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Fact Sheets and Selected Addresses

September 30, 1996
THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY:
SEIZING THE OPPORTUNITIES & MEETING THE THREATS OF A NEW ERA

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S LEADERSHIP ON FOREIGN POLICY

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SELECTED ADDRESSES

September 30, 1996
THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY:
SEIZING THE OPPORTUNITIES & MEETING THE THREATS OF A NEW ERA

We are living through the fastest and most profound change in history. By leading with steadiness, strength and flexibility, the Clinton Administration is seizing the opportunities created by change -- and moving decisively against the threats that change has produced -- to make the American people more secure and prosperous as we enter the 21st century.

The Clinton Administration is Seizing the Opportunities of a New Era

• Dramatically Reducing the Threat of Weapons of Mass Destruction. The Clinton Administration has pursued the most far reaching arms control agenda in history. Now, there are no Russian missiles pointing at our cities or citizens; we’re reducing Russian and U.S. arsenals by 2/3rds through the START treaties; we rid Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan of nuclear weapons; we’re safeguarding lethal materials in FSU; North Korea has frozen its dangerous nuclear program that had been in development for more than a decade; we extended indefinitely the Non Proliferation Treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons; and President Clinton was the first leader to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to end nuclear testing forever. Now, the Administration is focused on winning ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention to begin to banish poison gas from this earth.

• Leading the Fight for Freedom and Democracy Around the World. Often America--and only America--can make the difference between war and peace, freedom and repression. That’s good for America’s security, because countries that are open and at peace are less likely to make war or abuse human rights; and more likely to be good trading partners and to join America in the fight against common threats like terror, crime, drugs, WMD proliferation. Without becoming the world’s policeman, the Clinton Administration has led for peace and democracy--moving seemingly intractable conflicts closer to resolution in the Mid East, Bosnia, Northern Ireland; and strengthening democracy in Russia, Central Europe, Haiti, Latin America and elsewhere.

• Opening Markets Abroad to Create Jobs at Home. The true measure of our people’s security includes not only their physical safety, but their economic well-being too. President Clinton has led the most dramatic changes in the world trading system since WWII. Through more than 200 trade agreements -- including GATT, NAFTA, APEC, Summit of Americas and our agreements with Japan -- we’re bringing down barriers to our products. America is once again the number one exporter in the world, creating more than 1 million good, high-paying jobs. We’ve positioned America to compete and win in new global economy.

• Strengthening our Alliances. The Clinton Administration’s steady leadership has strengthened our core alliances in Europe and Asia to meet new challenges. In Europe, we led the way to open NATO’s doors to Europe’s new democracies; created a productive military partnership with Russia in Bosnia; shored up the forces of reform in Russia, Ukraine, CEE. In Asia, the Administration revitalized our key security partnership with Japan by negotiating a new security charter; closely cooperated with Korea to promote lasting peace and non-proliferation on Peninsula; engaged steadily to promote an open, stable China that respects human rights, joins non-proliferation efforts, lives by the rules of free and fair trade.
The Clinton Administration is Meeting the Threats of a New Era

- **Taking the Fight to Rogue States, Terrorists, Criminals and Drug Traffickers.** President Clinton has led the effort to build a coalition of zero tolerance against these forces of destruction. He has worked to isolate rogue states through tough sanctions (Iran-Libya Sanctions Act) and, where necessary, force (tightened strategic strait jacket on Saddam, making it harder for him to attack Saudi Arabia and Kuwait). The President has advanced a concerted strategy against terrorism and international crime on three fronts: (i) abroad, by working more closely with our friends and allies (UN, Sharm el Sheik, G-7, Paris, FBI training centers) and alone when necessary (Iran-Libya Sanctions Act); (ii) at home by giving law enforcement the most powerful counter-terrorism tools available (anti-terror legislation; International Crime Control Act); (iii) in the airports and airplanes that link us together by increasing aviation security (most advanced detection technology; more searches and screening). He's getting results: record number of terrorists brought to justice; attacks against NYC, airliners thwarted. And Clinton is cracking down on drug kingpins and states refusing to cooperate in war on drugs (e.g. Colombia) and targeting defense resources (helicopters, river boats) to South America and the Caribbean to help fight drugs at their source.

- **Building a Strong Defense.** After the Cold War, the Administration undertook the most successful restructuring of the military ever. Even as the size of our forces decreased, their capabilities, readiness and qualitative edge increased. The military is now better prepared to win wars on the battlefields of the future -- and to take on new missions like peacekeeping to protect our interests. President Clinton has stood up for our fighting men and women by: (i) increasing defense spending plans three times in three years; (ii) reversing the downward trend in procurement while streamlining rules and regulations; (iii) improving quality of life for active duty troops, veterans. Clinton has been willing to deploy force when necessary -- in the Persian Gulf; Haiti; Bosnia; Taiwan Straits.

- **Developing a Smart, Sensible National Missile Defense Program.** President Clinton is taking the right steps to defend America with a strong, realistic National Missile Defense program. To defend against existing threats -- short and medium range attacks against our troops and allies -- we're spending $2.5 billion/year on six weapons systems. To prepare for the possibility of long range attack on our soil by a rogue state, the Administration will develop by 2000 a defensive system that could be deployed by 2003, well before the threat becomes real. It opposes a wrongheaded return to Stars Wars, which would force us to choose a budget-busting system today that could be obsolete tomorrow and would violate arms control treaties that make us safer. That's the wrong way to defend America.
PRESIDENT CLINTON'S LEADERSHIP ON FOREIGN POLICY

President Clinton is Strong, Steady and Flexible in Shaping a Changing World. America is entering an era of remarkable possibility -- but also peril. The world is in the midst of the fastest, most profound change in history -- the end of the Cold War, the spread of democracy and free markets, blurring borders, the technological revolution. Mostly, this change is for the good, because it brings with it growth and new opportunities. But the forces of change also pose new threats to America: terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking; rogue states; the spread of weapons of mass destruction; dangerous regional wars born of ethnic and religious hatreds; economic dislocation that threatens to leave people behind. By innovating, adjusting to new situations and leading with steadiness and strength, President Clinton has seized opportunities and confronted threats to make Americans more secure.

President Clinton is Maintaining America's Leadership Role. After the Cold War, both the left and the right argued that America could afford to retreat from its responsibilities and choose escapism over engagement. President Clinton said they were wrong -- and led the fight for American leadership in the world. The global trend toward democracy, free markets and reducing the nuclear threat is neither inevitable nor irreversible -- it needs American leadership. The new threats we face -- terror, crime, drugs, rogue states -- are equal opportunity destroyers with no respect for borders. America must contend with them now or pay the price for its indifference later. President Clinton stood up to isolationists, worked with internationalists to defend the modest foreign affairs budget we need to combat terrorists, drug traffickers and organized criminals; to safeguard nuclear materials; to fund peacekeeping operations that stop conflict and share burdens; to open markets for American business and workers.

President Clinton takes Unpopular Actions to Advance U.S. Security and Prosperity. Time and again, President Clinton has rejected the politically expedient to make tough foreign policy decisions that were right for America. Despite substantial, sometimes overwhelming negative public opinion, President Clinton: (i) backed diplomacy with force in Haiti, ending the reign of terror and the flood of refugees to our shores; (ii) sent troops to Bosnia to stop the shells and slaughter and enforce peace; (iii) used our economic power to stabilize Mexico's economy, protecting American jobs and preventing financial chaos; (iv) secured passage of NAFTA and GATT, taking down trade barriers, creating more than a million American jobs.

President Clinton Knows When, Where and How to Lead. President Clinton has matched the need for American leadership with our interests and values -- and acted where he could make a difference, with the right tools at the right time. He believes the U.S. should use diplomacy and sanctions when we can, power when we must. (Diplomacy: Middle East, N. Ireland, N. Korea nuclear freeze; Sanctions: Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan. Power: Persian Gulf, Haiti, Bosnia, Taiwan Strait.) He knows that America should work with others to share the risks and costs of leadership when possible, but act alone when necessary. (With others: in Haiti, Bosnia; with Japan, S. Korea to freeze N. Korea nuclear program; with Russia to rid Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan of nuclear weapons; with international community to rescue Mexican economy; to pass GATT, NAFTA. Alone: Bombed Baghdad in retaliation for Bush assassination attempt; sent force to Persian Gulf to push Iraq from Kuwait border; Taiwan Strait)
TRANSNATIONAL FACT SHEETS

THE STRONGEST, MOST CAPABLE MILITARY IN THE WORLD
NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE & THE ABM TREATY
REDUCING THE NUCLEAR THREAT
COMBATING TERRORISM
CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION
COMBATING INTERNATIONAL CRIME
AGGRESSIVE COUNTERNARCOTICS STRATEGY
INTELLIGENCE FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY
OPENING NEW MARKETS TO CREATE JOBS FOR U.S. WORKERS
UN FINANCING AND REFORM, COMMAND AND CONTROL
SUPPORTING THE FOREIGN AID BUDGET
PROMOTING DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS ABROAD
MAKING PEACEKEEPING WORK
GULF WAR VETERANS’ ILLNESSES
BANNING ANTI-PERSONNEL LANDMINES
PROTECTING THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT
EMERGING INFECTIOUS DISEASES
THE STRONGEST, MOST CAPABLE & READY MILITARY IN THE WORLD

"...I have seen firsthand that our troops are the best trained, best equipped, best prepared fighting force in the world. They are skilled; they are strong; they are determined to succeed. They are also an extraordinary group of Americans."

President Clinton's radio address
December 2, 1995

The United States is the only nation with the personnel, equipment and know-how to conduct large-scale, effective military operations around the globe. The security partnerships we form with our allies provides the necessary foundation for regional stability in key areas essential to the safety of America’s citizens. Our willingness and ability to defend shared interests and values ensures our strong global leadership. We are clearly the dominant world military power and our resource commitment ensures the safety and security of U.S. citizens at home and abroad.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Sensible Restructuring:

- Restructured our military for the post-Cold War world based on the Bottom Up Review which concluded that we must have the forces and the resources to fight and win two major regional conflicts nearly simultaneously; and the Nuclear Posture Review which retained a triad of strategic nuclear forces--air, sea and land--sufficient to deter any future hostile foreign leadership from seeking nuclear advantage.

- Correctly managing post-Cold War military spending reductions while maintaining an effective, daunting force. Impressive military responses to regional crises in Haiti and Rwanda, as well as swift and efficient deployments to the Persian Gulf in October 1994 and to Bosnia in December 1995 as evidence that the readiness and capability of our military forces has never been higher.

- Recognizing that a strong national defense must be founded on a strong national economy and that economic security is a vital element of America’s national security. Have worked to balance necessary defense spending needs with the need to rebuild our economy and reduce the federal deficit.

- Opposing irresponsible spending priorities in the Congressional defense plan, while programming for real growth in defense funding for modernization when needed -- just as the next generation of defense technologies becomes available at the end of this decade such as the F-22 and the F/A-18A/E -- when Congressional Budget Resolution show a real decline in defense spending totalling $8 billion less than our plan.
Increasing Resources:

- President Clinton's commitment to protect the absolute quality of our armed forces has been borne out by executive decisions which raised the level of the defense resources originally planned for U.S. military spending three times in the last three years-- adding back a total of almost $50 billion -- to strengthen the readiness, modernization and quality of life of our armed forces. In addition, he:

  Retained $31 billion in the defense budget over the next six years of the $46 billion available from inflation savings in order to procure greater capability and provide greater security to the American people than previous budgets would have allowed.

- Real increase in the defense budgets for the years 2000, 2001 and 2003 in order to fund all necessary modernization and to take full advantage of the next generation of cutting-edge defense technologies as they become available at the beginning of the next century.

U.S. Forces Overseas:

- Maintained commitment to NATO and to stability in Asia with a military presence of 100,000 American servicemen and women both in Europe and in Asia.

Security Partnership with Japan:

- Reaffirmed our commitment to Japan to keep our security alliance strong, to deepen our cooperation on defense policies and military postures and to coordinate our efforts to meet new security challenges as we approach the 21st century.

NATO's Partnership for Peace:

- Initiated the Partnership for Peace (PFP) program to engage former Warsaw Pact armies with NATO through regular cooperation, serving as the bridge for expanded NATO membership for some nations within the next four years. Successful PFP military exercises have been held in several European locations, including former Warsaw Pact nations, as well as in the United States at Fort Polk, Louisiana in August 1995. U.S. troops are transiting to Bosnia through former Warsaw Pact nations.

TMD & NMD:

- Developing and deploying effective Theater Missile Defenses (TMD) against the short- and medium-range missile threats we face today especially in the Middle East and Asia. Committed to developing by the year 2000 the best possible National Missile Defense (NMD) system that could be deployed as soon as 2003 to defend the nation from long-range ballistic missiles well in advance of assessed threats. Rather than spending $30-$60 billion dollars on
the Senate/House Leadership’s plan and prematurely committing to a specific technology, the Administration’s plan ensures deployment of the best possible NMD system if and when the threat emerges.

START:

• Reducing nuclear missiles along with the Russians at a pace well ahead of the missile reduction schedule mandated by the START I Treaty. Ratified the START II Treaty and await Russian ratification of START II. Together, START I and START II will eliminate bombers and missiles that carried a combined 14,000 Russian and American nuclear warheads. Launched cooperation and assistance to help Russia to improve controls of nuclear weapons material.

CTBT:

• Suspended nuclear testing and working with international partners to conclude and sign a true zero yield Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty by September 1996.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

Ensuring that America’s military remains the best-equipped, best-trained and best-prepared fighting force in the world to face the continuing challenges posed by the post-Cold War world and the challenges of a new century.

• Instead of trimming $46 billion from defense budgets over the next six years to reflect better inflation estimates, we have retained $31 billion of that total in the defense budget, providing an "inflation dividend" which will further strengthen the services’ ability to purchase the hardware needed to meet any anticipated challenges at the turn of the century.

• Our strong research and development program over the past three years is bringing that next generation of weapons to fruition; the V-22 Osprey, the F-22 fighter and the F/A-18 E/F fighter begin to enter production at the turn of the century. We must ensure that our budgets are adequate to produce these systems in sufficient quantities.

Last Update: September 10, 1996
"Our first priority is to defend against existing or near-term threats, like short- and medium-range missile attacks on our troops in the field or our allies.... The possibility of a long-range missile attack on American soil by a rogue state is more than a decade away. To prevent it, we are committed to developing by the year 2000 a defensive system that could be deployed by 2003, well before the threat becomes real.... "

President Clinton, U.S. Coast Guard Academy
May 22, 1996

The Clinton Administration's ballistic missile defense program starts with a sober and clear-eyed look at the missile threat. It responds with a balanced program that emphasizes the current threat and stays well ahead of future threats and includes:

- **A responsible program for national missile defense.** The Administration is committed to developing by the year 2000 an NMD system that could be deployed as soon as 2003 -- well ahead of when we expect to see a long-range threat to the United States. This approach avoids committing to a specific technology today and thus ensures deployment of the best possible NMD system if and when the threat emerges. It also avoids premature consideration of whether amendments to the ABM Treaty are needed, thereby ensuring that the two-thirds reduction in U.S. and Russian nuclear inventories mandated by START I and II remain on track.

- **Defenses now against existing threats.** The Administration's first priority is to provide effective theater defenses (TMDs) against short-range missile threats we face today in the Middle East and Asia. We have requested almost $6 billion for research, development and procurement of effective TMDs.

- **Staying Ahead of future threats.** To meet future threats, the Administration is also committed to the development and deployment of a new generation of more advanced area-defense TMDs, including the Army Theater High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system, the Medium Extended Air Defense System (MEADS) and the Navy "Upper Tier."

- **Commitment to the ABM Treaty.** The Clinton Administration believes we can preserve the ABM Treaty with Russia while also fielding the missile defenses we need.

- **Dole-Gingrich.** In contrast to the Administration's balanced approach to missile defense, the Dole-Gingrich plan would resurrect "Star Wars," violate the ABM Treaty, put at risk reductions in missiles and bombers carrying thousands of nuclear warheads and force us to choose a missile defense system that the Congressional Budget Office estimates will cost
between $30 - $60 billion dollars to defend against a threat that is unlikely to materialize in the next 15 years.

**A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:**

**NMD:**

- Committed to developing by the year 2000 a National Missile Defense (NMD) system that could be deployed as soon as 2003 should a long-range missile threat to our shores materialize and, contrary to other NMD plans being discussed, the Clinton Administration NMD plan allows for the deployment of a system more responsive to potential future threats, and will not jeopardize the nuclear missile reduction benefits of START I and II.

- The Dole-Gingrich NMD bill resurrects much of the Reagan Administration’s old, discredited “Star Wars” concepts, including the rejected space-based missile defenses. According to a recent estimate by the Congressional Budget Office, the costs of complying with the bill would range from $31 billion to $60 billion through 2010.

- That NMD plan also diverts scarce defense dollars from modernization priorities for each of our Services and from other more effective and urgent measures to address our nation’s security needs, including the destruction of nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union, arms control and export controls.

**TMD:**

- Responded to the most urgent threat we face today, short-range missiles in the Middle East and Asia, by making Theater Missile Defense our first priority. Since 1993 the Clinton Administration has aggressively pursued research, development, and procurement of effective TMDs.

- Since 1993, moving to enhance U.S. security, the Clinton Administration has requested almost $6 billion from Congress for research, development and procurement of effective TMDs, such as the Patriot, PAC-3 and Navy “Lower Tier,” designed to shoot down short-range missiles armed with conventional, chemical, biological or nuclear warheads. Patriot is in use now. PAC-3 production will begin in 1997 with the first unit equipped in 1999. Two ships capable of supporting the Navy Lower Tier system will be available in 1998 with a full compliment of missiles available by 2000.

- Committed to the development and deployment of a new generation of more advanced area defense systems, including the Theater High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) and the Navy Upper Tier program, to meet future threats.
ABM:

- Reaffirmed with Russia in the May 1995 Clinton-Yeltsin Joint Statement that the ABM Treaty remains a cornerstone of strategic stability and that both countries have the option to establish and deploy effective TMD systems.

- President Clinton has directed his Administration to update the ABM Treaty to clarify the distinction between theater ballistic missile defenses not limited by the Treaty and strategic ballistic missile defenses limited by the Treaty.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- To meet future threats, the Clinton Administration is committed to the development and deployment of a new generation of more advanced, more capable area defense TMDs, including the Army Theater High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system and Navy “Upper Tier.” The first THAAD missiles will be deployable in December 1998, giving the United States a rapidly deployable capability in a crisis.

- The Clinton Administration seeks to conclude an agreement to clarify under the ABM Treaty the demarcation between theater and strategic missile defenses.

Last Update: August 1, 1996
REDUCING THE NUCLEAR THREAT

"The United States will retain as long as necessary an arsenal of nuclear forces to deter any future hostile action by any regime that has nuclear weapons. But I will also continue to pursue the most ambitious agenda to dismantle and fight the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction since the dawn of the nuclear age."

President Clinton, United States Air Force Academy Commencement
May 31, 1995

President Clinton has moved aggressively to reduce the threat posed by nuclear weapons to all Americans. Over the past four years, the Administration has made unprecedented progress in curbing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and reducing the dangerous legacy of Cold War weapons' stockpiles.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Russia & CIS:

Detargeting:

- President Clinton's agreement with Russian President Yeltsin in January 1994 to detarget strategic missiles has assured that, for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, no Russian missiles are targeted on Americans.

Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakstan:

- The U.S. persuaded Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakstan to return the former Soviet nuclear weapons on their soil to Russia and to forswear nuclear weapons forever. Kazakstan returned the last warhead located on its territory to Russia in April of 1995; Ukraine achieved nuclear weapon free status in June 1996. In Belarus, the process of removal is on track for completion by the end of this year.

Cooperative Threat Reduction:

- Through the Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) program, the U.S. is helping Russia and other New Independent States transport, safeguard and destroy their nuclear weapons and build national systems to secure and safeguard weapons-usable fissile material. In Russia, cooperative efforts are underway to enhance security measures at 50 nuclear weapons storage sites. Since 1992, the U.S. has provided $1.5 billion for Cooperative Threat Reduction efforts. Since 1993, approximately 3,800 former Soviet nuclear warheads have been removed from inventory and 900 long-range missiles and bombers have been dismantled, thanks in large measure to the Cooperative Threat reduction program.
Nuclear Security:

- The U.S. is engaged in unprecedented programs of cooperation with a number of countries, including Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus and Ukraine, to improve the security of nuclear materials and protect them from theft or diversion. In Russia alone, this program of cooperation is helping to protect hundreds of tons of weapons-useable nuclear material at more than thirty locations. While less weapons-useable material is located outside of Russia in the other New Independent States, programs are underway to improve security at every such site.

Operation Sapphire:

- In Operation Sapphire, we airlifted nearly 600 kilograms of highly enriched uranium -- enough for dozens of bombs -- from Kazakhstan for safe disposition in the United States.

- Since 1995, enough highly-enriched uranium for over 350 nuclear weapons has been blended down to low-enriched uranium and shipped to the United States for use as fuel in commercial nuclear reactors, generating electricity to serve American consumers.

START I:

- The U.S. and Russia are well ahead of the missile reduction schedule mandated by the START I Treaty, which entered into force in December 1994. Since 1993, over 3,800 former Soviet nuclear warheads have been removed from operation and 900 long-range missiles and bombers have been dismantled, thanks in large measure to the Cooperative Threat Reduction program.

START II:

- The U.S. has ratified the START II Treaty. When ratified by Russia, START II (in combination with the START I Treaty which we entered into force in December 1994) will eliminate bombers and missiles that carried over 14,000 Russian and American nuclear warheads -- cutting U.S. and Russian arsenals by 2/3rs from their Cold War heights.

Safety and Security:

- At the April 1996 summit of world leaders in Moscow on nuclear safety and security, President Clinton spearheaded efforts to improve international cooperation to combat the threat posed by illicit trafficking in nuclear materials as well as to improve the safety of civilian nuclear reactors and the management of nuclear wastes.
NPT:
• U.S. diplomacy played a critical role in securing the indefinite and unconditional extension by consensus of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty—the cornerstone of our efforts to control nuclear proliferation.

North Korea:
• North Korea’s nuclear program has been frozen and is to be dismantled under the U.S.-DPRK Agreed Framework, under monitoring by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

CTBT:
• On September 10, the United Nations General Assembly voted overwhelmingly to adopt the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) that has been negotiated during the last three years with U.S. leadership in the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. President Clinton will sign the CTBT on September 24 in New York at the United Nations. By banning all nuclear explosions, the CTBT will constrain the development and qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons; end the development of advanced new types of nuclear weapons; contribute to the prevention of nuclear proliferation and the process of nuclear disarmament; and strengthen international peace and security. The CTBT thus marks an historic milestone in our efforts to reduce the nuclear threat and build a safer world.

Counter-Trafficking Efforts:
• The Customs Service and the FBI have placed the prevention of illicit nuclear trafficking among their top investigative priorities. U.S. law enforcement officials are engaged in training and liaison activities with countries across Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The Department of Defense and the FBI have launched a joint program to train Eastern European and former Soviet states to combat trafficking in weapons of mass destruction, their components and technologies.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:
While the overall threat of nuclear weapons to the United States and the world has declined, nuclear weapons remain one of our most important national security concerns. This requires that we:
• Continue efforts to reduce the nuclear threat, including Russian ratification and entry-into-force of START II.
• Work to secure ratification and entry into force of the CTBT.
- Continue implementing the Agreed Framework to eliminate North Korea's dangerous nuclear facilities, including through increased international support for the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO), the multilateral body responsible for this effort.

Last Update: September 19, 1996
COMBATING TERRORISM

“In this fight ... American leadership is indispensable ... Make no mistake about it: The bombs that kill and maim innocent people are not really aimed at them, but at the spirit of our whole country and the spirit of freedom. Therefore, the struggle against terrorism involves more than the new security measures I have ordered and the others I am seeking. Ultimately, it requires the confident will of the American people to retain our convictions for freedom and peace and to remain the indispensable force in creating a better world at the dawn of a new century.”

