and the relationship of the development of civil institutions to the democratization process (e.g. independent judiciary, professionalized military, etc.) What has been the relationship of the evolution of democracy and of human rights? (S)

2. Analyze the factors which affect the viability of newly democratic states (such as Chile). Identify the major difficulties they are experiencing in institutionalizing democracy and civil society. (S)

3. Characterize the relationship between the open entrepreneurial economy and political democracy. (S)

4. Project likely scenarios for democratization in regions and key countries over the next year and three to five years. Specify the major variables that could cause different outcomes. Special attention should be given to ethnic and religious conflicts. (S)

5. To what extent and in what forms has outside influence effectively promoted and defended democracy in various societies? Evaluate the effectiveness of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), like the National Endowment for Democracy, in contrast to programs of governmental agencies like USAID. Provide concrete examples of successful and unsuccessful efforts to promote democratization. (S)

7. In what ways does USG support for democracy internationally strengthen democratic traditions and institutions in the United States? ~~(S)~~

B. CURRENT PROGRAMS (ALL)

1. Each agency should submit data and narrative describing its existing programs to promote democracy. (A section on program evaluation follows.) Included should be:

- a. Public diplomacy (USIA);
- b. Development assistance (USAID);
- c. Counternarcotics/anti-terrorism/refugee/human rights assistance (STATE);
- d. Security assistance (including IMET) and military cooperation (DOD/STATE);
- e. Multilateral lending (e.g., IMF, IBRD, EBRD, etc.) (TREASURY/STATE);
- f. Concessional loans/credit guarantees/investment insurance (USDA, OPIC);
- g. Trade policy (e.g., MFN) (USTR);
- h. UN institutions (STATE);
- i. Regional organizations (STATE); and
- j. Bilateral/regional policies; discussion of current strategy to coordinate with other industrial democracies (Western Europe, Japan, and Canada) in support of democratization inside and outside their regions; (STATE)
- k. Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union; (STATE)
- l. Population, environment and democracy; (STATE/USAID)
- m. Educational institutions (i.e. university school exchanges); (State/USIA)
- n. U.S. NGOs and NGOs overseas. (ALL) ~~(S)~~

2. What are the current mechanisms to set democratization priorities globally, regionally, and by country within the Department of State? Within the Executive Branch? Who takes the lead, and at what level? What are the current interagency mechanisms for the coordination of global, regional, or country programs within the Function 150 Account? What are the current interagency mechanisms for coordination of global, regional, or country programs between Function 150 and other programs? (State) ~~(S)~~

3. Each agency should submit an evaluation of its current programs. (U)

4. Based on those submissions, OMB and State should prepare a summary of current programs and their effectiveness. (U)

5. Give special attention to evaluating the effectiveness of USG-supported NGOs that promote democratization. (ALL) ~~(S)~~

II. OPTIONS FOR POLICY AND PROGRAMS (STATE)

A. DEFINITION AND DOCTRINE

Develop and evaluate options for USG working standards for democracy and democratization. A baseline definition is at Tab I. How does "democratization" differ from or overlap with "human rights" or "civil society"? Develop and evaluate options for a USG rationale that can be used to explain to the public, the Congress, the media, and foreign governments why the U.S. believes that it is in our interest to promote democracy in other countries. ~~(S)~~

B. POLICY ELEMENTS

In addition to having themes such as the options above, a policy on democratization must include responses to questions such as those listed below. State should develop proposed policies to promote and encourage democracy globally with special attention to emerging democracies and those at risk (e.g. South Korea and Venezuela):

1. How should the U.S. approach political reform in non-democratic states of strategic importance (e.g. Saudi Arabia);

2. How could we justify taking political and economic steps against some non-democratic states and not others (e.g. Burma versus China);

3. Under what circumstances, if any, are we prepared to accept limitations on democracy (e.g. Algeria's potential democratic election of a non-democratic party, or Peru's limits on democracy during an insurgency);

4. How should we deal with the threat of disorder in the wake of the removal of a non-democratic government (e.g. Zaire)? How do we relate to countries in which a democratic government is overthrown;

5. How do we relate democracy to other U.S. foreign policy goals when they may conflict (e.g. proliferation, environment, terrorism, and narcotics);

6. What is the explanation for the apparent contradiction between the U.S. policies of non-interference in the internal affairs and promotion of democracy in non-democratic countries;

7. What is the relationship of U.S. policies on democratization and ethnic/regional self-determination;

8. In what ways does religious fundamentalism affect democratization movements;

9. Are there trade-offs involved in meeting short-term goals (e.g. supervising elections) and long-term goals (building institutions of civil society)? Should different agencies be responsible for these different tasks;