President Bill Clinton
The George Washington University
August 5, 1996

President Clinton has made the fight against terrorism a national security priority. His past and recent efforts have advanced a concerted strategy to fight terrorism on three fronts: (1) beyond our borders by working more closely than ever with our friends and allies; (2) at home, by giving law enforcement the most powerful counterterrorism tools available; and (3) in our airports and airplanes by increasing aviation security. These efforts are part of the President’s comprehensive strategy to ensure that Americans enjoy the safety and security they deserve and that America enters the 21st century as the greatest force for peace and prosperity on earth.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

The Clinton Administration has a concerted strategy for fighting terrorism on 3 fronts:

Fighting Terrorism Abroad:

Cooperation with Allies:

• We are working more closely than ever before with our allies to combat terrorism by sharing information and coordinating efforts to block those states that attempt to sponsor terror.

• Hosted gathering of international counter-terrorism experts in Washington to pursue better cooperation and strengthened capabilities for controlling borders, stopping terrorist fundraising, and eliminating safe havens for terrorists through stronger laws and enforcement.

Budapest Law Enforcement Academy:

• Opened a law enforcement academy in Budapest that is training people from 23 countries.

FBI Satellite Efforts Overseas:

• Opened an FBI office in Moscow with more soon in Cairo, Islamabad, Tel Aviv and Beijing.
• FBI is actively involved in providing counterterrorism training to over forty countries in the international law enforcement community.

Increased Funding:

• President Clinton has requested more support for counter-terror intelligence in 1997 than was appropriated by Congress last year and has called for an increase in training and assistance programs to foreign nations.

Sanctions on Iran, Libya, Sudan, and Iraq:

• President Clinton signed the Iran and Libya Sanctions Act of 1996 on August 5, 1996 allowing him to impose an embargo against both nations, depriving them of the revenues that can be used to finance terrorism and denying them the benefits of trade and investment with the U.S. until they terminate their sponsorship of terrorism.

• President Clinton has also extended economic sanctions against Sudan and held tight sanctions against Iraq for their support and sponsorship of terrorism.

Summit of the Peacemakers:

• Following the Rabin assassination and terrorist bombings in Israel, President Clinton called for and co-chaired the historic Summit of the Peacemakers in Egypt in March, 1996, a gathering of 29 regional and world leaders to design and support new counter-terrorism initiatives and to further the Mid East Peace Process.

Counterterror Assistance to Israel:

• In FY 1996, President Clinton sent $50 million in counterterrorism assistance to Israel, and has proposed to Congress that we provide another $50 million in FY 1997. This $100 million in assistance will allow for the purchase and shipment of counter-terrorism equipment and training to support the eradication of terrorism in and around Israel.

G7 Counter-Terror Efforts:

• Group of Seven plus Russia held an unprecedented counterterrorism conference at the ministerial level in Ottawa in December 1995 and pledged to take joint action to weaken international terrorism.

• In June 1996, President Clinton and his fellow G7 leaders met at Lyon and adopted 40 American recommendations to combat transnational crime and terrorism. On July 30, the law enforcement and foreign ministers of the G7 met in Paris, made firm commitments to rapid implementation of the Lyon initiatives including working together to better protect mass transportation through strict international standards for airport bomb detection, screening and
security; cooperation on vehicle and explosive identification; and standardization of passenger and cargo manifests.

U.S. Troops in Saudi Arabia:

• Force protection measures underway include the construction of expanded facilities at Prince Sultan Air Base, a remote and safer location to which virtually all American troops based in Saudi will relocate. Also underway is the repatriation of nearly all U.S. military dependents from Saudi.

• Ordered investigations into the Dhahran bombing by the FBI and retired General Downing and immediately began implementing quasi-totality of Gen. Downing’s recommendations to improve force protection.

Combating International Crime:

• At the October, 1995 50th UN General Assembly, President Clinton called for an International Declaration on Citizen’s Security which has already won wide support throughout the international community and is expected to go before the UN for adoption in the fall.

Chemical Weapons Convention:

• President Clinton had urged Senate ratification of the CWC by the U.S. Senate this year. Its September, 1996 decision to postpone a vote on the treaty has left the Administration more determined than ever to win Senate ratification as soon as possible. When the CWC enters into force it will ban an entire class of weapons of mass destruction, prohibiting not only the use but also the development, production, acquisition and stockpiling of chemical weapons. The CWC will make it more difficult and more costly for terrorists to acquire chemical weapons. Under the CWC, more than 70,000 tons of U.S. and Russia chemical weapons alone will be destroyed.

Fighting Terrorism at Home:

Banning Fundraising for Terrorists:

• Signed legislation banning fundraising in the United States for terrorist organizations.

Deporting, Barring, and Extraditing Terrorists:

• Signed legislation allowing U.S. officials to deport terrorists from American soil without being compelled by the terrorists to divulge classified information, and to bar terrorists from entering the United States in the first place.
Expanding FBI Role and Budget:

- Under the Clinton Administration, we have greatly increased the FBI’s budget and staff. Funding to the FBI’s international and domestic counterterrorism programs were supplemented by approximately 40%. Personnel assigned to these programs since 1992 have increased approximately 50%. 1995/96 Counterterrorism Supplemental and Amendment provided the FBI with resources above the normal funding received from Congress.

- FBI has created a Counterterrorism Branch that acts as the center for information collection, analysis and dissemination to better combat terrorism at home and abroad.

FBI Efforts in Atlanta:

- After the Atlanta bombing attack, the FBI has deployed a large number of agents and other resources to work alongside state and local law enforcement to find those responsible and prosecute them rigorously.

Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act:

- President Clinton called for and signed the “Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996” into law, which included many Administration proposals that give law enforcement officials tough new tools to stop terrorists before they strike, and to bring them to justice if they do.

International Crime Control Act of 1996:

- Because terrorism, international organized crime and drug trafficking are increasingly interconnected, the President will soon submit legislation that expands our fight against money laundering so criminals and terrorists have a tougher time financing their activities; strengthens our border controls to keep more criminals and terrorists out of America; and, increases the penalties for violent crimes committed against Americans abroad.

Continue to Call for Stronger Measures:

- Ever since Oklahoma City, the President has consistently and repeatedly called for additional counterterrorism tools that Congress thus far has refused to approve: broader wiretap authority to cover pay phones and hotel phones and chemical markers in the most common explosives to make it easier to track down bomb makers.
Fighting Terrorism in Our Airports and Airplanes:

Tougher Security Measures:

- In response to the public concern over air travel after the tragedy of TWA 800, the President ordered the FAA to impose new, tough airport security measures to enhance our ability to deter and detect terrorist acts. For all international flights, we will search every plane and every cargo hold.

Aviation Safety and Security Commission:

- Established Aviation Safety and Security Commission Headed by Vice President. President Clinton accepted the Commission’s initial report and twenty specific actions that provide near-term improvements in aviation security, including the increase in government resources and personnel assigned to counter-terrorism efforts, the deployment of advanced detection technologies, improved screening of airline passengers and employees and improved assistance to the families of victims.

- Commission continues to develop additional recommendations to enhance security and safety, and on ways to modernize air traffic control for a February 1997 final report.

Explosive Detection Machines:

- The Administration has field tested new explosive detection machines in Atlanta and San Francisco; increased security vigilance at our airports; and, the FAA formed a private sector/government commission to review aviation security.

Getting Results:

Terrorism Foiled Overseas:

- In the Philippines our intelligence prevented a terrorist from bombing multiple U.S. commercial aircraft as they crossed the Pacific.

- We have greatly increased the extradition of terrorists. This Administration has extradited more terrorists during the previous three years than during the entirety of the previous three Administrations.

Foiling Terrorism at Home:

- Under the Clinton Administration, we have prevented major terrorist attacks before they happened. In New York City, U.S. law enforcement foiled plots against the United Nations and the Holland Tunnel.
Swift Arrests and Prosecutions:

- Justice Department, international, national and local law enforcement attention culminated in the near immediate arrest of Oklahoma City bombing suspects and the rapid conviction of the World Trade Center bombers as well as the arrest of a suspect in the Unabomber case.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- Will continue pushing Congress for new legislation to give our law enforcement the resources the President asked for initially: increased wire tap authority and chemical markers for the most common explosives -- including black and smokeless powder -- so that we can more easily track down bomb makers, and better protect the American people.

- Will continue pressing the U.S. Senate to outlaw poison gas once and for all by ratifying the Chemical Weapons Convention.

- Push for the rapid implementation of the measures agreed upon by the international community at Lyon and Paris.

- Persuading the UN to adopt the U.S.’s International Declaration on Crime and Public Security.

Last Updated: September 28, 1996
CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION

"... I urge the Senate to ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention, so that we can eliminate chemical weapons stockpiles and give our law enforcement new powers to investigate and prosecute people planning attacks with such weapons. We have seen the terrible, destructive impact of sarin gas in the Tokyo subway. Within a month of that attack, Japan's Diet ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention, but we still have not done so. If the Chemical Weapons Convention were in force today, it would be much more difficult for terrorists to acquire chemical weapons. They are not waiting, and we shouldn't either."

President Clinton, Remarks at The George Washington University, August 5, 1996

Chemical weapons pose a threat not just to our troops in the field but also to innocent civilians, as last year's poison gas attack in the Japanese subway showed. The Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), particularly its law enforcement requirements and nonproliferation provisions, will strengthen existing efforts to fight chemical terrorism. And it will make it less likely our military will have to face poison gas on the battlefield.

The CWC is the most comprehensive treaty in the history of arms control, banning an entire class of weapons of mass destruction and prohibiting not only the use but also the development, production, acquisition and stockpiling of chemical weapons. When the convention enters into force, proliferators and terrorists alike will find it more difficult and more costly to acquire chemical weapons. Under the CWC, more than 70,000 tons of U.S. and Russian chemical weapons alone will be destroyed.

The CWC encompasses the most comprehensive verification regime ever negotiated, providing for both declarations and routine as well as challenge inspections to ensure compliance with its provisions. The CWC will provide the U.S. and other parties with unprecedented access to information regarding other countries' chemical weapons efforts.

The CWC opened for signature in Paris on January 13, 1993. Thus far, it has been signed by 160 countries and ratified by 61. To bring the CWC into force, 65 nations must ratify it.

The President has urged ratification of the CWC by the U.S. Senate this year. Its decision to postpone a vote on the treaty has left the Administration more determined than ever to win Senate ratification as soon as possible. The CWC is a central element of U.S. arms control and nonproliferation policy that will strengthen U.S. national security and contribute to global stability.
A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Presidential Engagement:

- Submitted the CWC to the Senate in November 1993, with a strong recommendation for ratification in 1994.

- Testimony by Secretary of State Christopher, Secretary of Defense Perry, JCS Chairman Shalikashvili and other senior officials, supporting CWC ratification. Thirteen Senate hearings and one House hearing have been held on the Convention since 1994.

- Submitted CWC implementing legislation to the Congress in May 1994 and again in May 1995.

- Appointed former Congressman Martin Lancaster to be Special Advisor to the President and Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Director on the Chemical Weapons Convention in May 1995. Appointed Dr. Lori Esposito Murray to succeed Congressman Lancaster in April 1996.

- Achieved strong bipartisan vote (13-5) in favor of CWC ratification by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on April 29, 1996.

- Secured agreement of the Senate to schedule final debate and voting on the CWC by September 14, 1996.

- In September 1996, the Senate decided to postpone its planned vote on the CWC.

- President Clinton made clear his determination to bring the treaty to a vote as soon as possible in a statement to the nation, and in his address to the United Nations General Assembly.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- Secure Senate advice and consent to ratification of the CWC as soon as possible.

- Seek as universal as possible coverage of the CWC by encouraging all nations of the world which have not yet signed or ratified the treaty to do so.

Last Updated: September 28, 1996
COMBATING INTERNATIONAL CRIME

"Nowhere is cooperation more vital than in fighting the increasingly interconnected groups that traffic in terror, organized crime, drug smuggling and the spread of weapons of mass destruction...These forces jeopardize the global trend toward peace and freedom, undermine fragile democracies, sap the strength from developing countries, threaten our efforts to build a safer, more prosperous world."

President Clinton
United Nations General Assembly, October 22, 1995

Around the globe, citizens face new threats by way of the explosion in the volume and seriousness of international criminal activity. This dramatic increase can be traced to several factors. First, advances in technology that have made international communications and travel commonplace have created unprecedented opportunities for international criminals. Second, the profound economic and political changes since the end of the Cold War, especially in Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, have provided fertile new ground for international criminal syndicates. Third, criminal organizations have begun to cooperate among themselves and across national boundaries - drug dealers with terrorists, fraud artists with money launderers, creating a nexus of evil that poses our next great national security evil.

To meet the growing danger that international crime poses domestically and globally, the President signed Presidential Decision Directive 42 on October 20, 1995. This Directive declares that international crime is a threat to the national security of the United States and launches a series of initiatives designed to combat this threat.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

- **Money Laundering** - Announced to United Nations General Assembly, October, 1995, that the U.S. government will identify countries condoning or tolerating money laundering and press them to crack down. If no satisfactory improvement is made, the U.S. Government will, if necessary, impose financial and other sanctions on non-cooperating states.

- **Freezing Assets of Criminal Front Organizations** - International crime groups have increasingly moved into legitimate businesses, financed by laundered profits from their illegal activities such as narcotics, smuggling or political corruption. These front companies rely heavily on imported goods and on licensing agreements in the United States and Europe. Last year, President Clinton signed an Executive Order invoking extraordinary Executive authority to freeze the assets in the United States of the largest drug ring in the world -- the Cali Cartel -- and prohibit dealings with its front companies to cut off its economic lifelines.

- As a result of President Clinton's 1995 Executive Order, nearly 300 individuals and companies have been designated as fronting for Colombian narcotraffickers. All of their U.S. assets are
blocked and U.S. individuals and entities are prohibited from engaging in transactions with them.

- **Visa Revocation** - Revoked the personal visa of President Samper and other Colombian officials as a demonstration of U.S. resolve that those who knowingly assist narcotraffickers will be found ineligible to visit the United States, no matter who they are.

- **Legislation** - The *International Crime Control Act of 1996*, proposed by President Clinton on August 5, 1996, addresses the growing phenomena of cross-border criminal activity. The Act will enhance our government’s efforts to go after violent international criminals -- including terrorists -- by rigorously investigating and prosecuting them, taking their money and depriving them of their ability to cross our borders and strike at our domestic institutions.

- **International Cooperation** - In the wake of the Cold War, as divisions between East and West are overcome, there is a great opportunity for global cooperation to combat the new threats of this era -- terrorism, narcotics, nuclear and conventional weapons smuggling, political corruption and financial fraud. The United Nations should now turn its attention to these new post-Cold-War threats. In his address to the United Nations General Assembly in October, 1995, President Clinton urged the nations of the world to adopt a “Citizen’s Security Charter” to address the growing threat of international crime, terrorism and narcotics. The proposed Charter would identify these threats as common dangers to all the nations of the world, establish a goal of a unified front against them and create a cooperative framework for international action.

- **Chemical Weapons Convention** - President Clinton had urged Senate ratification of the CWC by the U.S. Senate this year. Its September, 1996 decision to postpone a vote on the treaty has left the Administration more determined than ever to win Senate ratification as soon as possible. When the CWC enters into force it will ban an entire class of weapons of mass destruction, prohibiting not only the use but also the development, production, acquisition and stockpiling of chemical weapons. The CWC will make it more difficult and more costly for terrorists to acquire chemical weapons. Under the CWC, more than 70,000 tons of U.S. and Russia chemical weapons alone will be destroyed.

- **Training and Assistance** - A major obstacle to our international anti-crime efforts is the inadequacy of many other nations’ law enforcement capabilities. Deficient laws and procedures, outdated judicial systems and poorly trained, under-equipped police and prosecutors hinder broadscale efforts to attack criminal organizations abroad. President Clinton has called for an increase in training and assistance programs to foreign nations that join in the fight against international crime.

- The Clinton Administration opened a law enforcement academy in Budapest that is training people from 23 countries, opened an FBI office in Moscow with more soon in Cairo, Islamabad, Tel Aviv and Beijing and the FBI is actively involved in providing counterterrorism training to over forty countries in the international law enforcement community.
THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- Implement the President’s initiative to combat money laundering and begin intensive negotiations with noncomplying states as soon as possible.
- Introduce the international crime legislation package and push for its passage.
- Continue to aggressively root-out front businesses for narcotics cartels.
- Push for international adoption of the Citizen’s Security Charter.
- Enhance our training and assistance programs.

Last Updated: September 28, 1996
AGGRESSIVE COUNTERNARCOTICS STRATEGY

"...All Americans must accept responsibility to teach young people that drugs are illegal and they are deadly... The National Drug Control Strategy is designed to prevent a new drug use epidemic through an aggressive and comprehensive full-court press that harnesses the energies of committed individuals from every sector of our society... We invite every American.... to join our national campaign to save our youth"

President Clinton, transmitting the 1996 National Drug Control Strategy to Congress

There is no single silver bullet in the fight against illegal drug use. The Administration is committed to combating this scourge on all fronts, including internationally, at the federal, state and community levels to reach each and every individual, particularly the nation’s youth. The National Drug Control Strategy is designed to accomplish this by focusing efforts on every aspect of the drug problem -- helping our youth, reducing crime and violence at home, reducing the social costs of drug abuse, and shielding our borders and breaking foreign and domestic sources of drugs.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

An International Cocaine Strategy:

- **Disruption in the Cocaine Production and Distribution Network:** A regional air interdiction program has disrupted the major air route for smugglers between Peru and Colombia. The cooperative effort between the United States, Peru, and other governments in the region has disrupted the coca markets on the ground, making coca cultivation financially less attractive to the farmers who initiate the cocaine production process.

- **Arrests of Colombian Drug Cartel Leadership:** Colombian law enforcement authorities, with U.S. assistance, arrested six of the seven Cali Drug Cartel leaders in 1995. One suspect subsequently escaped and was killed by Colombian National Police, while resisting arrest. Continued pressure on Colombian drug lords has resulted in a recent flurry of surrenders and arrests of "next generation" traffickers, causing further disruption of cartel operations.

- **Arrest of a Major Mexican Drug Trafficker:** In January 1996, the leader of one of Mexico's four major cocaine smuggling organizations was arrested in Mexico and expelled to face U.S. charges.
• **Interdiction:** A third of the cocaine produced in South America is intercepted before it hits our streets or those of other countries through cooperative efforts with source and transit zone countries.

• **Largest maritime cocaine seizure in U.S. history:** A multi-agency operation, comprised of both the U.S. Coast Guard and the Navy, seized more than 12 tons of cocaine from the NATALY I, a 112-foot Panamanian fishing vessel boarded in the Pacific Ocean 780 miles west of Peru. This action exemplifies interagency cooperation and the importance of maintaining a strong transit zone presence and flexible interdiction capability. More recently, another 4 tons of cocaine were seized in August 1996 by the U.S. Coast Guard and the Navy on the Honduran-registered fishing vessel OYSTER 50 miles west of Colombia in the Pacific Ocean.

An International Heroin Strategy:

• The President recently developed a new international heroin strategy to blunt the impact of the growing potential heroin problem. The President’s Directive reflects the need for a significantly different approach than that prescribed for cocaine. The heroin strategy targets an illicit industry that is more decentralized, more diversified, and more resistant to law enforcement operations.

• Key Asian countries have begun to arrest kingpins involved in heroin trafficking and to extradite them to the United States. Such efforts to attack these drug trafficking organizations are being intensified.

Aggressive Use of the Annual Certification Process:

• This Administration has used the drug certification statute with unprecedented vigor, for the first time decertifying a friendly, democratic country, Colombia, the source of 80% of the cocaine entering the United States.

• As a result of Colombia’s inadequate narcotics performance, this Administration has cut off most U.S. assistance to that country.

• The United States has also revoked the personal U.S. visas of Colombia’s President and a number of high level Colombian officials because of narcotics related activities, again an unprecedented action.

Increased Border Security Against Smuggling:

• U.S. Customs “Operation Hard Line” has reduced instances of illegal vehicle and foot border crossings along the Southwest border by more than 40 percent. The success against smuggling has continued with a 125 percent increase in narcotics seizures in commercial cargo along the Southwest border in Fiscal Year 1995.
• With the help of increased border patrols and customs enforcement, seizures of illegal drugs along the Southwest border are up 40% over the last year.

Presidential Directive Against International Organized Crime:

• In October 1995, the President issued an Executive Order for the first time invoking the International Emergency Economic Powers Act for counternarcotics purposes, freezing the assets in the United States of drug cartels and individuals centered in Colombia, and prohibiting U.S. persons from doing business with them.

Disruption of Money Laundering Operations:

• The Departments of the Treasury, Justice, and State have been actively engaged in carrying out anti-money laundering efforts. At the Summit of the Americas hosted by the President in 1994, the leaders of 34 nations in the Western Hemisphere agreed to a set of principles that included a commitment to fight drug trafficking and money laundering. The U.S. subsequently coordinated the development of a Communiqué on Money Laundering which was adopted by the international community in 1995 and which laid out a series of steps for countries to take to implement an effective anti-money laundering program.

A Methamphetamine Strategy:

• This administration took action to confront the emerging Methamphetamine problem by developing a new strategy early on to address the problem. It is a comprehensive law enforcement, prevention, and treatment strategy -- coordinating efforts at the Federal, State, and local levels.

Resources and Funding:

• The Administration's counternarcotics funding requests to Congress have risen from $12.7 billion in 1993 to $15 billion in 1997, an increase of about 25%.

• The Administration continues to seek additional resources for counternarcotics, most recently by a request by the President in April 1996 for $250 million in supplemental funding, and a drawdown of $112 million worth of Defense equipment in September 1996, to aid foreign counterdrug efforts.

• Despite Congress' failure to provide all the funds the Administration has requested, we have the largest drug control budget ever.
Defense Drawdowns To Aid Foreign Anti-Drug Programs:

- President Clinton has directed that $112 million worth of Defense Department equipment, services and training be provided to assist our allies in stopping the flow of drugs at the source, before they reach our shores.
- Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Mexico, and several Eastern Caribbean states will receive equipment such as helicopters, observation aircraft, flight support equipment, communications gear, training and utility vehicles and river patrol boats.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Administration will continue to press hard to deal with the complex problem of drug abuse. The President’s five goals in the 1996 National Drug Control Strategy are designed to work together to reduce illicit drug use and its consequences, by addressing all aspects of the drug problem. The first three goals of the strategy are focused on efforts at home, including:

- **Goal 1:** Motivate America’s youth to reject illegal drugs and substance abuse
- **Goal 2:** Increase the safety of America’s citizens by substantially reducing drug-related crime and violence
- **Goal 3:** Reduce health, welfare, and crime costs resulting from illegal drug use

The remaining two goals of the strategy outline the Administration’s efforts internationally:

**Goal 4: Shield America’s air, land and sea frontiers from the drug threat**
- Identify and implement options, including science and technology options, to improve the effectiveness of law enforcement to stop the flow of drugs into the United States, especially along the Southwest border
- Lead efforts to develop stronger bilateral and multilateral intelligence sharing to thwart the use of international commercial air, maritime, and land cargo shipments for smuggling
- Conduct flexible interdiction in the transit zone to ensure effective use of maritime and aerial interdiction capabilities

**Goal 5: Break foreign and domestic drug sources of supply**
- Destroy major trafficking organizations by arresting, convicting, and incarcerating their leaders and top associates, and seizing their drugs and assets
- Reduce the foreign availability of drugs through eradication and other programs that reduce drug crop cultivation and through enforcement efforts to attack chemical, money laundering, and transportation networks that support trafficking organizations
- Reduce all domestic drug production and availability and continue to target for investigation and prosecution those who illegally divert pharmaceuticals and listed chemicals
- Increase the political will of countries to cooperate with the United States on drug control efforts through aggressive diplomacy, certification, and carefully targeted foreign assistance.
- Strengthen host nation institutions so that they can conduct more effective drug control efforts on their own and withstand the threat that narcotics trafficking poses to sovereignty, democracy, and free-market economies. In the source countries, aggressively support the full range of host nation interdiction efforts by providing training and operational support.
- Make greater use of multilateral organizations to share the burdens and costs of international narcotics control to complement the efforts of the United States and to institute programs where the United States has limited or no access.

Last Update: September 18, 1996
INTELLIGENCE FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

"... we face a host of scattered and dangerous challenges ... ethnic and regional tensions ... the potential for terrorism and for criminals to acquire [nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons] ... we have to work together ... so that we can meet the challenge of doing this work even better with even more public support and confidence in its integrity and long-term impact. That is my commitment to you as you renew your commitment to America, in a world fraught with danger, but filled with promise that you will help us to seize."

President Clinton Remarks to the Staff of the CIA and Intelligence Community
Central Intelligence Agency
July 14, 1995

Since the beginning of his Administration, President Clinton has been committed to preserving and expanding the central role of the United States in the post-Cold War world. A major part of the task has involved having the best possible information and intelligence to make decisions about the present and future. A strong, motivated, integrated, highly professional Intelligence Community is essential to that effort.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

A Higher-Quality Intelligence Community:

- President Clinton has undertaken a number of actions, including requesting increased intelligence funding in 1997, to improve the quality of intelligence and to guide the Intelligence Community into the twenty-first Century.

- The Report of the Commission on the Roles and Missions of the Intelligence Community and the Aspin Brown Commission, which validated or recommended a number of initiatives, both represent the President's commitment to building an Intelligence Community for the future.

- President Clinton appointed John Deutch as the Director of Central Intelligence because of his view of the importance of the Intelligence Community.

- The Senate Intelligence Committee reported in its 1996 Intelligence Authorization report, "the work of U.S. intelligence agencies against terrorism has been an example of effective coordination and information sharing."

Intelligence Priorities:

- President Clinton's March, 1995, intelligence priorities include: (i) meeting the intelligence needs of our military during an operation; (ii) political, economic and military intelligence about countries hostile to the U.S. and/or major political and economic powers with weapons of mass destruction that are potentially hostile; (iii) intelligence about specific transnational threats, such as weapons proliferation, terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking.
• These priorities are reviewed annually for possible adjustment by interagency committees at Sub-Cabinet and Cabinet level, with recommended changes referred to the president for final approval.

Personnel:

• Recognizing that personnel is the most important resource of the Intelligence Community, CIA and DOD have expanded training and assignment possibilities.

• The intelligence community will initiate a program for 100 high-potential officers in FY 97 to encourage assignments outside parent agencies to broaden perspectives and increase expertise. The program will grow to 900 officers in five years, and participation will become a requirement for promotion to the senior Executive/Intelligence Service, similar to the military’s requirement for joint service for promotion to flag rank.

Law Enforcement Coordination:

• Under White House auspices, the intelligence and law enforcement communities have significantly increased cooperation and coordination of policies, operations, and activities. Senior level management at CIA and Justice meet regularly and frequently, both formally and informally, and clearly communicate to their subordinates the overriding requirement to work together.

• Renditions of terrorists, jointly planned counternarcotics operations overseas and regular sharing of information throughout the intelligence and law enforcement communities are now the rule not the exception.

Counterintelligence:

• At the President's direction the Intelligence Community set a senior-level Counterintelligence Policy Board to oversee policy coordination and recommend policy and legislative initiatives.

• The Clinton Administration created the National Counterintelligence Center to serve as a resource and clearing house for the interagency community.

• As a result of the Aldrich Ames damage assessment, the Intelligence Community undertook a number of counterintelligence reforms including a thorough review of the validity/credibility of sensitive sources; more attention and continuous training in counterintelligence, and more thorough and frequent employee evaluations.

National Security Policy:

• Through a Presidential Decision Directive, President Clinton set up the Security Policy Board to oversee classification and security clearance policy and management.
• Through Executive Orders, President Clinton laid down the guidelines on (i) classification, to standardize the rules and eliminate unnecessary classification of materials; (ii) on declassification, to ensure uniform, orderly and deliberate process; (iii) on access to classified information, establishing the first nationwide standards for clearances, personnel security and reciprocity. Guidelines and standards on the granting of security clearances will soon be issued.

Organization:

• To improve quality and coordination of imagery production, the President, at the strong recommendation of the Director of Central Intelligence, the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, approved the establishment of the National Imagery and Mapping Agency, NIMA, assuming Congressional authorization. This new agency would coordinate the production and use of satellite and other imagery for intelligence and mapping.

Human Rights Guidelines:

• To ensure uniform standards for recruitment and retention of intelligence assets who have committed human rights abuses or other criminal acts, the CIA and Department of Defense have published new guidelines. These guidelines do not prohibit relationships with human rights violators or criminals who provide valuable information. Rather, they recognize that intelligence agencies, like law enforcement, must deal with unsavory individuals and require that asset background be weighed along with the value of intelligence provided and the reliability of the source.

Encryption:

• The President and the Vice President are seeking to create a new policy for commercial encryption to strengthen the security of electronic information worldwide while also protecting law enforcement and intelligence concerns. This system, called key management, would allow information to be protected by strong encryption while permitting encryption key recovery and access by authorized individuals within a framework of rigorous privacy safeguards.

Critical Infrastructure Protection:

• On July 15, 1996, an Executive Order by President Clinton established a one year Critical Infrastructure Protection Commission. The Commission will recommend ways, both executive and legislative, to strengthen the security of the nation’s physical and information infrastructure, including telecommunications, financial institutions, power and vital human services.
• The President has directed the FBI to work with other agencies and state and local
governments to provide security for our critical physical and cyber assets until he receives the
Commission’s report.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

• Continue to improve the quality of intelligence and to guide the Intelligence Community into
the twenty-first Century.

• Maintain focus on the transnational issues which could be the dominant future threats.

• Continue to identify high-potential officers and encourage them to broaden their professional
perspectives and experiences in order to build the high-quality senior executive corps we need
for the years ahead.

• Work to strengthen the security of the nation’s physical and information infrastructure to
protect against emerging threats to our vital telecommunications, financial institutions, power
and human services systems.

Last Updated: September 25, 1996
OPENING NEW MARKETS TO CREATE JOBS FOR U.S. WORKERS

"When we have the opportunity to sell American products and services around the world, we know we can compete -- and that means new jobs and a rising standard of living, the core of the American Dream."

President Bill Clinton
December 9, 1994

President Clinton has worked to grow our economy by opening up more opportunities to sell American goods and services in foreign markets and create jobs for American workers. Our nation has the highest growth of any major economy in the world over the last three years. The economy has created more than 10.2 million jobs -- 93% of which have been in the private sector. A record number of small businesses have been created in each of the last three years. Unemployment is averaging 5.4% compared to over 7% in 1992. The combination of unemployment plus inflation is the lowest in 27 years.

President Clinton has stood up for American interests by implementing an aggressive trade policy. The President has opened new markets to U.S. exports to create high-wage jobs in the United States while monitoring our trade agreements to ensure our trading partners are living up to their obligations and enforcing our trade laws.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Created Over 1 Million High-Wage American Jobs Through an Unprecedented Export Boom: The Clinton Administration implemented a National Export Strategy that has created American jobs by promoting U.S. goods and services abroad. This new government-business partnership for exports has involved high-level government advocacy and financing and risk insurance for our American companies. The Administration also has reduced tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade in the markets of our largest and fastest growing trading partners.

- The United States is today the world's largest exporter. U.S. exports have grown 35% since President Clinton took office. In 1995 alone, goods exports were up more than 14%. Goods and services were up over 12% in 1995.

- Exports have accounted for one-third of overall U.S. economic growth since the beginning of the Clinton Administration.

- Over one million high-wage jobs have been created as a direct result of increased U.S. exports. Over eleven million American jobs are supported by exports. Roughly one out of every ten American workers depend on exports for their jobs. Export-related jobs pay on average of 15% more than other jobs.
One in five manufacturing jobs supports U.S. exports. Nearly 170,000 manufacturing jobs have been created just in the past three years. Construction jobs have increased by 915,000 since 1993 and auto jobs have increased by 116,000 during the Clinton Administration, after declining during the previous four years.

**Stood Up for American Workers Against Unfair Competition:** President Clinton took a firm stand with Japan to open markets for U.S. goods and services in the market of our second largest trading partner. The President worked to open markets of our first and third largest trading partners -- Canada and Mexico -- by leading a bipartisan coalition in support of the North American Free Trade Agreement. President Clinton helped level the playing field for U.S. products around the world by concluding the Uruguay Round of the GATT, which lowers trade barriers and requires our trading partners to live up to their obligations by establishing a permanent enforcement unit to monitor and enforce trade agreements.

- The overall U.S. trade deficit was down 14% in the first half of 1996, compared to a year earlier.

- Overall agricultural exports surged to $56 billion in 1995, up 22% over 1994, with highs in poultry, pork, wheat, and cotton.

- Total U.S. exports to Japan are up 44% since 1992, and supporting over 800,000 American jobs.

- The merchandise trade deficit with Japan fell by over 30 percent in the first half of 1996 relative to 1995. The trade deficit with Japan was lower as a share of GDP in the second quarter of 1996 than in any quarter since 1983.

- The Clinton Administration has reached 22 market opening trade agreements with Japan since 1992, covering a range of sectors: autos and auto parts, medical technology, flat glass, insurance, financial services, investment, telecommunications, construction, cellular phones, chemicals, semiconductors, rice, apples, civil aviation and intellectual property rights.

- According to the Council of Economic Advisers, U.S. exports in sectors covered by these market-opening agreements, grew over 85% between 1992 and 1995. That’s three times as fast as other U.S. exports to Japan over the past three years. For example:

  - U.S. auto and auto parts exports to Japan increased over 35%, in the last four months of 1995 after the agreement was signed. The Big Three auto manufacturers and Japanese transplant producers in the U.S. sold over 140,000 U.S.-made vehicles in Japan in 1995, up 40% from 1994.

  - By the end of 1995, U.S. exports of telecommunications equipment to Japan had grown nearly 50% since November 1994 -- almost two times as fast as telecom
equipment exports to the EU. U.S. telecom exports to Japan reached $1.7 billion in 1995.

- Similarly, U.S. exports of medical technology to Japan grew over 35%, reaching nearly $2 billion.

- By end of 1995, U.S. exports of chemicals to Japan had grown nearly 25% since the Uruguay Round was concluded, reaching $2.8 billion in 1995.

- By the end of 1995, U.S. copper exports to Japan were up over 80% since the conclusion of the Uruguay Round, reaching $350 million in 1995.

- U.S. manufacturing firms have increased their share of the Japanese market over the past three years -- up 20% in 1995 over 1992.

- U.S. exports to Mexico grew 19% in the first half of 1996 relative to the same period in 1995 and 27%, relative to the same six months of 1993, the year before NAFTA was implemented. In the first half of 1996, exports to Mexico grew faster than imports, reflecting economic recovery there. And 74 cents of every dollar that Mexicans spend on imported goods go to buy U.S. goods.

**Improving America's Economy by Restoring U.S. Competitiveness:** President Clinton has put the United States' financial house in order through sound macroeconomic policies such as a tough deficit reduction plan and reduced government. The President also has promoted education and training programs to give the American people the tools they need to prosper in the new global economy. In addition, the President has strengthened our economy by opening up opportunities to sell American goods and services in foreign markets.

- For the first time in ten years, the United States was declared the world's most competitive economy in 1994. The United States was ranked number one again in 1995. And in 1996 -- on a comparable basis as previous reports -- America was ranked the world's most competitive economy yet again. [World Economic Forum and IMD, 1992-1995; IMD, 1996.]

- For the past two years The United States was the world's Number One producer of automobiles for the first time since the 1970's -- overtaking Japan.

- U.S. aircraft industry dominates the world market -- supplying 65% of Asia's imports.

- The United States is once again the world's Number One producer of semiconductors, surpassing Japan.
THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

President Clinton will continue to open markets around the world and will continue to promote American exports by:

- Aggressively pushing foreign trading partners to further open their markets to U.S. goods and services.
- Ensuring that our trading partners live up to their obligations by strictly enforcing our trade agreements, using sanctions and other punitive measures when necessary.
- Continuing to place special emphasis on the fast-growing emerging markets around the world.
- Continuing to help small and medium sized enterprises export.
- Continuing to give American workers and businesses the tools they need to compete and win in the new global economy.

Last Update: August 25, 1996
UN FINANCING AND REFORM
UN COMMAND & CONTROL
WEARING THE UN INSIGNIA

"The President retains and will never relinquish command authority over U.S. forces."

"The Clinton Administration’s Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations,"
May 1994

"All who contribute to the U.N.'s work and care about its future must also be committed to reform -- to ending bureaucratic inefficiencies and outdated priorities. The U.N. must be able to show that money it receives supports saving and enriching people's lives, not unneeded overhead. Reform requires breaking up bureaucratic fiefdom, eliminating obsolete agencies, and doing more with less."

President Clinton
remarks to United Nations General Assembly
New York, October 22, 1995

BACKGROUND:

In addition to supporting UN peacekeeping, The Administration is leading the effort to solve the financial crisis at the UN. The financial crisis has multiple causes: the increased UN demand for resources, especially in peacekeeping; an oversized bureaucracy that mismanages resources and tolerates waste; and failure by the United States and other member countries to pay UN assessments punctually and in full.

In response to this crisis, the Administration has led an effort to achieve far-reaching UN reform and is committed to putting the UN back on sound financial footing. The President has worked closely with Congress to address their concerns while working to fulfill America's financial obligations -- paying arrears built up during the previous Administration, achieving greater predictability in financial support, and meeting the higher cost of expanded peace operations.

President Clinton always maintains command authority over US forces. It is at times in our interest to place U.S. forces temporarily under the operational control of competent UN command. Asserting his command authority, the President has also determined that members of the U.S. armed forces participating in a UN mission must wear the UN insignia. Wearing the UN insignia entitles our service members to the protection afforded by the United Nations Personnel Protection Convention and it symbolizes US commitment to each mission, support for the UN, and respect for US veterans who have proudly served in past UN operations.
A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

UN Financing and Reform

• Championing the establishment of the Office of Internal Oversight Services -- the UN’s equivalent to the Office of Inspector General in the United States;

• Holding the UN’s biennial 1996-97 budget to zero real growth for the first time in UN history;

• Proposing a major UN Reform initiative at the Halifax G-7 Summit;

• Paying our UN dues and peacekeeping arrears in full in 1994;

• Promulgating new guidelines for judging the merits of new and ongoing UN peacekeeping operations to ensure greater selectivity and effectiveness;

• Working to reduce our UN assessment for peacekeeping from 31 percent to 25 percent.

UN Command and Control:

• Retaining command authority over U.S. forces, even when they are temporarily under the operational control of competent UN command.

• Insisting that US forces wear the UN insignia on UN missions because it is vital to the safety of American servicemen and women.

• Continuing to oppose any bill which attempts to usurp his Presidential powers as Commander-in-Chief by making the insignia an optional part of the uniform.

Facts:

UN Finance and Reform

• As of June 16, 1996, about $1.125 billion is owed by the U.S., over one-half of which is for peacekeeping assessments alone (correctly based upon the 25% level for US fees).

• The UN financial crisis has multiple causes: the increase in demand for UN resources, a wasteful UN bureaucracy, and failure by member countries to pay assessments.

• In the early 1990s, the number, complexity, size, and cost of peacekeeping operations grew exponentially.
• The number of soldiers participating in UN operations rose from less than 10,000 in 1989 to more than 70,000 by the time President Clinton entered office.

• With the UN peacekeeping operations in Cambodia, Somalia, and the former Yugoslavia, costs rose from a few hundred million annually to over $4 billion in 1993.

• Even though the cost of peacekeeping has dropped sharply since 1993 -- in large part because of this Administration's insistence on greater selectivity -- arrears continue to accumulate from earlier years.

• There is an urgent and widely recognized need for reform because the organizational efficiency of the United Nations has not kept pace with the increasing demands placed upon it. For that reason, the President has decided not to support extension of UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's term. This decision is irrevocable; we are prepared to use our Security Council veto if necessary.

• Reform must include streamlining operations, abolishing agencies and activities that have outlived their usefulness, restructuring the Secretariat, and reducing personnel and overhead.

UN Command and Control:

• The Constitution grants exclusive authority to the President of the United States to determine the terms of command and control of U.S. forces, allowing him to place U.S. military units under the limited, temporary operational control of foreign commanders.

• From the Revolutionary War siege at Yorktown, to European and Pacific battles during WWII, to the Gulf War, U.S. forces have, on occasion, been under a foreign commander's control for limited missions.

• The requirement in H.R. 3308 for Presidential certification before putting U.S. forces under UN operational control undermines that authority and limits the effectiveness of the Commander-in-Chief, and is therefore unacceptable. Our uniformed military leadership agrees.

• The President always maintains command authority over U.S. forces, even when he places U.S. forces under the operational control of a competent UN commander to perform specific and usually limited tasks as appropriate.

• The greater the U.S. military participation is in an international mission, the more likely it will be that a U.S. commander exercises operational control over those forces.

• As Commander-in-Chief, the President must have the discretion to determine whether the wearing of a certain insignia is necessary for the safety of our personnel and the successful conduct of an operation.
• The President has determined that wearing the UN insignia must be required because it entitles our servicemen and women to UN protection and honors US veterans who have bravely served in twelve different UN operations and received UN awards for service.

• Accordingly, House Resolution 2540 is unacceptable because it permits any member of the U.S. armed forces to remove their required UN insignia and discipline as it allows individual service members to question the lawful orders of superiors, issued for purposes of preserving the security of U.S. forces operating under appropriate UN auspices or in support of the UN.

• This bill is an unwarranted and dangerous intrusion into military command and demeans the service of those American veterans who have been awarded United Nations medals for their contributions in twelve different UN operations, including Haiti, Bosnia, Korea, Kuwait, Cambodia, India and Pakistan, and Palestine and Lebanon.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

• The Clinton Administration is dedicated to resolving the UN financial crisis. In order to pay past debts and provide funds for current UN operations without placing unreasonable demands upon Congress and the American people, the Administration has proposed:
  
  • An agreed plan to pay our growing arrears to the UN over a fixed number of years;
  
  • Consensus on the level of U.S. financial support to the UN system in future years;
  
  • Enhanced consultation with Congress and a larger congressional voice regarding U.S. decisions to support new or expanding peacekeeping operations;
  
  • A far-reaching package of UN reform measures to streamline and restructure the organization.

• The President as Commander-in-Chief retains, and will never relinquish, command authority over U.S. forces.

• The President will continue to oppose any effort to restrict or limit his command authority and his ability to place US troops under temporary and limited UN control.

• The President will continue to oppose any bill which attempts to usurp his Presidential powers as Commander-in-Chief, including any bill making the UN insignia an optional part of the uniform.

Last Update: July 31, 1996
SUPPORTING THE FOREIGN AID BUDGET

"I am determined to do everything I can to preserve our international affairs budget. It represents, after all, less than two percent of our overall budget ... American leadership is more than words and the military budget. Although the military budget is important, we must have a diplomacy budget. Some in Congress literally want to gut foreign assistance ... Reckless budget cutters would shut down our embassies first and consider the consequences later ... The future, I believe, will be even brighter for the American people than the last 50 years if -- if -- we can preserve our leadership in pursuit of our values."

President Clinton, Address to Freedom House, Washington, D.C. October 6, 1995

Every president since World War II has strongly endorsed foreign aid because it advances America's interests as well as its ideals. It's the price of American leadership. By any measure, it's a modest price. Total resources committed to our international agenda is just over 1 percent of the federal budget and only two-tenths of one percent of our gross national product. Foreign Aid has repeatedly proven to be a low-cost investment in preventing crises, helping to advance democracy and prosperity abroad and at home and creating the markets of the future. President Clinton has fought hard to preserve our international affairs budget.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Making Americans Safer:

Foreign assistance is a powerful tool in fighting the new equal opportunity destroyers that have no respect for borders: the spread of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking. Every dollar we spend can mean more nuclear weapons dismantled and more nuclear materials safeguarded, fewer drugs on our streets and more terrorists stopped or brought to justice. For e.g.:

- Through the Cooperative Threat Reduction program, United States is helping Russia and the other New Independent States transport, safeguard and destroy nuclear weapons and build national systems to safeguard weapons-usable fissile material. Since 1993, the $1.5 billion devoted to this effort has helped remove 3,800 former Soviet nuclear warheads from inventory, dismantle 900 long-range missiles and bombers and enhanced security measures at 50 nuclear weapons storage sites. In Operation Safire, we airlifted nearly 600 kilograms of highly enriched uranium --- enough to build dozens of bombs -- from Kazakhstan for safe disposition in the U.S. And foreign assistance was critical in persuading the North Koreans to dismantle the dangerous nuclear program they had been developing for more than a decade and to agree to replace it with a safer, light water system.
• To fight terrorism and international crime, we have opened a law enforcement academy in Budapest that is training officials from 23 countries and the FBI has opened a satellite office in Moscow, with plans for additional offices in Cairo, Islamabad, Tel Aviv and Beijing. We’ve also provided $50 million in counter-terrorism assistance to Israel for FY96 and proposed that Congress approve an additional $50 million for FY97.

• To fight drugs at their source, the President in September 1996 targeted $112 million in defense articles and technical assistance -- including helicopters, river boats and training -- to Mexico, Columbia and other South American and Caribbean states.

Advancing Democracy and Open Markets:

The Clinton Administration has identified the promotion of democracy as a primary objective of U.S. foreign policy because democracies are less likely to make war on one another or abuse the rights of their people -- and more likely to be good trading partners and to join us in fighting common problems like the spread of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism and drugs. Foreign assistance is a powerful tool for promoting democracy.

• In 1980 there were 58 democratic nations. By 1995 the number of democratic nations had jumped to 115. From South Africa to Bosnia, from Haiti to Central and Eastern Europe, American foreign aid programs have provided assistance to help these countries make the transition away from conflict and repression to democracy and free markets.

• Our financial aid, debt relief and technical support have helped new democracies undertake a staggering array of projects -- drafting modern legal codes; equipping and training independent media; providing seed money to private enterprise; organizing elections, developing political parties and supporting the institutions of democratic government; creating stable and transparent business standards that U.S. companies must have to operate in a country.

Creating New Markets for Export:

• Foreign aid has helped develop and strengthen many of our largest export markets. The investments we made in foreign aid have come back to us many times over. For example, U.S. exports to Latin America in a single year -- 1993 -- were 2.5 times greater than all the economic assistance we had provided to that continent in the previous 45 years. Similarly, the return on our investment of $95 billion (1996 dollars) in Marshall Plan aid for Europe over four years equals more than $100 billion in U.S. exports to Europe every year.

• 43 of the top 50 consumer nations of American agricultural products were once U.S. foreign aid recipients.

• In 1993, U.S. foreign aid programs directly accounted for more than $10 billion in purchased U.S. goods and services. The U.S. Department of Commerce estimates that amount of export procurement to be responsible for some 200,000 U.S. jobs.
If the American economy is to continue to grow, it must develop new markets -- especially in the developing world that receives foreign aid. Between 1990 and 1995, exports to developing and transition countries increased by $98.7 billion. This growth supported roughly 1.9 million jobs in the United States.

Providing Humanitarian Relief:

- The United States has a long and generous tradition of providing assistance to the victims of man-made and natural disasters. Our nation has traditionally viewed human assistance as both an act of national conscience and an investment in the future. For America, humanitarian assistance is not an act of charity, but an integral part of our vision of how a community of nations, some fortunate and some troubled, should operate.