10. How does the spread of U.S. popular culture intersect with pro-democracy policies of the USG -- both positively and negatively;

C. POLICY OPTIONS (ALL)

Develop a spectrum of concise and differentiated options for overall policy on the role of democratization in U.S. foreign policy. Compare those policies against a common set of criteria. All agencies may submit options. Illustrative options include:

1. Existing Policy: Declaratory support for "democracy" supported by specialized programs and conditionality on some forms of assistance. (C)

2. Sustaining Policy: Expanded and coordinated political, trade, and assistance efforts to assist newly democratic states. (C)

3. Multilateral Declarations, Alliance and Guarantees: Mutual commitment among democratic states to non-military measures, to be taken in a coordinated manner, in the event democracy is threatened in a partner state. (C)

4. Democratic Expansion: Targeting specific countries where there is a good prospect that coordinated positive inducements and negative disincentives could produce measurable change to democracy. (C)

5. An NGO-Based Democratization Policy: Concentrating most USG resources on non-governmental organizations (U.S. based and indigenous NGOs). What potential exists for enlisting NGOs of the development and humanitarian communities in civic developments as well? (C)

D. PROGRAM OPTIONS (ALL)

Agencies should propose new or significantly enhanced programs related to one or more of the policy options (examples below). The programs should be compared against a common set of criteria. Each option should include (at an annex, if necessary) a detailed program justification and description, including a three-year funding profile, if applicable. The following list is illustrative only: (C)

1. Democracy Corps;
2. Support of Parties in Exile;
3. Asian Democracy Radio;
4. Selective Trade Conditionality;

5. Additional MDB Conditionality;
6. Enhanced Civil-Military Relations, Democracy Training for Militaries;
7. Formal International Organization of Democratic Nations;
8. Amendments to U.N. Charter and/or other basic documents of the U.N. and/or other international organizations;
9. Expanded sanctions against countries in which democracy is overthrown;
10. Women's issues;
11. Expanded use of public diplomacy, media, cultural activities, exchanges, etc., to disseminate broad-based message of the advantages of the democratic path. (U)

E. PROMOTING DEMOCRACY IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION (STATE)

The singular importance for American interests of a successful transition to sustainable democracy and a market economy in the former Soviet Union cannot be over-estimated. The resurgence of an intolerant and authoritarian State armed with nuclear weapons would undercut the economic and political basis for America's economic recovery program and threaten the stability of Europe. The USG has already some programs in place but, given the extraordinary importance of the FSU, what programs are available to the USG to promote and sustain democracy in those new nations - including technical assistance, support for NGOs and so forth? (C)

F. MAKING POLICY OPERATIONAL (STATE)

1. Develop and evaluate options for creating an interagency group to establish near/mid-term goals and monitor progress toward those goals. Among the options that should be considered are a) a list of target countries and milestones for them, and b) an annual report to Congress. (C)

2. Develop a plan for a high-level U.S. official announcement of policy and programs on democratization followed by appropriate diplomatic and public diplomacy action. (C)

III. INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

A subgroup co-chaired by State and OMB should develop and evaluate options for making our international broadcasting services more effective instruments of the President's agenda, including but not limited to democratization. The subgroup should identify the **broad goals** that U.S. international broadcasting should pursue and how they can best be met. For example, it should evaluate complementary services, such as targeted or surrogate broadcasting and general interest programs, determine the relative emphasis that each should receive, and consider organizational forms and relationships most appropriate

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for achieving the goals associated with each. What criteria should be employed to evaluate alternative options? This review should be done with an eye toward rationalizing and, where possible, consolidating broadcast services. (C)



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ANNEX: KEY ELEMENTS OF A WORKING DEMOCRACY

The key elements of a working democracy are:

- conducive conditions for the protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms (freedoms of: expression and right to communication; peaceful assembly and demonstration; association; thought, conscience and religion; movement; also right to enjoy property alone or in common); also the human rights and fundamental freedoms of persons belonging to minorities;
- rule of law (based on acceptance of value of the human personality and guaranteed by institutions providing a framework for its fullest expression): equality before the law and equal protection, effective means of redress; independent judiciary, provisions for due process;
- political pluralism, free and fair political processes and elections;
- representative government, an executive accountable to the elected legislature or to the electorate;
- duty of government and public authorities to comply with the constitution and to act consistent with the law;
- clear separation between the State and political parties;
- government, administration, and judiciary exercised in accordance with the system established by law;
- military forces and police under the control of, and accountable to, the civil authorities;
- open legislative process;
- tolerant, civil society with independent institutions and voluntary groups;
- independent media;
- conformity with international law obligations;
- all of the above reinforced by a secure environment (peaceful relations with neighbors and the solving of internal problems via peaceful democratic means) and a market economy. (U)