- More than 3 million lives are saved every year through U.S. foreign assistance supported immunizations programs.

- Early U.S. foreign assistance to southern Africa in 1992 prevented massive famine in the region, saving millions of lives.

Supporting Americans Overseas:

- Almost 1.7 million times last year Americans called upon their Embassies overseas for help. The foreign aid budget makes that possible.

A Shrinking Budget:

- The U.S. economic and development assistance budget is currently 20 percent less than the last year for the Bush administration. In constant 1994 dollars, the current U.S. foreign aid budget is nearly 50 percent less than it was in 1946 and is currently the lowest budget in U.S. foreign aid history.

- The U.S. foreign aid budget as a percentage of U.S. GDP is .117 percent, the lowest percentage of U.S. GDP in history.

- In terms of gross national product, the United States provides the least foreign assistance of any major industrialized nation.

- U.S. foreign assistance programs are at the lowest levels, in real dollar terms, that they have been in over 50 years.
THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- Continue to create new markets for future U.S. exports.
- Continue to promote the development of new democracies, and U.S. allies abroad.
- See that newly present-day aid recipients such as Costa Rica, Thailand, and Botswana graduate from U.S. aid programs to emerge as dynamic new markets for U.S. products.
- Continue to reform our foreign aid programs, closing non-vital foreign missions, eliminating unnecessary senior management positions and reducing paperwork associated with the contracting system.
- Open up the procurement and contracting system to attract the most experienced non-governmental partners in the country, no matter where they are located.

Last Update: September 17, 1996
PROMOTING DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS ABROAD

"It is important that we never forget that our values and our interests are one in the same. Promoting democracies that participate in this new global marketplace is the right thing to do... They advance what all people want and often fight and die for: Human dignity, security and prosperity. We know these democracies are less likely to go to war, less likely to traffic in terrorism, more likely to stand against the forces of hatred and intolerance and organized destruction."

President Clinton, Freedom House Speech, October 6, 1995

Promoting democracy abroad is one of the primary foreign policy objectives of the Clinton Administration. Democracy promotion reflects our ideals and reinforces our interests -- preserving America’s security and enhancing our prosperity. Democracies rarely go to war with one another or abuse the rights of their people. They make for better trading partners. And each one is a potential ally in the struggle against the forces of hatred and intolerance -- whether those forces take the shape of rogue nations, ethnic and religious hatreds or terrorists trafficking in weapons of mass destruction.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Assistance to South Africa:

- Provided strong support and $600 million in assistance over three years to South Africa’s transition to democracy and to its first government to be chosen through free and fair elections.

Restoring Democracy to Haiti:

- Assembled an international coalition to restore the elected Government of Haiti to power and assisted the first transition from one democratically elected President to another in the country’s 200-year history.

Implementing the Peace in Bosnia:

- Led the effort to produce the Dayton Agreement; deployed forces as part of a NATO-led peace implementation force that has ensured a stable and secure environment and offered the Bosnian people a chance to hold free elections and start building democratic institutions.

International War Crimes Tribunals:

- Led the effort to establish the International Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda to hold accountable those guilty of war crimes.
• U.S. has provided 24 investigators and prosecutors and $19 million in financial support to the Bosnia-Herzegovina War Crimes Tribunal.

• U.S. has provided 9 investigators and prosecutors and $9 million in financial support to the Rwanda War Crimes Tribunal.

Supporting Democratic and Market Reforms in Russia:

• Provided support and helped consolidate democratic and market reforms with $3.3 billion in aid to Russia and $7 billion in aid to the other newly independent states

Summit of the Americas:

• Hosted the Summit of the Americas; undertook initiatives to reinforce the great strides toward democracy in our hemisphere where every country but one -- Cuba -- is governed by democratically elected leaders.

Supporting Democracy and Human Rights in Asia:

• Supported national elections in Cambodia.

• Free elections have been held in Korea, Thailand, Philippines and Taiwan.

• Implemented the long-standing one China policy in a manner that deepened our strong ties with the people of Taiwan, including support for the first popular elections for president.

• Consistently supported Sino-British joint declaration as the cornerstone for Hong Kong’s future, including our support for human rights, the rule of law, and representative government in Hong Kong after July, 1997.

• Worked with others in the region to promote dialogue between the government of Burma and the democratic alliance led by Aung San Suu Kyi.

• 400,000 refugees returned from Thailand to Cambodia; levels of violence have been reduced dramatically; and free elections have been held.

• Pursued our interests in human rights with Asian countries, including China, bilaterally and at the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

Democracy Building:

• Strengthened efforts to build democracy in countries that have recently undergone democratic transitions, such as the Philippines, Thailand, and Poland by offering economic assistance,
administration of law guidance, support in building institutions of democracy and supporting non-governmental organizations.

• Helped lay foundation for democracy in countries where protracted internal warfare has led to failed states; in Rwanda, for example, USG-funded human rights monitors constitute an important first step in restoring the rule of law.

• Took steps to pressure authoritarian governments while aiding democracy’s advocates in countries such as Cuba, Nigeria and Burma.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration is determined to continue to lead the move away from repressive governance and toward democracy by:

• Consolidating emerging democracies and broadening their commitment to human rights and free markets.

Maintaining pressure on authoritarian regimes to move toward democratic and free market systems, through multilateral means where possible, unilaterally when necessary.

Last Updated: August 8, 1996
MAKING PEACEKEEPING WORK

"I have made UN peacekeeping reform a key goal, working to reduce costs and improve efficiency, using UN peacekeeping when it will work and restraining it when the situation is not ripe. More needs to be done to make UN peacekeeping realize its potential and more effectively serve our interests. It is in the U.S. interest to ensure that UN peacekeeping works, and to improve it, because peacekeeping is one of the most effective forms of burdensharing available. Today, other nations pay more than two-thirds of the costs of peacekeeping and contribute almost 99% of the troops."

President Clinton
A Time for Peace, February 1995

Whether across the world in the Middle East and Europe, or close to our own shores in Haiti, peacekeeping is one of the tools the President has to defend and promote America's national interests. Without multilateral peacekeeping, we would often be faced with an unacceptable choice when emergencies arise: act alone or do nothing at all. Thus, when peacekeeping missions succeed, they lift from the shoulders of American soldiers and taxpayers a great share of the burden of preserving peace and security around the globe.

At all times, the President retains ultimate command authority over U.S. forces. Any infringement on the constitutional prerogative of the President to direct our forces endangers U.S. troops and impedes their ability to accomplish vital military missions. However, during peacekeeping operations, U.S. troops may be placed under the temporary operational control of foreign commanders in order to perform specific and usually limited tasks. The authority of the President as Commander-in-Chief to place U.S. troops under the temporary control of foreign commanders has ample precedent, including battles in Europe and the Pacific during WWII, in Korea and Operation Desert Storm.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Bosnia:

- When the UN failed to stop the killing in the former Republics of Yugoslavia, the United States assembled and led an international force (IFOR) that stopped the most devastating war in Europe since WWII.

Macedonia:

- Initiated and contributed troops to the UN’s first-ever preventive peacekeeping operation. The mission has succeeded in preventing the war in Bosnia from spilling over into the southern Balkans.
Haiti:

- Assembled and led a multinational force that in September 1994 ejected Haiti’s military dictators and restored to power the country’s first-ever, freely elected President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. The United States then turned over to the UN the responsibility for consolidating Haiti’s democratic gains.

Africa:

- Supported efforts by the UN and other international organizations to stop ethnic conflict in Liberia, promote lasting peace in Angola and Mozambique and avert a terrible humanitarian disaster in Rwanda.

UN Peacekeeping Reform:

- Developed a new policy that requires that tough questions be asked, both inside the U.S. government and at the UN, about the costs, size, risks, mandate and duration of a peacekeeping operation before it is started or renewed. The United States has not hesitated to use its position on the Security Council to insist that these questions be answered satisfactorily in all of the operations that have been before the Security Council for action.

- Championed peacekeeping reform at the UN. Key UN reforms include an independent UN office of inspector general with oversight of UN peacekeeping; a streamlined peacekeeping budgeting process; more efficient procurement practices; and improved integration and coordination of UN peacekeeping with UN humanitarian and political activities.

- Lowered the U.S. peacekeeping assessment from 32% to 25%, thereby reducing the U.S. share of UN peacekeeping costs.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The U.S. cannot be the world’s policeman. Peacekeeping is not a panacea for the world’s problems. It is, however, a tool that can serve U.S. interests. To sustain U.S. support for peacekeeping, the Clinton Administration is:

- continuing to push the UN to streamline its peacekeeping procedures and to identify new cost containment measures;

- rigorously scrutinizing proposals for new and extended peacekeeping missions, and working to improve the UN’s ability to respond rapidly when new missions are approved; and
• building U.S. support for peacekeeping by making Congress and the American people genuine participants in the processes that support U.S. decision-making on new and on-going operations.

Last Update: August 20, 1996
GULF WAR VETERANS' ILLNESSES

"We must listen to what the veterans are telling us and respond to their concerns. Just as we relied on these men and women to fight for our country, they must now be able to rely on us to try to determine what happened to them in the Gulf and to help restore them to full health. We will leave no stone unturned."

President Clinton,
VFW Mid-Winter Conference, March 6, 1995

On August 2, 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait. The United States responded by sending 697,000 troops to the Persian Gulf for what became known as Operation Desert Shield. On January 16, 1991, the campaign to remove Iraqi forces from Kuwait, known as Operation Desert Storm, began. Following this conflict, some Gulf War veterans reported a variety of illnesses and disabilities. Veterans also reported illnesses in their spouses and children, including birth defects. The Clinton Administration has responded to these concerns.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Advisory Committee:

• Established the Presidential Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans’ Illnesses to review the full range of government activities related to the health consequences of military service in the Gulf.

Coordinating Board:

• Established a Persian Gulf Veterans Coordinating Board, chaired by the Secretaries of VA, DOD and HHS, to ensure effective coordination of the government’s response to Gulf War veterans’ illnesses.

Medical Care:

• Provided free health examinations to Gulf War veterans -- whether ill or not -- at Department of Defense (DOD) and Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) medical facilities.

• DOD and VA have provided specialized medical examinations to more than 75,000 Gulf War veterans.

• In April 1996, VA initiated a new program to provide medical examinations to more than 4,000 spouses and children of Gulf War veterans.
Service to Veterans:

- Signed landmark legislation in November 1994 that pays benefits to Gulf War veterans who are disabled but for whom doctors have yet to establish a diagnosis or link to service in the Gulf.

- VA has approved almost 23,000 disability compensation claims for Gulf War veterans with diagnosed and undiagnosed illnesses.

- Initiated VA and DOD toll-free telephone help lines and Internet sites to provide information on the broad range of services available to Gulf War veterans and their families.

- DOD has declassified and made available to the public over 7,000 pages of operational and intelligence information from the Gulf War.

Research Efforts:

- Solicited and funded government and private research studies on Gulf War illnesses, including the potential effects of exposure to smoke from oil well fires, anti-nerve agent drugs, depleted uranium, stress, and infectious diseases common in the Gulf.

- In September 1996, Initiated new research into the possible effects of low-level exposure to chemical agents. Broadened clinical investigation efforts to include U.S. personnel in the area of potential exposure around the Khamisiyah ammunition storage facility in Iraq where U.S. troops destroyed chemical munitions on two separate occasions in 1991.

- More than 70 federally sponsored research projects on Gulf War veterans' illnesses have been initiated.

- Declassified information that may help determine the possible causes of Gulf War veterans' illnesses and began to reexamine records for evidence of possible exposure to chemical or biological agents or other incidents which might be linked to veterans' illnesses.

Improved Precautions:

- Enhanced DOD guidelines for medical surveillance during deployments, including collection of data on health and environmental issues and potential exposures. Strengthened the training provided to deploying troops regarding health risks and potential exposures.
THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- Upgrade military medical information systems to enhance collection and documentation of exposure and health information.

- Improve methods for detecting and identifying chemical and biological warfare agents rapidly and accurately to enable troops to take the necessary protective measures.

- Enhance our understanding of Gulf War veterans' illnesses and their causes through sponsorship of scientific research.

- Establish hotlines and clinical programs to respond rapidly to the health care needs of veterans of future deployments.

Last Updated: September 27, 1996
BANNING ANTI-PERSONNEL LANDMINES

"Today I am launching an international effort to ban anti-personnel land mines. For decades the world has been struck with horror at the devastation that land mines cause... To end this carnage, the United States will seek a worldwide agreement as soon as possible to end the use of all anti-personnel land mines."

President Clinton,
Washington, DC, May 16, 1996

People in 64 countries, mostly in the developing world, face a daily threat of being killed or maimed by the estimated 100 million landmines in place today. Anti-personnel landmines (APL) claim more than 25,000 casualties each year, obstruct economic development and keep displaced persons and refugees from returning to home. Because more than a million mines are still being laid each year, they will remain a growing threat to civilian populations for decades unless action is taken now.

To address this problem, on May 16, 1996, the President announced a new U.S. APL policy. This initiative sets out a concrete path to a global ban on APL but ensures that as the United States pursues a ban, essential U.S. military requirements and commitments to our allies will be protected, as follows:

- **International Ban.** The United States will aggressively pursue an international agreement to ban use, stockpiling, production, and transfer of anti-personnel landmines with a view to completing the negotiation as soon as possible.

- **Korea Exception.** The United States views the security situation on the Korean Peninsula as a unique case and in the negotiation of this agreement will protect our right to use APL there until alternatives become available or the risk of aggression has been removed.

- **Ban on Non-Self-Destructing APL.** Effective immediately, the United States will unilaterally undertake not to use, and to place in inactive stockpile status with intent to demilitarize by the end of 1999, all non-self-destructing APL not needed to (a) train personnel engaged in demining and countermining operations, or (b) defend the United States and its allies from armed aggression across the Korean Demilitarized Zone.

- **Self-Destructing APL.** Between now and the time an international agreement takes effect, the United States will reserve the option to use self-destructing/self-deactivating APL, subject to the restrictions the United States has accepted in the Convention on Conventional Weapons, in military hostilities to safeguard American lives and hasten the end of fighting.
• **Annual Report.** Beginning in 1999, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff will submit an annual report to the President and the Secretary of Defense outlining his assessment of whether there remains a military requirement for the exceptions noted above.

• **Program to Eliminate.** The President has directed the Secretary of Defense to undertake a program of research, procurement, and other measures needed to eliminate the requirement for these exceptions and to permit both the United States and our allies to end reliance on APL as soon as possible.

• **Expanding Demining Efforts.** The Department of Defense will undertake a substantial program to develop improved mine detection and clearing technology and to share this improved technology with the broader international community. The Department of Defense will also significantly expand its humanitarian demining program to train and assist other countries in developing effective demining programs.

**A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:**

**Export Moratorium:**

• Since 1992, the United States has observed an export moratorium on APL. The United States has urged other countries to adopt export moratoria as well. To date, more than 30 nations have joined us.

**Call to Eliminate:**

• In 1994, in his UN General Assembly (UNGA) address, President Clinton initiated the call for the eventual elimination of APL. Since then, the UN General Assembly has adopted annually by consensus a resolution supporting this goal. At this year’s 51st UNGA, the U.S. will seek the support of other nations to begin negotiations on an international agreement to ban anti-personnel landmines.

**Tighter APL Use Controls:**

• The United States successfully pressed for tighter restrictions on APL use in the Convention on Conventional Weapons (CCW), agreed at the May, 1996 CCW Review Conference. These improvements are: all APL must be detectable, all non-self-destructing APL can only be used in marked and monitored areas, and self-destructing/self-deactivating APL must have a lifespan of no more than 120 days with a combined self-destruct/self-deactivate reliability rate of 99.9%.

**Demining Programs:**

• In FY 1996, the United States plans to spend $32 million in cash and in-kind contributions for demining programs in fourteen countries: Afghanistan, Angola, Bosnia, Cambodia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Jordan, Laos, Mozambique, Namibia, OAS/IADB regional program in Central
America (Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua) and Rwanda. The United States seeks to establish indigenous, sustainable mine clearance and mine awareness training programs.

-- The United States led the successful effort to establish a Mine Action Center in Sarajevo, which coordinates demining activities. DOD will now lead a program to train demining teams in Bosnia and these trained teams will receive up to $10 million in State Department funding to conduct demining.

New Demining Technologies:

- In the last year DoD has tested over 100 new technologies specifically designed for the needs of humanitarian demining operations, of which 30 have been selected for further development. In FY97, DoD will significantly expand its humanitarian demining technologies R&D program.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- Establishing negotiations for an international agreement to ban anti-personnel landmines.
- Developing alternatives to anti-personnel landmines so that the United States can end its reliance on APL.
- Significantly expanding U.S. humanitarian demining programs.
- Developing new mine detection and clearing technology.

Last Updated: August 20, 1996
PROTECTING THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

"Our natural security must be seen as part of our national security."

President Clinton, Earth Day 1995
Havre de Grace, Maryland, April 21, 1995

"Our actions today will have far-reaching implications for the environment we leave to future generations. We must accept and understand the profound changes in the nature of the relationship between human civilization and the ecological system of the Earth."

Vice President Gore
The George Washington University, March 17, 1995

President Clinton and Vice President Gore are putting global environmental issues where they belong -- in the mainstream of American foreign policy.

The state of the global environment profoundly affects our national interest, principally in two ways. First, problems such as climate change, toxic pollution and ocean dumping transcend borders and threaten the health, quality of life and jobs of American citizens. Second, shortages and degradation of key resources, such as fresh water and fertile soils, can threaten stability in key regions.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Radioactive Dumping:

- Led the world in calling for a global ban on ocean dumping of low-level radioactive waste at the London Convention in 1993. The United States was the first nuclear power to advocate the ban, and successfully convinced the rest of the world to follow our lead.

Chemical Pollution:

- Convinced the world to develop a legally-binding treaty to phase out some of the most dangerous "persistent organic pollutants," such as DDT and PCBs. These chemicals degrade very slowly and can be transported over vast distances.

Emissions:

- Adopted a plan to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000. President Clinton's Climate Change Action Plan relies largely on voluntary and profitable partnerships with business to cut emissions. Although the Congress has been unwilling to fund these programs adequately, the Administration remains committed and is fighting back.
• Called for "realistic, verifiable and binding" emissions targets for the post-2000 period under the Framework Convention on Climate Change. Climate change threatens the United States' economic prospects, ecological systems and quality of life. Scientists say that, if current trends persist, climate change will gradually inundate coastal areas with rising sea levels, change precipitation patterns and accelerate the spread of infectious disease.

• Administration has commitments from 800 utilities to reduce emissions that cause global warming by 23 million metric tons and save $15 billion in energy costs.

Population Growth/Family Planning:

• Helped forge a historic consensus at the 1994 Cairo Conference for a global program to empower women and slow population growth. During his first week in office, President Clinton reversed the Reagan/Bush Administrations' "Mexico City policy" of withholding foreign assistance funding from non-governmental organizations that provide information on family planning.

• It took more than 10,000 years to reach a world population of just over two billion. In 50 years it has nearly tripled to more than 5 billion, and is likely to reach 9 or 10 in another 50 years.

Fish Stocks:

• Worked hard to secure a legally binding August, 1995 international treaty to protect migratory fish stocks. Over-fishing of the world's oceans has put thousands of Americans out of work and depleted a major source of protein for people around the world.

Whale Sanctuary:

• Working with other countries, isolated more than 12 million square miles off the coast of Antarctica for the creation of the Southern Ocean Whale Sanctuary.

Global Efforts:

• Worked to prevent scarce water resources from becoming a source of conflict in the Middle East. Promoted environmental programs in Africa to save lives, avoid armed conflict and avoid the need for international intervention. Around the world, US embassies are working to improve the way we use our diplomatic resources to advance our environmental objectives.

• In Russia, Vice President Gore and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin are coordinating initiatives to protect the environmental resources that can form the basis for Russian economic reform.
THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

Many challenges lie ahead. The Clinton Administration will:

- Seek agreement under the Framework Convention on Climate Change on further cuts in greenhouse gas emissions;
- Help develop a legally-binding treaty to control persistent organic pollutants;
- Work to implement international oceans agreements and seek ratification of the Law of the Sea Treaty;
- Host a major international conference on strategies to improve compliance with international environmental agreements;
- Fully integrate environmental objectives into our diplomacy; and
- Work in countless other areas to help protect our natural heritage for ourselves and future generations.

Last Update: July 29, 1996
EMERGING INFECTIOUS DISEASES

"Emerging infectious diseases present one of the most significant health and security challenges facing the global community. Through President Clinton's leadership, we now have the first national policy to deal with this serious international problem."

Vice President Gore
Remarks to National Council for International Health
Crystal City, Virginia, June 12, 1996.

Emerging infectious diseases such as Ebola, drug-resistant tuberculosis, and HIV/AIDS present one of the most significant health and security challenges facing the global community. Deaths from infectious disease have risen sharply over the past decade in the United States and globally. In the United States alone, the death rate from infectious diseases, excluding HIV/AIDS, rose between 1980 and 1992 by 22 percent to a total of 127,500 American deaths by infectious disease. Contributing factors, such as climate change, ecosystem disturbance, increased movement of people and goods, and the deterioration of public health infrastructures, show no sign of abatement. Addressing this challenge requires a global strategy as most cities in the United States are within a 36-hour commercial flight of any area of the world -- less time than the incubation period of many infectious diseases. Furthermore, the United States is vulnerable to a release of biological agents by rogue nations or terrorists, which could result in the spread of infectious diseases.

President Clinton is committed to protecting the health of U.S. citizens against diseases from within our borders and beyond our shores through a strategy of surveillance, prevention, and response. The President’s FY97 budget reflects this commitment by calling for a $26M increase in the Center for Disease Control’s budget for Emerging Infectious Diseases from $18.4M to $44.4M.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

The Clinton Administration has announced a new policy that will put into place a coordinated national response to the growing threat of infectious diseases including basic research, training, public health programs, foreign assistance, and security measures. Internationally, the U.S. will work with multilateral organizations and other countries to improve world-wide disease surveillance, reporting and response, while encouraging other countries to make infectious disease detection and control national priorities.

Surveillance, Response, and Prevention:

- Reviewed the existing national and international mechanisms for surveillance, response, and prevention through the National Science and Technology Council Committee (NSTC) on International Science, Engineering and Technology (CISET). Published the findings as
a widely released NSTC report, "Infectious Disease -- A Global Health Threat," which was widely released.

- Released a Presidential Decision Directive, laying out a strategy for establishing a worldwide infectious disease surveillance and response system, expanding certain federal agency mandates to better protect U.S. citizens from emerging infectious diseases, strengthening research to improve diagnosis, treatment, and preventative measures.

**EID Task Force:**

- Created a Task Force on Emerging Infectious Diseases, co-chaired by CDC and OSTP, which is responsible for the implementation of the Presidential Decision Directive.

**International Cooperation:**

- Raised the visibility of emerging infectious diseases with our international partners through a number of bilateral and multilateral fora, such as the U.S.-South Africa Binational Commission, the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission, the U.S.-Japan Common Agenda, and APEC.

- Laid the groundwork for establishing a regional surveillance and response center in South Africa under the rubric of the U.S.-South Africa Binational Commission.

**THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:**

The Clinton Administration is committed to protecting U.S. citizens from the threats posed by emerging infectious diseases. Since the Vice President announced the President's new policy on June 12, the Task Force on Emerging Infectious Diseases has begun to implement the steps called for in the PDD, including:

- Enhance the surveillance and response components of our domestic public health infrastructure. Establish a national electronic network for surveillance and response in cooperation with State and local governments, international organizations, the private sector, and public health and medical communities.

- Enhance biomedical and biobehavioral research efforts on emerging infectious diseases.

- Encourage expanded formal training for health care providers in emerging infectious diseases.

- Review and update regulations for screening and quarantine at ports of entry into the United States and make information about ill international travelers more accessible to domestic health authorities.
• Encourage other nations and international organizations to assign higher priority to combating emerging infectious diseases and support the World Health Organization and other bodies in playing a stronger role in fighting emerging infectious diseases.

• Expand missions and mandates of relevant U.S. Government agencies to contribute to a worldwide infectious disease network.

• Develop outreach program to State and local governments and the private sector, including domestic and international NGO's and industry groups.

Last Update: August 13, 1996
EUROPE FACT SHEETS

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BRINGING PEACE TO NORTHERN IRELAND
U.S.-RUSSIAN RELATIONS

"The political and security partnership between our nations is strengthened by our growing commercial ties. We've worked hard to take down the old barriers to trade and to investment. ... I want the Russian people to know how much the American people support Russia's commitment to democracy and to reform. We've learned from our history that building a thriving democracy is not easy or automatic, but Russia is making dramatic progress...."

President Clinton, Moscow Press Conference
April 21, 1996

From the beginning of his Administration, President Clinton's policy toward Russia has reduced the nuclear threat and encouraged democratic and market reform. This Administration has developed common approaches to solving problems and building bridges of cooperation on a wide variety of security, political and economic issues. A stable, democratic, market-oriented Russia enhances America's security, as does the elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. An open and more secure Russia supports international stability and peace, and the 150 million Russian consumers offer an important market for American products.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Cooperation in Security and Foreign Policy:

Reducing the Nuclear Threat:

- For the first time, no Russian missiles target American cities. Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakstan have given up most or all of the nuclear weapons that were on their territory when the Soviet Union collapsed, and, through implementation of START I, thousands of U.S. and Russian nuclear warheads are being eliminated.

- America's Congressionally-approved Cooperative Threat Reduction (Nunn-Lugar) program has supported dismantlement of nuclear and chemical weapons, improved the security of nuclear materials, and helped nuclear scientists re-train for peaceful civilian pursuits.

- Since 1993, approximately 3,800 former Soviet nuclear warheads have been removed from inventory and 900 long-range missiles and bombers dismantled, thanks in large measure to the Cooperative Threat Reduction program.

- The April 1996 Nuclear Safety and Security Summit in Moscow, attended by President Clinton, agreed on ways to improve the safety of civilian nuclear reactors, improve the management of nuclear wastes, combat the threat posed by the illicit trafficking of nuclear materials; and improve the security of stored nuclear materials.

- The U.S. and Russia are cooperating to conclude the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.
Troop Reductions:

- As a party to the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, Russia has destroyed over 11,000 pieces of military equipment. Russia has completely withdrawn troops from the Baltics and Central Europe.

Political and Economic Reform:

Elections:

- Free and fair parliamentary elections in 1995 and presidential elections in 1996 are evidence that democracy is indeed taking hold. By their vote in the July 3 presidential run-off, the Russian people made clear their rejection of a return to the past and their support for reform.

- U.S. assistance has furthered the development of democratic institutions in Russia.

Economic Stabilization:

- U.S. assistance has facilitated Russian economic reform. Inflation is down, the ruble is stabilized, and over 60% of Russian Gross Domestic Product is generated in the private sector.

- Russia’s adherence to a tough stabilization program has brought monthly inflation down from 18 percent to less than two percent over the last year and a half, stabilized its currency and industrial decline.

- U.S. assistance has helped Russia privatize more property in a shorter time than any such venture in history. Over 120,000 large and small enterprises have been transferred to private hands, and real wages have begun to grow.

- The U.S. has worked with Russia and countries in the Caucasus and Central Asia to achieve consensus on multiple oil pipelines vital to the future prosperity of the region.

Trade:

- Bilateral trade and investment are growing, with total trade up 65 percent over the last three years, and the U.S. is the largest foreign investor in Russia. As of July 1996, the U.S. Export-Import Bank, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and the Trade and Development Agency supported commercial transactions with Russia valued at over $4 billion.
Diplomatic Cooperation:

Bosnia and NATO:

- U.S. and Russian cooperative diplomacy in the Contact Group helped the warring parties of the Balkans reach the Dayton peace agreement, which our troops now enforce side-by-side in Bosnia. A number of joint military exercises have been held as Russia takes its place in NATO’s Partnership For Peace.

Middle East Peace Process:

- U.S. and Russia have stood together as co-sponsors of the Middle East peace process and again as partners against terrorism at the Summit of the Peacemakers in Sharm-El-Sheikh, Egypt in March 1996.

Gore-Chernomyrdin:

- Vice President Gore and Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin have deepened joint cooperation on business development, agriculture, science and technology, environmental protection, energy conservation, health, and space exploration.

Crime Prevention:

- Hundreds of Russian officials have participated in U.S.-sponsored crime prevention programs as we seek to work together and protect both Americans and Russians from the growing transnational threat of international crime.

U.S. Assistance:

- Since 1993, total U.S. bilateral assistance amounts to some $4 billion, including $2 billion for the Freedom Support Act, $740 million for the Cooperative Threat Reduction program, and the rest for humanitarian aid.
THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

Looking to the future, U.S. policy toward Russia will continue to reduce the nuclear threat and enhance the security of both the American and Russian peoples. We will also work to help Russia consolidate political and economic reform. That advances American interests, as a more democratic, market-oriented Russia is more likely to pursue policies consistent with our own objectives. Specific challenges:

- Continue efforts to reduce the nuclear threat, including Russian ratification and entry-into-force of START II and conclusion of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty that will end nuclear weapons testing.

- Maintain U.S. support for political and economic reform and reformers, and tackle barriers to investment in Russia that will mean jobs and profits for Americans and needed capital, jobs and revenues for Russia.

- Expand cooperation on foreign policy in the Balkans, Middle East and globally while making clear our differences where they exist, e.g. over Russian nuclear cooperation with Iran.

- Work with Moscow to foster stable and cooperative relations between Russia and its neighbors, relations that recognize those states’ sovereignty and are mutually beneficial.

- Continue to build for the first time in U.S.-Russian history a predictable, productive and “normal” relationship.

Last Update: July 25, 1996
NATO ENLARGEMENT

"The questions concerning NATO expansion are not whether NATO will expand, not if NATO will expand, but how and when. And when expansion begins, it will come as no surprise to anyone."

President Clinton, White House Conference on Trade and Development, January 13, 1995

President Clinton led the way in proposing that NATO enlarge to include emerging democracies from Central and Eastern Europe. Enlargement will strengthen the democratic and market economic reforms that have occurred since the collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War and promote stability and security in the region. Just as NATO proved the basis for Western Europe’s stability and integration after WWII, so a growing, evolving NATO can prove a basis for stability and integration for all of Europe in the post-Cold War world. It serves America’s and Europe’s interest to overcome the division of the continent, bringing Europe’s new democracies into the West, excluding none who share our values and are willing to help shoulder the responsibilities of security. NATO’s enlargement is on track and will happen.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

NATO Enlargement:

- Proposed at the January 1994 Brussels NATO Summit that NATO enlarge to include emerging new democracies in Central and Eastern.

- Responding to U.S. leadership, NATO heads of government at the Brussels Summit decided to begin a process of enlargement that “would reach to democratic states to our East, as part of an evolutionary process, taking into account political and security developments in the whole of Europe.”

- At the December 1994, NATO authorized a detailed study of the “why” and “how” of enlargement. The study was completed in September 1995 and subsequently presented to members of the Partnership for Peace in the fall of 1995.

- In December 1995, NATO launched phase two of the enlargement process involving intensive bilateral consultations between NATO and aspiring members aimed at helping the latter prepare for possible membership.

- Phase two will run throughout this year and be reviewed by NATO at the December meeting of foreign ministers, at which time the Alliance should decide on next steps.
**Partnership For Peace:**

- Initiated the Partnership for Peace (PFP) between NATO and the military organization of the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union to strengthen security in Europe and help aspiring members prepare for possible membership through practical training and joint exercise experience with NATO.

- Launched PFP military exercise program between NATO and PFP members in 1994, involving 13 exercises through 1995, with a similar number planned for 1996.

- The Partnership for Peace has also made great progress, now encompassing twenty-seven states in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

- The Partnership has already shown its value in Bosnia, where forces from partner countries are serving shoulder-to-shoulder with the NATO-led Implementation Force in implementing the Dayton accords.

**THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:**

- Intensify phase two intensive consultations between NATO and aspiring members.

- NATO enlargement is part of a larger objective of European integration; enlargement will take place along with other steps to bring Russia into the community of democracies, in partnership with NATO. Indeed, we seek to develop a strong NATO-Russia relationship in parallel with enlargement.

- Review progress of second phase of the enlargement process at the December 1996 meeting of NATO foreign ministers and decide on next steps.

- At the right time, invite one or more aspiring members to begin accession talks with NATO.

- Expand and deepen the Partnership for Peace as a long-term basis for security cooperation between NATO and all other European states.

**Last Update:** August 1, 1996
IMPLEMENTING THE PEACE IN BOSNIA

"...we stood up for peace in Bosnia. Remember the skeletal prisoners, the mass graves, the campaign to rape and torture, the endless lines of refugees, the threat of a spreading war. All these threats, all these horrors have now begun to give way to the promise of peace. Now our troops and a strong NATO, together with our new partners from central Europe and elsewhere, are helping that peace take hold."

President Clinton, State of the Union address
January 23, 1996

In the aftermath of July 1995 Bosnian Serb assaults on the UN-declared safe areas of Bosnia, the United States won the agreement of our NATO allies to meet any further assaults with a decisive military response. Following the shelling of a Sarajevo marketplace in late August, American pilots participated in a vigorous NATO bombing campaign to stop the perpetrators. This determined effort helped convince all the parties to turn from the path of war to the path of negotiation and peace.

On the diplomatic front, in August 1995, President Clinton directed his National Security Advisor, Anthony Lake, to present a new U.S. initiative to our Allies and the Russians. With this initial breakthrough, a U.S. negotiating team in the succeeding weeks, directed by Secretary of State Warren Christopher and led by Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, conducted tireless shuttle diplomacy throughout the region and Europe as a whole. The President's determination to see this mission succeed resulted in a cease-fire, followed by three weeks of negotiations in Dayton, Ohio.

In November 1995, the United States, in cooperation with our Contact Group partners, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Russia and the European Union, succeeded in brokering a comprehensive peace agreement negotiating and settling territorial, constitutional and military issues. With President Clinton and the leaders of other Contact Group states looking on, the Dayton Peace Agreement, concluded on November 21, was signed in Paris on December 14 by the presidents of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia.

On December 15, the UN approved the operation of the peace Implementation Force (IFOR) and on December 16, the North Atlantic Council approved IFOR as a NATO-led multinational force to implement the military aspects of the Dayton agreement. By mid-February, NATO, together with forces from 18 other countries -- including Russia and other members of the Partnership for Peace -- had deployed roughly 60,000 troops to Bosnia.

Building the peace began in earnest in 1996, and the United States led the international effort to restore peace and stability to the former Yugoslavia by helping to implement the provisions of the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords. Together with NATO and other partners, we ensured implementation of the military provisions of the Dayton agreement while minimizing the risk to U.S. forces; created secure conditions in which international organizations can implement the critical civilian aspects of the settlement; and made key steps toward ensuring a stable military balance by the time IFOR departs. The United States, along with our European Union partners, the World Bank and others, worked to enhance humanitarian assistance, economic stabilization, police training and demining, and to support economic reconstruction and the growth of democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The United States also led the effort to provide critical financial, personnel, and logistics to support the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which supervised Bosnia's recent national elections.
On September 14, 1996, the people of Bosnia cast their ballots in safety and without intimidation and Bosnia took another step on the road to long term peace. By voting, the Bosnian people gave life to the institutions of a national government -- a Presidency, Parliament, Constitutional Court, key government agencies. These institutions will bring Bosnia's Muslims, Croats and Serbs together -- breaking the status quo of division and extremism.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

IFOR:

- IFOR stopped the widespread killing of civilians and restored security to Sarajevo, where people can now walk the streets in safety.

U.S. Troops:

- Over 15,000 highly trained American troops are deployed to Bosnia as part of the NATO-led IFOR, down from more than 18,000 troops this summer.

Military Implementation:

- Implementation of all major military aspects of the Dayton agreement has been completed and IFOR is now establishing a safe and secure environment for consolidating democracy and supporting economic recovery.

Civil Reconstruction:

- Pledged $200 million for 1996 for Bosnia's economic reconstruction activities, as part of three-year U.S. commitment to reconstruction of about $600 million. These funds are being used to build 2,500 homes for 12,500 people; to finance major road, water and electricity projects for rebuilding critical infrastructure; and to provide loans to small business in order to stimulate job creation and market-driven economic activity.

- Contributed $85.6 million in quick-impact assistance that funded 36 projects relating to humanitarian assistance, urgent reconstruction, and immediate rebuilding of key infrastructure, helping millions of Bosnians through the harsh winter months and the early stages of their country's rehabilitation.

U.S. Contributions:

- In addition to $200 million for economic reconstruction, U.S. financial contribution to civilian implementation include funds for humanitarian assistance and refugee resettlement ($162 million); police training and monitors ($70 million) elections ($11 million); demining ($10 million) and other projects for a total of approximately $550 million for 1996.

Bosnian-Croat Federation:

- Through the creation of the Federation Forum, U.S. has supported continued development of the Bosnian-Croat Federation to include building democratic government structures and procedures.
War Crimes Tribunal:

- Our financial contributions and other assistance to the International War Crimes Tribunal is larger than that of any other nation.

Arms Reductions:

- Successfully pressed the parties to sign a major arms reductions agreement, which will promote a military balance at lower force levels through cuts in Serbian forces of 25% and in Bosnian Serb forces of up to 75%.

Train and Equip:

- U.S.-led international effort to train and equip Federation forces is underway and will provide a self-defense capability and deterrent against a return to war. The first shipment of equipment arrived in Bosnia on August 29, 1996.

Elections:

- Spearheaded efforts to achieve conditions for democratic elections which were held on September 14 in Bosnia by contributing financial resources, critical personnel, support for independent radio/TV and key logistical support to the OSCE, which supervised the elections. Over 70% of the eligible voters participated peacefully in choosing their leaders for the national, entity and cantonal governments.

International Police Monitors:

- Over 200 U.S. police monitors are deployed in the Balkans, including 170 as part of the International Police Task Force in Bosnia (with the remaining 41 deployed in Eastern Slavonia).

Karadzic:

- We successfully pressed Serbian President Milosevic and Bosnian Serb leaders to secure Radovan Karadzic’s agreement to give up power and influence.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration is dedicated to helping restore peace and stability to the former Yugoslavia by helping to implement the provisions of the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords. The United States, with NATO and other partners, will continue to ensure implementation of the military provisions of the Dayton agreement while minimizing the risk to U.S. forces; create secure conditions in which international organizations can implement the critical civilian aspects of the settlement; and work toward ensuring a stable military balance among the parties. The United States, along with our European Union partners, the World Bank and others, intends to enhance humanitarian assistance, economic stabilization, police training and demining, and to support economic reconstruction and the growth of democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The United States is also leading the effort to provide critical financial, personnel and logistics to support the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which will supervise municipal elections later this year following the success of the national elections held on September 14. We will work to continue Bosnia’s recovery and to hold its leaders to their commitments for a peaceful and unified Bosnia-Herzegovina. Our objectives are to:
• Preserve the unity of Bosnia-Herzegovina within its existing, internationally recognized borders and establish a stable military balance of forces in the region.

• Establish a civil society in Bosnia in which independent media are operating; the rule of law is generally accepted; and democratically-elected institutions are operating at every level.

• Establish opportunities for the orderly return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes, and a process for compensating those who choose not to return or whose property cannot be restored to them.

• Insist that the parties cooperate with the War Crimes Tribunal and comply with its decisions, including transfer of indicted war criminals to The Hague.

• Continue to monitor the active departure of foreign forces from the region as agreed to in the Dayton accords.

• Support implementation of the Erdut Agreement which enables the peaceful reintegration of the Eastern Slavonia region into Croatia.

Last Update: September 20, 1996
PROMOTING DEMOCRACY AND PROSPERITY IN UKRAINE

“For America, support for an independent Ukraine secure in its recognized borders is not only a matter of sympathy, it is a matter of our national interest as well. We look to the day when a democratic and prosperous Ukraine is America’s full political and economic partner in a bulwark of stability in Europe.”

President Clinton, Kiev, Ukraine
May 12, 1995

With its independence in 1991, Ukraine ended seven decades of Soviet domination and undertook the challenge of building Europe’s fourth most populous state into a market democracy. President Clinton has led international efforts to promote a democratic and market-oriented Ukraine, secure within its borders and at peace with its neighbors. Such support has enabled Ukraine’s leaders to pursue bold reforms to stabilize the economy, adopt a new constitution that wipes away the vestiges of a Soviet past, and advance Ukraine’s integration into a Europe free of the divisions imposed after World War II.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Nuclear Weapons:

- Completed on June 1, 1996 the historic removal of all nuclear warheads from the territory of Ukraine, made possible by the January 1994 Trilateral Statement signed by President Clinton and the presidents of Ukraine and Russia.

- In 1991, there were more than 4,000 strategic and tactical nuclear warheads in Ukraine -- the world’s third largest nuclear arsenal. Today there are none.

NPT:

- Secured Ukraine’s accession to the Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear weapon state and ratification of the START I agreement, which will eliminate bombers and missiles that carried over 9,000 nuclear warheads.

NATO’s Partnership for Peace:

- Drew Ukraine into Europe’s evolving security systems, helping it to become an active member in the Partnership for Peace and an important partner in peacekeeping in Bosnia.

- Ukraine has sponsored military exercises where American, Ukrainian, Russian and European troops, once staunch enemies, work side-by-side in peacekeeping and humanitarian missions.
Economic and Political Reforms:

• Internationally sponsored economic reform programs have allowed Ukraine to cut monthly inflation from about 18% to under 1%, stabilize the currency, increase and diversify exports to the West, and shift about 50% of the economy to the private sector.

• Ukraine's new constitution, adopted in July 1996, creates a legal foundation for political stability and economic growth and gives Ukraine the opportunity to open its doors to foreign and domestic investment.

Trade:

• Annual U.S. trade with Ukraine now exceeds $500 million and American investors are seeking new business opportunities.

Aid:

• Mobilized $2.1 billion in international pledges to support Ukraine's first steps to stabilize its economy, reduce inflation, encourage entrepreneurship and diversify exports.

• Provided timely support for Ukraine's young democracy, including assistance for free and fair parliamentary and presidential election in 1994 which established the principles of democracy and choice as the bedrock of Ukraine's political system.

• Ukraine is the third largest recipient of U.S. assistance; in 1996, the U.S. will provide Ukraine with $330 million in grant assistance and up to $860 million in trade and investment credits.

Chernobyl:

• Led the G-7 to reach agreement with Ukraine on an unprecedented $3 billion program to close the site of the world's worst nuclear accident, the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration will continue mobilizing international support for Ukraine's transition to a democratic, market-oriented state. The foundations for a strong and sovereign Ukraine have been laid. The challenge for tomorrow is to secure the renewal of Ukraine's economy, advance the prosperity of its people, and consolidate its pivotal role in Europe. The U.S. will:

• Encourage deeper integration with Europe and the West through the Partnership for Peace, military exchanges, and membership in key economic institutions such as the World Trade Organization and the Central European Free Trade Area.
• Target technical support to help Ukraine tackle barriers to investment and growth, such as revamping the tax and commercial codes and breaking the state’s grip on Ukraine’s rich agricultural sector.

• Foster the growth of Ukrainian entrepreneurship, particularly the emergence of a vibrant small business sector that will create jobs and promote economic security.

• Deepen people-to-people and grassroots contacts between Ukraine and the U.S. in order to forge enduring cooperation and ties between our countries.

• Continue America’s leadership to overcome the legacy of Chernobyl and Ukraine’s inheritance of perhaps the world’s most energy-inefficient economy, thus creating the basis for Ukraine’s energy security.

Last Updated: July 25, 1996
SUPPORTING AN INDEPENDENT, SECURE, PROSPEROUS ARMENIA

"We rededicate ourselves to building a future for Armenians, in their homeland, that ensures independence, security, and prosperity for Armenia and its neighbors."

President Clinton,
Congressional Letter
August 7, 1996

The United States has special ties to Armenia, and President Clinton is strongly committed to helping Armenia become fully independent, secure, and prosperous. To this end, we have supported internal reform, promoted negotiated settlements to Armenian disputes with its neighbors, and used multilateral frameworks to foster the stability and security vital to the success of Armenia’s political and economic reform efforts.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Democratic Reform:

- Supported democratic development through programs on judicial reform, press seminars, election organizing, and support for political parties and other democratic institutions.

- The United States has already contributed nearly $600 million dollars in humanitarian and technical assistance to Armenia under the auspices of the Freedom Support Act making Armenia one of the two largest recipients (per capita) of American assistance worldwide.

Economic Reform:

- Promoted economic reform and development and integration into the global economy through technical assistance in support of privatization and small business initiatives, expanded trade and investment in telecommunications, energy, health reform, and environmental remediation, and membership in the World Trade Organization.

- Technical and development assistance programs through USAID, the International Monetary Fund and others, have greatly facilitated Armenia’s transition to a free market economy.

- Armenia’s economy has made remarkable progress, measuring 7% real growth in its GDP in the past year.

U.S. Assistance:

- In 1996 the Clinton Administration committed to providing another $100 million in U.S. assistance in addition to the over half a billion in aid provided since 1992.

- Major on-going U.S. developmental assistance initiatives include programs for economic restructuring, banking and finance reform, energy safety, democratic development and legal reform.
• The U.S. is Armenia’s largest aid donor in terms of pledges and actual disbursements.

Nagorno-Karabakh:

• Played a key role in the OSCE Minsk Group to encourage a peaceful, negotiated resolution to the conflict surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh and encouraged regional cooperation among all three Transcaucasus states.

• Armenian and Azerbaijani leaders issued a joint communique, reaffirming their shared commitment to the current cease-fire and peaceful settlement of conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh consistent with internationally recognized principles.

Commercial Relations:

• Encouraged the deepening of our bilateral commercial ties.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

• To foster Armenian efforts to advance the economic restructuring and energy reforms needed to grow and build cooperation with its neighbors.

• To actively encourage Armenians and Azerbaijanis to peacefully resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

• To encourage regional cooperation among the Transcaucasus states, including in the energy sector.

• To broaden mutually beneficial trade and investment relations.

• To continue to encourage the development of democratic practices and institutions.

Last Update: August 14, 1996
EXPANDING DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE

"Just six years ago, the countries of Central Europe were still captive nations. Now 120 million people have the freedom to speak their own minds... This new freedom is the fruit of Europe's struggle and America's support... this Administration will not retreat."

President Clinton, White House Conference on Trade and Investment in Central and Eastern Europe
Cleveland, Ohio, January 13, 1995

Since 1989, the United States has led the West in supporting the historic transition from communism to democracy and free market economies made by the Central and Eastern European nations of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania. The U.S. seeks to help eliminate the imposed Cold War divisions of the region to create a new, united Europe. The results have been impressive.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Building Ties:

- Relations with the democracies of the region have never been stronger. As their economies and democratic institutions develop, these countries are becoming welcome trade partners and dependable friends.

- Since 1990, the Support for East European Democracy program (SEED) has provided more than $2.7 billion in assistance, supporting privatization, economic restructuring and government reform, deepening support for Central and Eastern Europe's social and economic transformation.

- The Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland have joined the OECD, following President Clinton's initiative in January 1994 to open this key institution to Central European democracies.

Security & NATO's Partnership For Peace:

- Two years ago President Clinton initiated the Partnership for Peace (PFP), a highly successful effort to engage former Warsaw Pact armies with NATO through regular cooperation, communication and joint training exercises. While the PFP is a long-term active link to NATO for some, and the path to NATO membership for others, for all, it is a powerful incentive to reform their militaries for democratic control and global responsibility.

- Several of these regional nations stood with us in the Gulf War and Haiti and today are providing crucial troop or basing support for American and NATO forces in Bosnia, such as Hungary. Czech and Polish combat battalions and soldiers from other nations in the region are stationed alongside NATO troops.
• The President’s $100 million Warsaw Initiative, which will help these regional nations cooperate militarily with one another and with NATO -- will be fully funded in 1996. The Administration has asked Congress to continue the program at current levels.

• The United States provided over $44 million in security assistance to Central and Eastern Europe in 1995 and the U.S. has helped equip and train the Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion.

Expanding Democracy:

• Our commitment to Western integration for these new democracies has helped freedom put down strong roots throughout the region. Most nations already have held several democratic elections.

• Launched new programs including President Clinton’s $30 million Democracy Network, to assist private, home-grown democracy-building institutions.

Market Reforms & Trade:

• Nations that introduced broad market reforms, such as Poland and the Czech Republic, have rapidly growing economies, and thriving private sectors.

• Regional inflation and unemployment are dropping, production is rising and the shortages and rationing of the Communist era have vanished.

• The United States is the region’s number one investor and growing trade partner, with $8 billion in direct investment. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) has provided more than $2 billion in investment assistance to firms doing business in the region. That investment is already paying off, generating hundreds of millions of dollars in U.S. exports thus far.

Anti-Crime Cooperation:

• The President’s Law and Democracy Initiative opened the way for cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe against organized crime, narcotics trafficking, nuclear smuggling, terrorism and money laundering. The new FBI International Law Enforcement Academy in Budapest has already trained hundreds of law enforcement officers in the region.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

President Clinton supports the extension of Western institutions into Central and Eastern Europe to promote the values of democracy, free markets, and responsible security policies. While generally successful, overall transformation has not been uniform in every country. Although
some nations of the region have already made the shift, others still struggle with the legacy of authoritarianism, and all of these economies face problems as they restructure. But dramatic progress has been achieved. Our tasks for the coming period include:

- Working with Central European nations to prepare for the deliberate and gradual first round of NATO enlargements over the next four years.

- Supporting efforts to consolidate relations between Central European states such as Hungary, Romania and Slovakia, and foster confidence on issues related to ethnic minorities in the region.

- Deepening security cooperation through bilateral agreements, the Partnership for Peace, and intensified military-to-military contacts.

Last Update: July 29, 1996
"Today we rejoice, for one force rules in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and that force is freedom ... I am deeply honored to stand before you, the first President of the United States to set foot on free Baltic soil.

"We remember an August day ... when the peoples of your nation joined hands in common cause from Tallinn to Vilnius. A million strong, you reached across the boundaries of fear[and] showed the peoples of the world the power of the Baltic way.

"Vabadus. Laisves. Briviba. Freedom. No matter what the language, it is the link that unites the peoples of our nation: Estonia, Lithuania, Latvian, and America, no matter the century, no matter the invader. You have proved that freedom never dies when it lives in the hearts of men and women. you have taught us never to give up. You have inspired the world."

President Clinton, Remarks in Riga, Latvia
July 6, 1994

The Clinton Administration is committed to the integration of all of Europe’s new democracies, including Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, with the Transatlantic community. The U.S. seeks to eliminate the legacy of Europe’s Cold War division -- without creating arbitrary new lines. This Administration has and will continue to support the Baltic states’ security, sovereignty and democratic, free market transformation.

BACKGROUND

For decades, successive U.S. Administrations maintained a strong policy of non-recognition of the occupation and forcible Soviet incorporation of the Baltic states. Following the restoration of independence in 1991 by Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the United States has been in the forefront of support for both the democratic and free market transformation of these countries as well as support for their security and sovereignty. President Clinton visited Riga, Latvia in July 1994, the first U.S. President to visit a Baltic state, and received the three Baltic Presidents on June 25, 1996. Vice President Gore visited Tallinn, Estonia in March 1995. As a statement of the American people’s support for the Baltic states, Mrs. Clinton visited Tallinn in July, 1996.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Presidential Engagement:

• President Clinton has met with the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian Presidents on several occasions each, including a July '94 visit to Latvia.
Economic Assistance:

- Since 1990, the Support for East European Democracy program (SEED) has provided $103 million in assistance to the Baltic nations. Programs include privatization, energy efficiency, public administration training and entrepreneurial support.

- In 1994, the U.S. established the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund, capitalized at $50 million out of SEED funds, to support free enterprise in these nations by promoting the growth of small- and medium-sized businesses.

Economic Reforms:

- The Baltic states are making solid economic gains: privatizing their economies, keeping inflation under control, resuming growth and ending Soviet-type shortages and inefficiencies.

- Faced with a serious challenge of organized crime, the Baltic states are working to build sound banking and financial structures, prevent money laundering and smuggling, and combat inroads of mafia-type criminal organizations.

Military Cooperation:

- Military exercises -- the first ever between Baltic and U.S. forces -- are now being held under the President’s Partnership for Peace (PFP) initiative, with which the Baltic states are active participants. “Baltic Challenge”, the next exercise, conducted in the spirit of PFP, began July 8 in Latvia, involving platoons from the U.S. Marines and National Guard units from Maryland, Michigan and Pennsylvania.

- The U.S. has greatly expanded its security and military programs with the Baltic states since 1993.

  - Each Baltic state is receiving $1.75 million in FY96 under the President’s Warsaw Initiative; the Administration has requested from Congress an increase to $2.25 million per country in FY97.

  - In addition, the U.S. has provided over $10 million in equipment and services for the Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion. This year, we will provide to the “Baltbat” additional funding as well as excess military equipment and upgrades to its headquarters in Latvia.

  - The U.S. has supported airspace integration through the President’s Regional Airspace Initiative.
• Military contacts are conducted through the Military Liaison Teams in each country. Military training is conducted through the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program, which has more than doubled since FY94 and now is about $410,000 per country.

Expanding NATO:

• Called for the expansion of NATO alliance with enlargement negotiations with new members starting Spring or early summer of 1997. Right now, NATO is engaged in an intensive dialogue with interested countries to determine what they must do and what NATO must do to prepare for their accession.

• When the first new members pass through NATO’s open door, it will stay open for all others who demonstrate that they are willing and able to shoulder the responsibilities of membership.

• NATO enlargement is on track and it will happen.

Promoting Democracy:

• In 1994, the U.S. launched the Law and Democracy Program to help emerging democracies of Central and Eastern Europe combat organized and white collar crime. The U.S. has provided experts to help the Baltic states cope with bank fraud and strengthen their financial systems. The FBI is scheduled to open an office in Tallinn in the next year.

• The Peace Corps is active in the Baltics, with about 150 volunteers, mainly concentrated in English language and small business training.

• Twenty grants to Baltic NGOs already have been made under the President’s Democracy Network program; more awards are likely in the coming months.

• Only a few years after regaining independence, the Baltic states have organized functioning state structures, democratic elections and established the fundamentals of a market economy.

Protecting Minority Rights:

• Latvia and Estonia have worked to integrate their large ethnic-Russian populations, often taking pragmatic approaches to solving problems.

Support for De-Militarization:

• The United States provided $8.5 million for the demolition of the ex-Russian large phased-array radar at Skrunda, Latvia.
• The U.S. provided $2 million for the clean up of the former Russian nuclear reactor facility in Paldiski, Estonia.

Regional Cooperation:

• Baltic states are cooperating with one another and their Central European and Nordic neighbors. Lithuania has overcome old rivalries and built a strong, positive relationship with NATO; Baltic-Nordic cooperation is intensifying in ways that promote Baltic integration with the West as a whole. The Baltic states are also seeking to build constructive, stable relations with Russia.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

• With its chief NATO Allies, the U.S. will work to promote Baltic integration -- political, economic and security -- with the Western community of democracies.

• The U.S. will continue to support improved, good-neighborly relations between the Baltic states and Russia.

• The U.S. encourages the Baltic states to continue to reach out to ethnic minorities, increasing the confidence of these communities and promoting their participation in civic life.

Last Updated: August 2, 1996
REINTEGRATING POLAND WITH THE WEST

"Poland faces what may fairly be described as its best prospects for peace and security in 350 years... No country should have the right to veto, compromise or threaten democratic Poland's, or any other democracy's, integration into Western institutions, including those that ensure security... The United States believes that when NATO does expand, as it will, a democratic Poland will have placed itself among those ready and able to join."

President Bill Clinton
Address to the Polish Parliament
July 7, 1994

Seven years after the Polish people overthrew communism, Poland is a thriving democracy, with a dynamic market economy and excellent relations with its Central European neighbors. Poland is well on its way to becoming a full member of the Western family of secure, free market democracies. The United States has stood with Poland throughout its dramatic transformation and is continuing to support Poland and the Polish people.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Presidential Engagement:

- President Clinton met with Polish Presidents Walesa and Kwasniewski a combined five times, including a July '94 visit to Warsaw.

U.S. Assistance:

- Since 1989, the U.S. has provided over $3 billion to assist Poland with its transition to democracy and market economy. This includes $2.4 billion in debt reduction and $800 million under the SEED (Support for East European Democracy) program, mainly used for currency stabilization; bank privatization; technical assistance; training and capital for investment in private businesses and banks; housing construction; and equipment for environmental clean-up and energy efficiency.

- The Polish-American Enterprise Fund, established with U.S. funds of $250 million and private resources of $100 million, is Poland's premier venture capital fund. Its loans and investments support over 70,000 jobs in Poland and millions of dollars in U.S. business. The Fund has established subsidiary banks to support residential housing and farmers, and small and "micro" lending programs to help small businessmen just starting out. The Fund has helped entrepreneurship in Poland, which contributes to the country's stability and democracy.

- With U.S. support, Poland is rapidly becoming a developed, stable member of the Western democratic family of nations.
Military Cooperation:

- In July, 1994 in Warsaw, President Clinton announced the $100 million “Warsaw Initiative” to support military cooperation with new democracies in Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, including $25 million for Poland. The Administration has asked Congress to extend the “Warsaw Initiative.”

- **Polish forces are serving alongside American troops** in Bosnia, showing that Poland is willing to accept its responsibilities as a member of the Western democratic family. Poland’s armed forces are adapting to western attitudes and procedures, supported by the U.S.

NATO'S Partnership for Peace:

- Under the Administration’s Partnership for Peace initiative, **Poland and the U.S. held their first joint military exercises** in over fifty years, including the first major PFP exercise outside NATO territory. In 1995, a U.S.-Polish exercise in Poland included joint airborne (paratroop) operations.

- The Administration has given Poland **access to high-technology arms** on the same basis as other friendly countries, allowing Poland to improve its security and increase interoperability with NATO.

Expanding NATO:

- Called for the expansion of NATO alliance with enlargement negotiations with new members starting Spring or early summer of 1997. Right now, NATO is engaged in an intensive dialogue with interested countries to determine what they must do and what NATO must do to prepare for their accession.

- NATO enlargement is on track and it will happen.

OECD:

- With U.S. support, **Poland joined the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)** on July 11. This resulted from President Clinton’s initiative to open the very selective OECD to Poland and other Central European democracies.

Economic Reform:

*Poland’s economy is one of Europe’s most dynamic* -- having grown at about 7 percent in 1995 -- led by a rapidly-growing private sector that makes up nearly 70 percent of Poland’s GDP.

- Poland has **regained its international financial standing**, restructured its foreign debt, graduated from IMF monitoring, and received investment grade credit ratings.
Trade and Investment:

- The U.S. has designated Poland as a "Big Emerging Market," and aggressively supports trade and investment with Poland. The U.S. is Poland's number one foreign investor, with nearly $3 billion dollars invested through the first half of 1996.

Supporting Democracy:

- Through President Clinton's "Democracy Network" initiative, the U.S. is providing up to $3.6 million for independent Polish non-governmental organizations engaged in local, civic and educational projects.

- Poland is a significant force for regional stability and harmony, having developed positive relations with all its Central and East European neighbors.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD

- In the coming months, NATO will take decisions in the process of enlargement of the Alliance; the U.S. will consult with Poland at each step.

- Poland should continue with its current reforms, intensifying privatization and reforming its social welfare system, and keeping inflation under control.

- The U.S. will focus assistance programs to assist Poland in the final phases of its basic transition to a market economy.

- The U.S. will work with Poland to support stability and democracy in Central Europe, particularly by helping the Baltic states and Ukraine.

Last Update: July 29, 1996
REINTEGRATING HUNGARY WITH THE WESTERN DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITY

"It's a remarkable thing that Hungary and the United States are partners for peace now. Just think, barely more than six years ago Hungary was a member of the Warsaw Pact. What would have been unthinkable then now seems perfectly normal because we've been working together so closely for the last couple of years."

President Bill Clinton
Remarks at Taszar Air Base - a staging base for U.S. forces in Bosnia
Taszar, Hungary - January 13, 1996

As a result of the post-1989 rebirth of Hungarian democracy, Hungary is reclaiming its position as a member of the Western community of nations and has already become a valuable partner for the United States.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

Presidential Engagement:

- President Clinton met with Hungarian President Goncz and Prime Ministers Boross and Horn a combined seven times including a December '94 visit to Budapest.

American Investment:

- The United States is the largest foreign investor in Hungary, with over $4.5 billion in direct investment out of nearly $14 billion in outside investment that Hungary has attracted.

American Assistance:

- The United States has provided over $220 million for assistance programs, concentrated in privatization and financial sector reform, small business, energy, democratic institution-building and social programs to ease the impact of mass layoffs.
- Since March, 1995, Hungary has pressed forward with a strong economic adjustment program designed to stabilize the economy and provide conditions for further growth. Hungarian macroeconomic economic conditions have improved since.
- Hungary is a stable democracy, with its current coalition bringing together reformist social democrats (ex-communists) with free-market centrists (ex-dissidents).

Security Cooperation:

- Through the President’s Warsaw Initiative, the United States is providing Hungary over $10 million in security assistance in 1996, plus another $1 million in International Military education and Training (IMET) funding.
• Hungary’s offer of staging bases for U.S. forces serving with IFOR in Bosnia was essential to the success of this mission. In addition, Hungary sent an engineering battalion of its own to IFOR.

**NATO’s Partnership For Peace:**

• The United States has welcomed Hungary into NATO’s Partnership for Peace program, organizing the first U.S.-Hungarian military exercises in over fifty years, ended Cold War-era restrictions on the transfer of sophisticated military technology to Hungary, opening the way for Hungarian acquisition of advanced equipment to enhance its security.

**Expanding NATO:**

• Called for the expansion of NATO alliance with enlargement negotiations with new members starting Spring or early summer of 1997. Right now, NATO is engaged in an intensive dialogue with interested countries to determine what they must do and what NATO must do to prepare for their accession.

• NATO enlargement is on track and it will happen.

**Combating International Crime:**

• In partnership with the Hungarian government, the FBI-led International Law Enforcement Academy (ILEA) opened in 1995 in Budapest, to provide training to police from Central Europe and the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union.

**OECD Admission:**

• In April, with U.S. support, Hungary gained admission to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development — OECD, a body of developed, free market democracies.

**Property Restitution:**

• The State Department’s Special Envoy for Property Restitution in Central and Eastern Europe, Ambassador Stuart Eizenstat, was instrumental in facilitating an agreement on restitution for communal Jewish and other religious property.

**THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:**

• Continue to support NATO enlargement, along the lines of the NATO work plan announced last year, leading to important decisions over the coming months.
• Encourage enlargement of the European Union.

• Focus U.S. assistance, e.g., by redirecting successful privatization assistance to support the growth of small business, which is the “engine of economic growth and employment” in Hungary.

• Help strengthen democratic institutions by focusing on local governments, non-governmental organizations and local media.

• Work with Hungary to support its efforts to improve relations with its neighbors.

_Last Update: July 31, 1996_
REINTEGRATING THE CZECH REPUBLIC WITH THE WEST

"The Czech Republic, Slovakia, other nations in Central Europe -- they are working hard to build the democracy and foster the prosperity that we sometimes take for granted. They have made an awful lot of progress in the face of real challenges and we have to continue to stand by them by opening the door to new NATO members, by supporting their integration into the other institutions of Europe...[Czechs] who came to the United States helped us to build our country. It's time for us to return the favor."

President Bill Clinton
Dedication of the National Czech and Slovak Museum
October 21, 1995

In the six years since the Velvet Revolution that ended communist rule, the Czech Republic, with U.S. support and assistance, has undergone a radical political and economic transformation. Today, the Czech Republic is a fully functioning parliamentary democracy. Economic growth is increasing, privatization near complete, and unemployment and inflation relatively low.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Presidential Engagement:

• President Clinton met with Czech President Havel and Prime Minister Klaus a combined five times including a January '94 visit to Prague.

Democracy:

• The Czech Republic has just completed its fourth national elections since the end of communist rule. Voting was free, fair and smooth; Prime Minister Klaus has continued in office at the head of a minority government.

Economic Reform:

• The Czech Republic has enjoyed dramatic success in its free market transformation. Inflation is at less than 9 percent, unemployment remains below 3 percent; growth is increasing and stands at 5 percent; the budget is balanced and the private sector generates close to 75 percent of GDP. The country has an “A” credit rating from Standard and Poors.

• The Czech Republic has concluded an association agreement with the EU and free trade agreements with the states of the European Free Trade Area (EFTA) and Central European Free Trade Area (CEFTA). The Czech Republic is a member of key international financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.
NATO’s Partnership For Peace:

- Welcomed the Czech Republic into the NATO’s Partnership for Peace program, organizing the first U.S.-Czech military exercises in over fifty years, ending Cold War-era restrictions on the transfer of sophisticated military technology to the Czech Republic, opening the way for Czech acquisition of advanced equipment to enhance its security.

Expanding NATO:

- Called for the expansion of NATO alliance with enlargement negotiations with new members starting Spring or early summer of 1997. Right now, NATO is engaged in an intensive dialogue with interested countries to determine what they must do and what NATO must do to prepare for their accession.

- NATO enlargement is on track and it will happen.

Military Ties:

- Provided $11 million in assistance to the Czech military this year to support military modernization and compatibility with NATO standards.

- The Czech Republic has been eager to work closely with the U.S. and has supported a continuing strong U.S. role in Europe. Czech soldiers took part in Desert Storm and 850 Czech soldiers serve with NATO in Bosnia.

Aid:

- Provided approximately $170 million in SEED (Support for East European Democracy) Act assistance since 1990, focused principally on improving housing and municipal infrastructure, developing NGOs and democratic institutions, and supporting privatization and enterprise restructuring.

RFE/RL:


OECD:

- Supported Czech efforts to join the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development -- OECD, a group of the world’s advanced, free market democracies. The Czech Republic joined the OECD in 1995, the first ex-Soviet-bloc country to do so.
THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

• Continue to support NATO enlargement, along the lines of the work plan announced last year, leading to important decisions over the coming months.

• Encourage enlargement of the European Union.

• Work to include the Czech Republic and other qualifying Central European states in the U.S. visa waiver program.

• Continue to support trade with and investment in the Czech Republic through outreach to the U.S. business community and advocacy in the Czech Republic on behalf of U.S. firms.

• Managing the Czech Republic’s “graduation” from U.S. economic assistance beginning in 1997.

• Engage the Czech government, NGOs, and Roma (gypsy) leaders to combat anti-Roma discrimination in the Czech Republic.

Last Update: July 30, 1996
U.S. SUPPORT FOR SLOVENIA

"The Slovenian people ... have a long and proud history ... to this rich history, independent Slovenia has now added a remarkable political and economic transformation. In the space of just five years, Slovenia has become a model for emerging free-market democracies throughout the world."

President Clinton
National Day message for Slovenia
June 25, 1996

The Clinton Administration is a strong supporter of Slovenia’s independence and sovereignty, its democratic free market transformation, and its integration into the family of Western democracies. The U.S. recognized Slovenia, formerly a republic of Yugoslavia, on April 7, 1992 and has since developed a strong and growing bilateral relationship.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

American Engagement:

- Slovenia’s Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek met last October with President Clinton and over the last three years has met twice with Vice President Gore at the White House. Defense Secretary Perry also has visited Slovenia. The U.S. has provided crucial diplomatic support to Slovenia throughout its existence as a modern, independent state.

Slovenia and Italy:

- President Clinton pledged in his meeting with PM Drnovsek to assist in resolving a dispute between Slovenia and Italy that had blocked Slovenia’s efforts to conclude an agreement on close association leading to eventual membership -- a ‘Europe Agreement’ -- with the European Union. Last June, a fair settlement was reached allowing Slovenia to sign its Europe Agreement, marking a major step toward Slovenia’s integration within the Western democratic community.

The Former Yugoslavia:

- The U.S. has supported Slovenia consistently on issues derived from the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, including the acquisition of appropriate assets (and share of debt) of the former Yugoslavia, thus helping to boost Slovenia’s sovereignty.

- The U.S. recognized that Slovenia was unfairly caught by the Yugoslav arms embargo. We made important exceptions to our embargo policy, allowing Slovenia to purchase a Westinghouse Air Traffic Control System and Bell Helicopters.
Following the Dayton Accords, we insisted that the lifting of the arms embargo for Slovenia be automatic after 180 days; with full U.S. support, the embargo has now been lifted.

**U.S. Economic Assistance:**

- In FY95 and FY96, the U.S. provided almost $10 million in economic assistance under the Support for East European Democracy (SEED) program. Among other projects, this assistance supported Slovenia’s efforts to establish a securities market and to reach agreement on debt inherited debt from the former Yugoslavia. This enabled Slovenia to re-enter international capital markets.

**U.S. Security and Military Ties:**

- The U.S. supported Slovenia’s membership in the Partnership for Peace (PFP, President Clinton’s initiative for NATO cooperation with the emerging democracies of Central Europe and the Former Soviet Union). Slovenia is participating in PFP exercises.

- The U.S. designated $1 million for Slovenia in FY96 and requested $2 million in FY97 under the President’s Warsaw Initiative for military cooperation with Partnership countries. We also have increased funding for military training from $125,000 in FY95 to $300,000 in FY96.

- The U.S. Navy conducts quarterly visits to Slovenia’s port of Koper, supporting the right of free passage to the port, which is cut off by the territorial waters of Croatia and Italy.

**Expanding NATO:**

- Called for the expansion of NATO alliance with enlargement negotiations with new members starting Spring or early summer of 1997. Right now, NATO is engaged in an intensive dialogue with interested countries to determine what they must do and what NATO must do to prepare for their accession.

- NATO enlargement is on track and it will happen.

**THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:**

- The U.S. will continue to support Slovenia as it solidifies its ties with neighbors Italy and Croatia and seeks further integration with the Western democratic community and its institutions.
The U.S. also will promote U.S. trade and investment with Slovenia, helping promote Slovenia’s overall ties with the West and bolstering economic development.

Last Updated: September 4, 1996
"I come to support not only the peace process, but the federation in Bosnia between the Muslims and the Croats, the peaceful agreement for the return of Croatian lands in Eastern Slavonia, and the ultimate partnership of Croatia with not only the United States, but with other Western nations who believe in freedom and human rights and democracy and peace and progress, working together."

President Clinton, Zagreb Croatia
January 13, 1996

When Croatia declared its independence from the former Yugoslavia in 1991, the country was plunged into the most brutal war in Europe since World War II. After four years of fighting, Croatia and all the parties involved were ready to turn from the path of war to the path toward peace.

In November 1995, in conjunction with our Contact Group partners -- the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Russia, and the European Union -- the U.S. succeeded in brokering a peace agreement to settle the disputes among the warring parties. The Dayton Peace Accords were signed in Paris on December 14 by the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Dayton:
- Negotiated the Dayton Peace Accords which ended the war in the Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Slavonia:
- Brokered the Erdut agreement between Croatia and the Serbs for peaceful reintegration of Eastern Slavonia into Croatia through international administration.
- Played a key role in recent UN Security Council action to set up the peacekeeping operation envisioned in the Erdut agreement. We made available to the UN an American, Ambassador and Major General (Reserves) Jacques Klein, who heads the operation.
- The U.S. has provided 41 civilian police officers to reinforce the transitional police force already deployed in Eastern Slavonia.

Trade:
- Secretary of Commerce Mickey Kantor signed a Bilateral Investment Treaty with Croatia on July 12, 1996 in order to promote U.S. commercial interests as well as to help restore the Croatian economy.
War Crimes Tribunal:

- Contributed more than any other nation in financial aid and other assistance to the International War Crimes Tribunal.

U.S. Assistance:


- The U.S. has signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Governments of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in which the U.S. agrees to provide technical assistance to these countries for their infrastructure development.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- The Clinton Administration is committed to restoring peace and stability in the former Yugoslavia. Given the key U.S. role in brokering the Dayton Accords, we have a strong stake in making it work, as well as humanitarian interests in minimizing casualties and human rights abuses in the region. The U.S. along with our European Union partners intends to enhance humanitarian assistance, create secure conditions in which the Dayton Accords can be implemented, and support economic reconstruction and the growth of democracy in Croatia. In the future, the U.S. will remain engaged by:

  - Supporting the implementation of the Erdut Agreement to enable the peaceful reintegration of Eastern Slavonia into Croatia.

  - Expecting Croatia to respect the human rights of all its citizens, including ethnic Serbs, and expecting its full cooperation with the International War Crimes Tribunal.

  - Establishing opportunities for refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes if they so choose.

  - Assisting Croatia in its implementation of democratic institutions.

  - Supporting Croatia's eventual integration in Western institutions, including NATO's Partnership for Peace, in tandem with the consolidation of peace in the region.

Last Update: July 24, 1996
ADVANCING THE AGENDA IN SERBIA

"The leaders of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia have agreed to end four long years of war and atrocities. They have asked for our help to implement their peace agreement. It is in our nation’s interest and consistent with our values to see that this peace succeeds and endures."

President Clinton, Remarks to the Troops of Task Force Eagle
Baumholder, Germany, December 2, 1995

In October 1995, following weeks of intense negotiations, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic agreed to negotiate on behalf of the Bosnian Serbs, making possible the U.S.-brokered Dayton peace accords. Dayton implementation continues to be a major focus of our Serbia policy. But so has performance on minority rights and tolerance of democratic values.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Dayton Peace Agreement:

• Effectively used economic and diplomatic leverage with Serbia to reach a peace settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

• Serb cooperation continues to be critical to the success of peace efforts in Bosnia. Among other assistance, they have aided U.S. efforts to communicate with the Republika Srpska, and have cooperated with efforts to normalize relations with Bosnia.

Karadzic:

• Continued U.S. pressure has achieved commitment on removal of Radovan Karadzic from public life.

Kosovo:

• Continued to lead the international community in support of human rights in Kosovo and improvement in political situation there.

• Opened a USIA office in Pristina, demonstrating U.S. commitment on Kosovo

• Linked Serb access to International Financial Institutions with full Dayton compliance, respect for human rights and restoration of political rights to Kosovo.
Sanctions:

- The U.S. leads the effort to retain economic and political leverage through the policy of maintaining an "outer wall" of sanctions, effectively blocking the incoming flow of international capital, discouraging commercial investment.

- The U.S. has made the improvement of human rights conditions in Kosovo a priority. The status of minorities in Kosovo is consistently raised in exchanges between U.S. and Serb officials.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- The Clinton Administration is dedicated to maintaining international pressure on the Serbs to ensure full compliance with Dayton, respect of human rights, progress on Kosovo and agreement with its neighbors on state succession. The U.S. will remain engaged by:

  - Pushing Serbia to support the peace process in Bosnia and comply with its own obligations under Dayton.

  - Keeping democratization and human rights issues for all of Serbia on the front burner by raising them at the highest level.

  - Working with our allies to maintain the integrity of the outer wall of sanctions until Serbia restores political rights to Kosovo and complies with its obligations on cooperation with the War Crimes Tribunal.

Last update: July 24, 1996
WORKING FOR DEMOCRACY IN ALBANIA

The United States is determined to support the rights of the Albanian people to share in the benefits of democracy. Prior to the deeply flawed May 1996 elections, the United States was encouraged by democratic trends in Albania, as noted in President Clinton’s 1995 National Day Message to the people of Albania. “The people of Albania share with the United States a mutual devotion to democratic freedoms and the rule of law. I salute their exercise of these freedoms ... and commend the rapid economic progress the Albanian people have achieved in the face of great difficulties.” However, as international monitors observed serious irregularities in Albanian parliamentary elections held May 26, 1996, with intimidation, manipulation and outright fraud, the United States has been at the forefront of international efforts to overcome this setback to Albanian democracy and restore confidence in Albanian institutions.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Elections:

• In public statements and discussions with Albanian authorities, strongly protested the seriously flawed May 26 parliamentary elections.

• The Clinton Administration has notified the government that bilateral relations will be affected by a failure to adequately address our concerns about the flawed elections.

• Led the way building international support in the OSCE and EU for the requirement for remedial action to address the flawed elections.

• In response to initial Albanian resistance to new elections, initiated a thorough review of projects in Albania, including military and assistance programs, and withheld representation from the opening of parliament, demonstrating concern over the flawed elections.

Minority Rights:

• Successfully pressed for improvements in conditions for ethnic Greek Albanians.

• Progress continues toward addressing the aspirations of the ethnic Greek minority for greater access to Greek-language education and the return of church properties expropriated by the previous Communist regime.

Encouraging Political Cooperation:

• We welcome the dialogue that the Democratic and Socialist parties have opened, and hope that it is broadened to include other parties and leads to effective cooperation on steps to surmount the present political impasse.
Judicial Reform:

- Successfully pressed for judicial reforms.
- The Government of Albania removed funding of the courts from the Ministry of Justice, reformed the High Judicial Council and improved procedures for disciplining judges.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Albanian governments must take decisive action to further political consensus and reconciliation. The Administration is urging all parties to address the following issues:

- Political dialogue: Through a round table or other mechanism, the Albanian government should strive to reach agreement with opposition parties on ground rules for upcoming local elections, promulgating a constitution, and holding new parliamentary elections.

- Local elections: It is important that these be free and fair, and monitored by local and international observers. A broad spectrum of Albanian political opinion must have a say in preparing for the elections, including the political opposition.

- Constitution: Early agreement on a democratic constitution which promotes consensus is needed. To ensure broad-based support, one approach would be election of a constituent assembly which would draft a constitution to be approved by a referendum. Opposition concerns must be addressed in this process to ensure that they are fully included.

- New parliamentary elections: These remain a pressing requirement to promote political reconciliation and restore the faith of the Albanian people and the international community in Albanian democracy. This will require early new parliamentary elections, which could be based on the new constitution.

Last Updated: July 23, 1996
GREECE: A VALUED PARTNER AND FRIEND

"As an ally in NATO and a key player in the European Union, Greece is helping to shape the future of Europe and the next half-century of our transatlantic partnership. The world’s oldest democracy is reaching out to Europe’s newest democracies to build an undivided, integrated continent at peace. The United States looks forward to continuing our partnership and to benefiting the peoples of both our countries and the entire world."

President Clinton, during the State Visit of Greek President Stephanopoulos, Washington, D.C. May 9, 1996

Greece and the United States are bound by strong cultural and social ties as well as shared history. Americans admire the classical Greek tradition; Greeks see the U.S. as the world’s most vibrant democracy, a land of promise for over a million Americans of Greek descent. Our joint struggle to preserve Greece’s freedom and independence during World War II, the Greek Civil War and the Cold War forged our unbreakable bonds of friendship. A prominent Athens monument to President Truman serves as a reminder of Greek gratitude for post-World War II assistance under the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. Relations deteriorated in the 1970’s and 1980’s, but are now at their most cooperative level in decades.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Improving Greek-Turkish Relations:

- Direct, personal intervention in January 1996 by the President and other senior Administration officials averted a war between Greece and Turkey over Aegean islets.

- Provided continuing high-level attention to Greek and Turkish concerns, as evidence by the First Lady’s travel to the region in March, and Presidential meetings in Washington this spring with Turkish President Demirel, Greek Prime Minister Simitis, and Greek President Stephanopoulos.

U.S. Security Engagement:

- Following the Second World War, the U.S. became clearly allied with both Greece and Turkey. During the Cold War, billions of dollars of security assistance were funneled into both countries to strengthen NATO’s southern flank.

- An armed conflict between Greece and Turkey would be disastrous for both nations and for the region and would do real damage to NATO and American interests.
Greek Island of Gavdos:

- Obtained clarification from Turkey that it has no territorial claim on the Greek island of Gavdos.

Aegean Islets Dispute:

- Direct, personal intervention in January 1996 by the President and other senior Administration officials averted a war between Greece and Turkey over Aegean islets.

- It is long-standing U.S. policy not to take a position on conflicting claims to sovereignty or on other countries' boundary disputes. This policy enables us, where appropriate, to help resolve such disputes.

- We have, therefore, not taken a position on the ownership of the pair of small Aegean islets, called Imia by Greece and Kardak by Turkey, which was disputed in January.

- We call on Greece and Turkey to resolve their disagreements peacefully, without force or the threat of force, and in accordance with international law and treaties.

American Intervention for Regional Peace:

- We have also suggested ownership of Imia/Kardak could best be decided by the International Court of Justice or some other body. We stand ready to assist in this process.

- Obtained a clarification from Turkey that it has no territorial claim on the Greek island of Gavdos.

- The U.S. Special Presidential Envoy, together with the United Nations, brokered a September 1995 Interim Accord between Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), under which FYROM changed its flag and provided binding assurances that it made no irredentist claim to any other country's territory, and Greece lifted its 14-month long embargo against FYROM.

U.S. Mediation Between Greece and Albania:

- Mediated differences between Greece and neighboring Albania, resulting in a 1996 agreement on immigration and new diplomatic posts, improved attention to ethnic minority concerns, and progress in the return of Orthodox Church properties previously expropriated by Albanian communists.
American Investment:

- U.S. investments in Greece are substantial, exceeding $1 billion in 1995. Two-way trade totals around $26 million per year.

U.S.-Greek Security Cooperation in Bosnia:

- Greek and U.S. forces are serving side-by-side in Bosnia: Greece has contributed a 250-person transport battalion to IFOR’s ground forces and committed another 750 troops to serve in naval and support roles outside Bosnia’s borders.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration is dedicated to further improvement of our already-strong relations with Greece. To this end, we will continue to pursue progress in several different areas:

- Reducing Greek-Turkish tensions, for the benefit of both nations, for the strength of the NATO alliance, and for peace and stability throughout Europe.

- Renewing efforts to reach a comprehensive and lasting settlement in Cyprus, a nation which has been divided for far too long.

- Redoubling our efforts to combat terrorism together in order to protect the innocent and defend the rule of law.

- Reducing impediments to stronger commercial ties between our nations by promotion of a level playing field in Greece for U.S. businesses, improved intellectual property protection, and full implementation of existing agreements.

Last Update: August 7, 1996
TURKEY: AN IMPORTANT AMERICAN ALLY

"Since the time 40 years ago when we stood side by side in Korea, Turkey has served the cause of freedom as NATO's southern anchor and has been a valued ally of the United States. Turkey was a steadfast member of the worldwide coalition that drove Saddam Hussein from Kuwait and instituted international sanctions against Iraq. And for that, the United States remains very grateful. The focus of our relationship can now shift from a Cold War emphasis on military assistance to an emphasis on shared values and greater political and economic cooperation, responsive to the needs of our own peoples and the changing world."

President Clinton, The White House
October 14, 1993

Turkey has been an important ally of the United States since the early 1950's. The relationship has weathered troubled periods and has grown to a deep and lasting friendship between the two peoples. Since the end of the Cold War, our relationship has expanded in a host of areas, particularly in trade and investment.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Improving Greek-Turkish Relations:

- Direct, personal intervention in January 1996 by the President and other senior Administration officials averted a conflict between Turkey and Greece over Aegean islets.

- Provided continuing high-level attention to Turkish and Greek concerns, as evidence by the First Lady's travel to the region in March, and Presidential meetings in Washington this spring with Turkish President Demirel, Greek Prime Minister Simitis, and Greek President Stephanopoulos.

Defusing Greek-Turkish Tensions:

- Played major role in defusing Greek-Turkish tensions, including facilitating an agreement between the two not to hold exercises in the Aegean from July to September.

U.S. Security Engagement:

- Following the Second World War, the U.S. became clearly allied with both Turkey and Greece. During the Cold War, billions of dollars of security assistance were funneled into both countries to strengthen NATO's southern flank.

- An armed conflict between Turkey and Greece would be disastrous for both nations and for the region and would do real damage to NATO and American interests.
Bringing Peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina:

- Turkey has been a vital partner in bringing peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina through IFOR, and has taken a leading role in the reconstruction of Bosnia. Turkey and the United States co-hosted the March 1996 Train and Equip conference in Ankara.

EU Customs Union:

- The United States successfully lobbied the European Parliament to ratify an EU Customs Union with Turkey in December 1995. This agreement tangibly increases Turkey’s integration into the West and introduces reforms, including improved intellectual property rights, into Turkey’s economy.

Human Rights Reforms and Democracy:

- Encouraged the Turkish government in 1995 to enact human rights reforms by amending the constitution and anti-terrorism laws. When fully implemented, the changes should increase political participation, allow more open debate, and lead to the release of 140 people from prison.

- Human rights observance improved in Turkey in 1995, with significant reductions in violence in the southeast. Turkey passed legislation that significantly broadened democracy and increased freedom of speech.

Operation Provide Comfort:

- Operation Provide Comfort, which provides protection for the people of northern Iraq against Saddam’s repression, has not ceased. The United States, along with our coalition allies, maintains regular air patrol of the northern no-fly zone.

U.S. Trade with Turkey:

- U.S. trade with Turkey continues to increase. Two-way trade is now $4.5 billion, compared to just over $1 billion in 1991. Similarly, the U.S. is a leading investor in Turkey. 2.5 million U.S. tourists went to Turkey in 1995.

- Treasury Secretary Rubin and his Turkish counterpart signed a bilateral tax treaty as well as a Customs Mutual Assistance Agreement in March 1996 that will significantly enhance the ability of U.S. companies to do business in Turkey.
Economic Reform:

- Turkey’s economy grew by 8% in 1995, and is poised to grow by 4% or more in 1996. However, significant economic challenges remain, including privatizing state-owned enterprises and reforming the social security system.

Combating Terrorism:

- President Clinton and President Demirel attended the Sharm al-Sheikh Summit of the Peacemakers in April 1996. The U.S and Turkey renewed their pledges to work together against terrorism.

- Incidents of terrorism are down in Turkey in 1995 and the first part of 1996.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- Renewing efforts to reach a comprehensive and lasting settlement in Cyprus, a nation which has been divided for far too long.

- Continuing to work together against terrorism, particularly against the PKK.

- Encouraging Turkey to make further improvements on its human rights record. While 1995 saw an improvement, there have been some regrettable incidents in 1996 that undermine this achievement.

- Working together to pressure Saddam Hussein to comply with all UN resolutions.

Last Update: September 26, 1996
ADVANCING A FAIR SETTLEMENT IN CYPRUS

"We want to discuss how the United States can help promote a settlement that is fair and peaceful in Cyprus and what we can do in that regard. I intend to ask my Special Emissary, Richard Beattie, to go back to the region soon to explore further actions that the United States can take."

President Clinton, greeting Cypriot President Clerides at the White House
June 17, 1996

Presidents Clinton and Clerides affirmed the excellent state of bilateral relations during the latter's visit to Washington in June 1996. President Clinton reiterated his personal commitment to advancing prospects toward an intercommunal settlement and informed President Clerides that the United States intended to intensify its efforts to narrow the differences between the two communities on Cyprus, leading to a comprehensive agreement.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Renewed U.S. Effort:

Signaled a renewed U.S. effort on Cyprus in 1996.

Special Presidential Emissary:

- Appointed Richard Beattie in 1995 as Special Presidential Emissary (SPE) for Cyprus, the first such emissary in 17 years.

- Manifested U.S. commitment most recently to assisting in search for Cyprus solution through Ambassador Albright's and SPE Beattie's July trip to the region.

EU's Accession Talks:

- Played instrumental role in EU decision to schedule accession talks for Cyprus.

- EU accession talks for Cyprus are scheduled to commence six months after the conclusion of the EU Intergovernmental Conference. We hope the prospect of these talks will help provide an incentive for the two communities to reach a comprehensive settlement that will enable a federated Cyprus to join the EU.

Economic Assistance:

- Sustained a $15 million assistance program to Cyprus, intended to foster greater bicommunal interaction on the island.
• U.S. assistance program, the only bilateral assistance program on the island, is creating opportunities for the two communities to cooperate in the planning and implementation of development projects, benefiting the entire island.

The scholarship component of the aid program is creating a shared education experience for young Turkish and Greek Cypriots. More than 20% of Cypriots in universities are now studying in the United States.

UN Peacekeeping:

• Maintained strong U.S. support for periodic renewal of the mandate for UN peacekeeping forces on Cyprus.

Extradition Treaty:

• Concluded bilateral extradition treaty with Cyprus in 1996.

Missing Americans:

• Ambassador Robert Dillon and Chief Investigator Edward Lee have been conducting an investigation into the whereabouts of 5 American citizens who disappeared during the fighting on Cyprus in 1974. Ambassador Dillon and Mr. Lee are nearing the end of their investigation and will be issuing a report during the next few months.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Administration is committed to a sustained effort on Cyprus, in support of the UN Secretary General’s mission of good offices for Cyprus. To this end, the United States will continue to:

• Encourage the parties involved to conclude a comprehensive settlement which will establish a bizonal, bicommmunal federation for Cyprus.

• Encourage the parties to halt the militarization drive which is now taking place on both sides of the island in order to reduce the potential for an outbreak of violence.

• Support efforts by the United Nations to reduce tensions between the two sides along the UN Buffer Zone.

• Maintain close consultations with the United Nations, the EU and individual European states on efforts to assist in the search for a settlement.

• Support mandate renewal for UN peacekeeping forces on Cyprus as long as the UN operation remains cost-efficient and critical to preventing an outbreak of hostilities.

Last Update: August 7, 1996
“For 50 years, Italy has been one of America's closest allies -- a pillar of the Atlantic Alliance throughout the Cold War, a strong advocate for freedom and democracy in the years since. Nowhere is this common sentiment more evident than in our work in the former Yugoslavia. Italy and other members of IFOR are doing invaluable work. They're giving the people of Bosnia a chance for peace.”

President Clinton, Visit of Italian President Scalfaro
April 2, 1996

U.S.-Italian relations are strong and rest on a solid base of shared political, security and economic interests and values. These shared values of culture and kinship were highlighted during President Scalfaro’s April 1996 State visit to the United States and President Clinton’s two visits to Italy in 1994, as well as by Prime Ministers Prodi’s and Dini’s regular visits to Washington. The large Italian community in the United States provides an important bridge between the two countries and societies. A strong NATO ally, Italy occupies an important strategic position in the Mediterranean, critical to regional security and to stability in the Balkans, North Africa and the Middle East.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Bosnia:

• Italy has deployed 2600 IFOR troops and provided significant reconstruction assistance to Bosnia.

Counter-Terrorism and Organized Crime:

• Cooperated closely with Italy in the battle against terrorism and organized crime.

• Law enforcement officials captured and arrested the Mafia boss responsible for the murder of anti-Mafia magistrates and the 1993 bombings in Rome, Florence and Milan.

Slovenia:

• Encouraged and supported resolution of the Italo-Slovene bilateral property dispute.

• Italy paved the way for Slovenia to sign an association agreement with the European Union and integrate fully into the West.
Fishing:

- Italy underscored its commitment to the environment by reaffirming its adherence to Italian and international undertakings against large-scale, high seas driftnet fishing.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

Italy is an important and trusted ally which shares with the U.S. key political, economic and military interests. Italian-Americans have made important contributions to American society and culture. The Clinton Administration is committed to enhancing our close and special partnership with Italy by:

- Working closely together, along with our other Allies, to enlarge NATO, strengthen the Partnership for Peace and meet the new and difficult challenges of the post-Cold War world.

- Continuing the effort to bring lasting peace and stability to the Balkans.

- Working closely and cooperatively on the full range of issues, in particular organized crime and terrorism.

- Consulting on the formulation of bilateral and allied, defense, security, and peacekeeping policies.

- Supporting Italy’s ongoing political and economic transformation.

Last Update: July 24, 1996
PARTNERSHIP WITH GERMANY: ADVANCING COMMON GOALS

"Because our nations have stood shoulder to shoulder for so long, last summer Chancellor Kohl and I could walk through the Brandenburg Gate together without checkpoints, without armed sentries. Now our two nations must continue our journey together with the same resolve we have shown in the past, working together to solve the new problems we face and to create a truly integrated Europe."

President Clinton, Remarks Welcoming Chancellor Kohl, The White House
February 9, 1995

The Clinton Administration has adapted America's friendship with Germany to the post-Cold War era, forging a partnership in pursuit of our shared goals: a secure, undivided Europe; a stable, democratic Russia; and a global economy strengthened by open markets.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Presidential Engagement:
- President Clinton held over ten substantive meetings with German Chancellor Kohl including a July '94 visit in Berlin.

Commitment to Security:
- Germany is home to 80,000 of the 100,000 U.S. troops stationed in Europe, a visible symbol of our joint commitment to European security.

Undivided Europe:
- Worked closely with Germany to overcome the past divisions in Europe and build an integrated, prosperous and secure European continent.
- Germany has demonstrated its commitment to an undivided Europe by its support for reform in Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. Germany's economic assistance to the former Soviet Union totals $55 billion to date -- almost half of the total bilateral Western support. German aid to Central Europe totals some $31 billion.

NATO Enlargement and Partnership for Peace:
- Enlisted German support for enlarging NATO, adapting its internal structures, and identifying and implementing new roles and missions.
- For 1996, Germany planned 13 bilateral and multilateral military exercises in support of NATO's Partnership for Peace, hosting four of them.
Bosnia:

- Proved strong diplomatic support for the German government in its ground-breaking decision to contribute military units to the peacekeeping force in the former Yugoslavia.

- Germany contributed air, transport and logistics support, an engineering brigade, and a field hospital to IFOR operations, reinforcing our efforts to restore peace.

Holocaust Compensation:

- In September 1995, Germany and the United States signed an agreement to compensate American citizens Holocaust survivors. The first tranche has already been paid out, and the Justice Department is identifying all remaining American survivors who qualify.

Aviation:

- Signed an “Open Skies” civil aviation agreement creating the world’s largest fully open bilateral air services market to liberalize trade and improve options and prices for consumers.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- Working closely together, along with other Allies, to enlarge NATO, strengthen the Partnership for Peace and meet the new and difficult challenges of the post-Cold War world.

- Encouraging Germany to further develop its out-of-area military crisis capability for multinational actions, such as Germany’s participation in IFOR.

- Working with Germany to strengthen open markets and trade among an integrated Europe, the U.S. and the rest of the world.

- In keeping with the German government’s plans to move from Bonn to Berlin, building a new U.S. Embassy near the Brandenburg Gate.

Last Update: July 24
ENERGETIC, PRODUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH SCANDINAVIA

"The sons and daughters of Scandinavia who immigrated to this country in past centuries brought with them that abiding passion for justice and equality, and their determination to build a better life for themselves and their children has enriched our Nation immeasurably."

President Clinton
Leif Erikson Day Proclamation, October 7, 1994

The Administration has an energetic and productive relationship with the Nordic countries -- Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and Norway -- who have become players in top U.S. foreign policy priorities in the Middle East, Bosnia, Russia and the Baltic states. The Scandinavians have also provided crucial support to the Administration’s efforts to build a new security architecture in Europe.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

NATO Collaboration:

• The Nordic countries are playing an unprecedented, increasingly active role within the Alliance (Denmark, Norway, Iceland) and through the Partnership for Peace (Sweden, Finland). They have made significant troop contributions to the International Force in Bosnia (IFOR), actively engaged in hosting Partnership for Peace exercises, and taken forward-looking positions on European security issues, including NATO and European Union enlargement/adaptation.

• The U.S. recently signed a new five-year “Agreed Minute” with Iceland which will ensure Icelandic support for the U.S. Naval Air Station at Keflavik, reduce U.S. maintenance costs and improve combat readiness.

Baltic Freedom and Security:

• The U.S., joined by Finland and Sweden, encouraged the Russians to withdraw 130,000 former Soviet troops from the three Baltic states, where they had been an occupying force for close to 50 years. Only 800 Russian technical military advisors remain in Latvia.

• The Administration provided $10.75 million in training and equipment in FY 95 to the Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion (BaltBat); the Scandinavians also contributed generously. BaltBat-trained troops now serve in IFOR and will join Norwegian peacekeepers in Lebanon.

U.S. Military Exports:

• Concluded major contracts for U.S. military defense items in the Nordic region.
Finland’s purchase of U.S. F/A-18 aircraft (a $4.2 million sale) marks a major shift away from traditional eastern suppliers; Norway, Denmark and Sweden have made major purchases of U.S. AMRAAM missiles.

Trade:

- Iceland is opening its economy significantly to greater U.S. trade and investment.

Environmental Cooperation:

- The U.S. spearheaded the establishment of the Arctic Military Environmental Cooperation (AMEC) program between the Norwegian, U.S., and Russian military to address the potentially devastating environmental legacy in the Arctic region left by Soviet nuclear programs.

Middle East Peace Process:

- Supported strong Norwegian engagement in the Middle East peace process.
- Norway was a key broker in securing recent peace agreements in the Middle East and currently chairs the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee which coordinates assistance to Palestinian reconstruction.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration is dedicated to enhanced cooperation with the Nordic countries. The Administration plans to:

- Work closely with Nordic countries on European security issues, such as NATO enlargement/adaptation, enhancement of the Partnership for Peace, strengthening of Baltic security and achievement of U.S. security and civilian objectives in Bosnia.
- Continue to work with Norway in facing the daunting task of securing lasting peace in the Middle East.
- Increase collaboration with Norway and other interested Nordic countries to ensure further positive evolution in northwest Russia in terms of business, environment and health.
- Capitalize on major commercial opportunities in the Nordic countries, particularly in the military sector.

Last Update: July 24, 1996
SOLID U.S.-PORTUGUESE RELATIONS

"A unique links exists between the peoples of the United States and of Portugal through the rich cultural heritage of the Portuguese-American communities throughout the United States. Those ties span generations...from brave seafarers under sail to modern oceanographers, our contact has been continuous and fruitful."

President Clinton, Washington, D.C.
May 8, 1995

U.S.-Portuguese relations are excellent and rest on a solid base of shared political, security, and economic interests and values. The strong Portuguese-American community in the U.S. provides an important link between the two nations. Portugal is committed to a strong transatlantic relationship and actively supports a continued U.S. role in European security.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Base Treaties:

- Brought to a successful conclusion negotiations on a new base treaty governing U.S. access to Lajes AFB in the Azores, other defense relations, and a broad range of non-defense activities.

U.S.-Portugal Defense Treaty:

- The new U.S.-Portugal Treaty on Cooperation and Defense, signed June 1, 1995, provided the basis for intensified partnership and cooperation between our two countries.

Expo '98:

- Announced U.S. participation in Lisbon's Expo '98 and named Former Congressman and Portuguese-American Tony Coelho as Commissioner General.

Tax Treaty:

- Concluded a bilateral tax treaty and a bilateral customs agreement to facilitate trade and investment.

Bosnia:

- Portugal has deployed over 900 IFOR troops and 50 police officers to help keep the peace in Bosnia. Portugal is also providing technical support for reconstruction.
THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration is dedicated to building upon our close relations with Portugal, one of our oldest allies, by:

- Working closely together, along with our other Allies, to enlarge NATO, strengthen the Partnership for Peace and meet the new and difficult challenges of the post-Cold War world.

- Continuing the effort to bring lasting peace and stability to the Balkans.

- Implementing fully the Agreement on Cooperation and Defense.

- Consulting closely with Portugal on key multilateral and regional issues of mutual concern such as NATO, IFOR, Angola, and East Timor.

- Ensuring successful U.S. participation in Lisbon’s Expo ‘98.

- Seeking and promoting trade and investment opportunities.

Last Updated: July 24, 1996
U.S.-IRELAND: A PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS

"For touching the hearts and minds of peace-loving people in every corner of the world; for the risk you must now continue to take for peace; for inspiring the nations of the world by your example; and for giving so much to make America great, America says, thank you. Thank you, Ireland, and God bless you all."

President Clinton, Address to the People of Ireland
Dublin, Ireland
December 1, 1995

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Advanced the Peace Process:

• Worked closely with the Irish and British Governments to advance the peace process in Northern Ireland.

• Played key role in bringing about an 18-month cease-fire, longest in the history of the "troubles," which has saved hundreds of lives.

• Strongly condemned February 9 IRA bomb and subsequent acts of terrorism. Continue to press hard for IRA to restore cease-fire.

• Former Senator George Mitchell and two colleagues are chairing the talks that began on June 10. Senator Mitchell had previously chaired the International Body that was charged by the two governments with making recommendations on the weapons decommissioning issue.

• Remain deeply engaged with British and Irish Governments and parties in effort to secure a just and lasting peace. Talks on the future of Northern Ireland are underway. The door remains open to Sinn Fein participation if the IRA cease-fire is restored.

Historic Trip to Ireland, North and South:

• President Clinton made historic Fall 1995 trip to Ireland and was the first sitting U.S. President to visit Northern Ireland. Galvanized support for peace among people of Ireland, North and South.

• Helped pave the way for negotiations that have given hope to the people of Northern Ireland that a lasting peace is possible.

Irish State Visit:

• Hosted Irish President Mary Robinson for a state visit to Washington, the first state visit by an Irish President in 30 years.
Economic Growth:

- First Administration to request funding for the International Fund for Ireland. Since its inception in 1986, the IFI has created 29,000 jobs in the border counties of Ireland and in Northern Ireland.

- Hosted a May 1995 conference to promote trade and investment in the border counties of Ireland and Northern Ireland. In June 1996 the U.S. Government sponsored a successful infotech trade mission to Ireland.

- Irish economy is fastest-growing in Europe, with anticipated GNP growth of over 7% this year.

- North-South trade and investment increased over 20% in the last two years. Some 50 additional border crossing points between the Republic and Northern Ireland have been reopened since 1994.

U.S. Investment:

- U.S. companies and investors in Ireland employ over 47,000 people.

- Over 400 U.S. firms have invested $8 billion in Ireland.

Foreign Investment:

- Foreign investment has continued to increase dramatically; in the last few months, companies announced 10 major new investments expected to generate 2000 jobs in the north.

Peacekeeping:

- Ireland plays a key role in international peacekeeping efforts, including heading the International Police Task Force in Bosnia.

Visa Waiver:

- Implemented visa waiver program that allows Irish citizens to enter the U.S. without visas.

EU Presidency:

- Ireland is currently the Presidency country of the 15-member European Union. The Irish Government has made the fight against drugs a priority of its Presidency.
U.S. Aircraft Carrier Port Visit:

- Aircraft carrier "John F. Kennedy" visited Ireland in 1996, first-ever visit by aircraft carrier to an Irish port.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration is dedicated to continuing to build our relations with Ireland on the basis of shared ties and common values.

- Continue to work together in the search for a just and lasting peace in Northern Ireland.

- Support trade and investment in Northern Ireland and the border counties of Ireland through a conference to be held in Pittsburgh in October.

- Increase our bilateral cooperation in the fight against drugs.

- Work with Ireland during its EU Presidency to enhance U.S.-European cooperation in such new areas as health and the environment as well as efforts to combat narcotics, terrorism and international crime.

Last Update: August 2, 1996
BRINGING PEACE TO NORTHERN IRELAND

"Peace is more than cease-fires and formal agreements. It demands real hope and progress in the hearts of people. It demands common striving for the common good. It is time for those who have been most affected by the fighting to feel this kind of hope and this sense of progress."

President Clinton, Trade and Investment Conference
Washington, D.C.
May 25, 1995

The United States has been deeply involved in the search for a peaceful, durable solution to the "troubles" in Northern Ireland, supporting the efforts of the governments of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. President Clinton, the first U.S. President to engage in the effort, has worked hard in persuading all parties to the conflict that a just and lasting peace can only be achieved through dialogue and reconciliation. In January 1994, the President granted a visa to allow Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams to come to the United States as part of a strategy to bring about an IRA cease-fire; a cease-fire was declared in August of that year. Despite setbacks such as the IRA's return to violence in February and the July confrontation in Drumcree, the peace process is moving forward. The talks in Belfast chaired by former Senator George Mitchell offer an historic opportunity to forge a future of promise and prosperity for both communities. The United States continues to press for the restoration of the IRA cease-fire, which would permit Sinn Fein to join the Belfast talks.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Cease Fire:

- Played key role in bringing about an 18-month cease-fire, longest in the history of the "troubles," which has saved hundreds of lives.

- Strongly condemned February 9 IRA bomb and subsequent acts of terrorism. Continue to press hard for IRA to restore cease-fire.

- Former Senator George Mitchell is chairing the talks that began on June 10. Senator Mitchell had previously chaired the International Body that was charged by the two governments with making recommendations on the weapons decommissioning issue.

- Remain deeply engaged with British and Irish Governments and parties in effort to secure a just and lasting peace. Talks on the future of Northern Ireland are underway. The door remains open to Sinn Fein participation if the IRA cease-fire is restored.

Reduction of Violence:

- While recent incidents are a cause for serious concern, political violence in Northern Ireland, which used to claim about 100 lives every year, has dropped sharply since the cease-fire was
first declared: Hundreds of people are alive today who would have fallen victim to that violence as the loyalist cease-fire continues to hold.

Visit:

- President Clinton’s **historic visit to Northern Ireland** in November 1995 galvanized popular support for peace.

IFI:

- First Administration to request funding for the **International Fund for Ireland**. Since its inception in 1986, the IFI has created 29,000 jobs in Northern Ireland and the border counties of the Republic.

Trade:

- Hosted a May 1995 conference to **promote investment** in Northern Ireland and the border counties of the Republic. In June 1996 the U.S. Government sponsored a successful infotech trade mission to Ireland.

- Foreign investment has continued to increase dramatically; in the last few months, companies announced 10 major new investments expected to generate 2,000 jobs in the north.

- North-South trade and investment increased over 20% in the last two years. Some 50 additional border crossing points between the Republic and Northern Ireland have been reopened since 1994.

- U.S. companies and investors in Ireland employ over 47,000 people with investments of over $8 billion.

**THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:**

The Clinton Administration continues to use diplomatic leverage and economic initiatives to help forge a permanent settlement in Northern Ireland. The United States will continue to:

- Press for the restoration of the IRA cease-fire.

- Urge all parties to reject further violence and focus their efforts on the negotiating table.

- Encourage all parties to the conflict to abide by the Mitchell Principles requiring commitment to nonviolent change.

- Support the current process of political negotiations.
• Support loyalist leaders who have shown courage in their efforts to keep the loyalist cease-fire in place.

• Promote additional investment across the isle to encourage further cross-border trade and economic development. The Commerce Department will host a conference on trade and development in Northern Ireland and the border counties in Pittsburgh in October.

Last Update: July 29, 1996
ASIA FACT SHEETS

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U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE ASIA PACIFIC

"It is time for America to join with...others in this region to create a New Pacific Community...built on shared effort, shared benefit and shared destiny."

President Clinton, Waseda University, Tokyo
July, 1993

President Clinton has recognized that with the end of the Cold War, the Asia Pacific region is more important to American interests than ever before. In 1993, President Clinton launched a renewed and revitalized American engagement in the Asia Pacific, which has resulted in: the maintenance of U.S. troop levels, affirmation of the five core bilateral treaty alliances (Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Thailand and Australia), a new security partnership with Japan for the 21st century, an annual summit process among leaders of the region under the APEC (Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation) umbrella, closer ties to the dynamic economies of ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations), a working relationship with China, an agreement with North Korea that has frozen, and will dismantle, its nuclear weapons program, and new initiatives for peace on the Korean peninsula. The President has placed unprecedented emphasis on protecting our strategic and economic interests in Asia and strengthening our relationships with key allies and partners. The President has demonstrated that strong leadership can promote American economic interests while strengthening our vital security relationships at the same time. President Clinton has made clear: America will remain an Asia Pacific power.

A RECORD OF ACTION AND ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Maintaining the American Security Presence - Preserving the Peace

U.S. Troops in Asia:

- Committed to keep U.S. troop levels in Asia at about 100,000, the same levels as maintained in Europe, because we have a vital interest in Asia’s stability and prosperity.

Regional Security Treaties:

- Revitalized the U.S. security treaties with Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Australia and Thailand because these are the linchpins for sustaining peace.

  • The American military deterrent has created the security essential to peaceful political evolution and economic development in the Asia Pacific region, which accounts for one-half of the world’s population and economic output.
U.S.-Japan Security Alliance:

- Recrafted and strengthened the U.S.-Japan security alliance to secure continued peace and stability in the region; to provide for greater Japanese support of American forces; and to adjust our force presence without sacrificing preparedness levels.

- For 50 years the U.S.-Japan alliance and our bilateral treaty structure has sustained peace and stability in the Asia Pacific. The Japanese Government bears seventy-five percent of the cost of keeping American troops there.

Taiwan Strait:

- Acted to reduce tensions in the Taiwan Strait through active diplomacy and the dispatch of naval vessels to the region in response to Chinese efforts to intimidate the Taiwan elections process through military exercises.

KEDO:

- Removed one of the greatest threats to regional peace by reaching an accord with North Korea that freezes and then reverses its dangerous nuclear program; established KEDO (Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization) as a consortium to implement the Agreed Framework to achieve a nuclear free Korean peninsula. We achieved this breakthrough by working closely with our allies, South Korea and Japan, and China.

Korean Peninsula Peace Proposal:

- Announced with Korean President Kim Young Sam a peace proposal to bring a permanent and stable peace to the Korean peninsula, demonstrating an unprecedented degree of cooperation with our South Korean ally.

Chinese Cooperation on WMD and CTBT:

- Obtained Chinese support for stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction; working with Beijing to join the U.S. and others to conclude promptly a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

Defending American Economic Interests

Access to Japanese Markets:

- Negotiated over 20 market access agreements with Japan, increasing U.S. exports by 85% in sectors covered by these agreements; vigorously pursued enforcement of Japanese commitments under those agreements.
Our deficit with Japan fell last year by almost 10 percent, the first time since 1990 that our annual bilateral trade deficit has decreased; U.S. exports to Japan have increased by 34 percent over the last three years.

China MFN:

- Secured and retained renewal of China’s MFN (Most Favored Nation) status, to maintain the national security engagement with China necessary to advance our interests.

ASEAN:

- Concluded both the Uruguay Round and bilateral market access agreements with ASEAN countries.

- The ASEAN Regional Forum has been created, the region’s first broadly based consultative body concerned with security issues, reflecting this Administration’s readiness to use new multilateral institutions to help lessen tensions and promote cooperation.

- Two way trade with ASEAN countries, together our fourth largest trading partner, reached $84 billion in 1994, with the value of American exports rising more than 10 percent over 1993 levels.

China and IPR:

- Negotiated an unprecedented intellectual property rights agreement with China and will vigorously enforce the provisions of the agreement to obtain the closure of pirating factories and the seizures of pirated goods targeted for export to Asia Pacific markets.

Enforcement of Trade Agreements:

- Have track record of imposing strong penalties against those who violate intellectual property rights and other obligations under negotiated trade agreements.

APEC:

- Instituted annual APEC economic leaders summit meetings and secured APEC’s commitment to achieve free trade and investment throughout the region by 2020.

- President Clinton initiated annual APEC leaders summits and APEC leaders have undertaken a political commitment to achieve free trade and investment throughout the region.

U.S. Exports to Asia:

- One third of all U.S. exports are destined for the Asia Pacific; these exports support nearly two and one-half million American jobs.
Promoting American Values

Vietnam POW/MIA Progress:

- Secured significant progress toward the fullest possible accounting for our POW/MIAs lost in the war in Indochina and normalized relations with Vietnam.

Elections:

- Supported national elections in Cambodia.
- Free elections have been held in Korea, Thailand, Philippines and Taiwan.

One China Policy:

- Implemented the long-standing one China policy in a manner that deepened our strong ties with the people of Taiwan, including support for the first popular elections for president.

Hong Kong:

- Consistently supported Sino-British joint declaration as the cornerstone for Hong Kong's future, including our support for human rights, the rule of law, and representative government in Hong Kong after July, 1997.

Burma Dialogue:

- Worked with others in the region to promote dialogue between the government of Burma and the democratic alliance led by Aung San Suu Kyi.

Cambodia:

- 400,000 refugees returned from Thailand to Cambodia; levels of violence have been reduced dramatically; and free elections have been held.

Human Rights:

- Pursued our interests in human rights with Asian countries, including China, bilaterally and at the United Nations Human Rights Commission.
Regional Cooperation:

- Worked with countries throughout the region to combat narcotics trafficking, protect the environment and improve educational opportunities of our peoples.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration is committed to promoting an Asia Pacific community based on the shared goals of sustaining peace and stability, achieving prosperity for our peoples and promoting more open societies and accountable governments. We will seek to advance our national interests by:

- Maintaining our strategic engagement in the region through bilateral security treaties and shared participation in new regional security arrangements.

- Enforcing our trade agreements, negotiating greater market access for U.S. exports of goods and services.

- Pursuing open trade and investment in the region through the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum.

- Encouraging the expansion of the rule of law in business and society through bilateral and regional dialogues.

- Undertaking initiatives to control narcotics trafficking, prevent the spread of disease, protect the environment and cooperate to curb international crime.

Last Update: July 29, 1996
ENGAGING WITH CHINA TO PROMOTE U.S. INTERESTS

"I think we have to see our relations with China within the broader context of our policies in the Asian Pacific region. I am determined to see that we maintain an active role in this region...I believe this is in the strategic, economic and political interests of both the United States and China...I am persuaded that the best path for advancing freedom in China is for the United States to intensify and broaden its engagement with that nation."

President Clinton
Press Conference, May 26, 1994

President Clinton knows that China's emergence as a global power requires a comprehensive policy of engagement that promotes all of America's interests, whether it is deterring the proliferation of dangerous weapons, opening China's markets to U.S. exports or speaking out for human rights. His vision is clear: U.S. interests are best served by a secure, stable, open and prosperous China - but also by a China that increasingly embraces international proliferation and trade rules, cooperates in regional and global peacekeeping and security initiatives and expands the rule of law and respect for the basic rights of the Chinese people. The President has acted decisively when necessary, as he did in sending Navy ships to the Taiwan Strait last March or in threatening trade sanctions to secure the protection of U.S. intellectual property in China. But he has also obtained Chinese cooperation on historic initiatives, such as North Korea's 1994 agreement to freeze, and eventually eliminate, its nuclear program and in promoting a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. This is a record of results that serves the interests of the United States, the Asia-Pacific region and the world.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

The Clinton Administration's record of results covers a broad range of U.S. national interests:

Security and Nonproliferation

Taiwan:

- Quickly dispatched Navy ships to the Taiwan Strait to counter Chinese efforts to influence Taiwan's domestic elections through provocative military exercises -- clearly signaling to China the grave consequences of aggression against Taiwan. At the same time, affirmed the three communiqués and the support of the American public for a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question. The President's handling of the tensions reassured Asia and the world.

- Have maintained the one China policy which allows us to pursue our interests with China while keeping strong, but unofficial ties between Americans and the people of Taiwan.
North Korea:

- Included China in efforts leading to the historic four-party peace proposal announced by Presidents Clinton and Kim in April 1996. For the first time in decades, this proposal offers the prospect of a stable, permanent peace on the Korean peninsula.

- Secured China’s support for North Korea’s 1994 agreement to freeze, and eventually dismantle, North Korea’s nuclear weapons program.

Nonproliferation:

- Obtained Chinese support for stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction; working with Beijing to strengthen export controls and to conclude promptly a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, which would ban all nuclear testing.

Trade and Economics

U.S. Exports:

- In 1995 alone, U.S. exports to China increased by nearly 27%. At $12 billion, these exports were more than double their 1990 level.

- China is the United States’ fifth largest trading partner; China is the fastest growing export market for American goods and services and exports to China support more than 170,000 American jobs.

Trade Agreements:

- Concluded in 1995 an unprecedented intellectual property rights agreement, in which China agreed to shut down factories producing pirated CD’s and CD-ROM’s, to seize pirated products intended for export, and to increase raids on pirate manufacturers and distributors. Secured improved market access for the motion picture, computer software and sound recording industries by negotiating tariff reductions and elimination of quotas and obtaining authority for American firms to enter into joint venture arrangements with local Chinese artists. Administration has made enforcement of the agreement a top priority and concluded an important follow-up agreement in June 1996.

- Secured Congressional approval, by a 2-to-1 margin, of renewing Most-Favored-Nation trade status for China.

- Secured a tough 1995 textile and apparel agreement with China establishing orderly conditions for textile and apparel imports.
Trade Enforcement:

- Enforced agreement eliminating Chinese trade barriers covering products in thousands of sectors. Also secured Chinese agreement to publish trade laws and regulations in accordance with normal international standards. U.S. exports of electric machinery - such items as telecommunications equipment, semiconductors and photocopiers - were in 1995 more than 40% higher than just two years earlier. U.S. sales of telecommunications equipment reached nearly $3 billion since the agreement was concluded.

Trade Organizations:

- U.S. supports China's entering World Trade Organization (WTO) -- on a commercially viable basis.

- China has played a constructive role in securing APEC's commitment to achieve free trade and investment in the Asia Pacific region by 2020.

**Human Rights and Global Issues**

Human and Political Rights:

- Pursued our human rights interests bilaterally and multilaterally, including co-sponsorship of resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission. Effort helped keep international spotlight on human rights abuses in China.

- Vigorously enforced the memorandum of understanding on prison labor products leading to seizures of Chinese exports to the United States.

- Consistently pressed for the release of those imprisoned for peaceful expression of their political or religious views and for the expansion of universally recognized human rights.

Business Standards:

- Issued principles for the conduct of American businesses globally, including in China.

Global Cooperation:

- Vice President Gore launched a sustainable development initiative to promote Chinese understanding of the environmental consequences of economic development and to encourage Chinese use of American environmental and energy technologies.

- China is working with us to combat global threats such as damage to the environment, narcotics trafficking and alien smuggling.
THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration will continue its comprehensive engagement with China on a broad range of political, security and economic issues. We are firm in our purpose--to integrate China into the world community--and clear in our objective--to work with China in support of core U.S. interests, such as sustaining peace, stability, and prosperity in the Asia Pacific. We will work to:

- Integrate China into the global and regional security institutions and dialogues.
- Continue support for our long-standing one China policy, which allows the U.S. to maintain its strong but unofficial ties with the people of Taiwan, while maintaining good relations with Beijing and overall stability in the Taiwan Strait.
- Enforce our trade agreements and expand market access for American products.
- Bring China into the rules-based multilateral trading system on terms that ensure Chinese trade policy meets international standards of commercial behavior.
- Enforce U.S. proliferation statutes and ensure China's actions match international standards aimed at preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction.
- Encourage the expansion of the rule of law in business and society, including intensifying our dialogue on human rights.

Last Update: July 29, 1996
SECURITY TIES AND RECIPROCAL TRADE WITH JAPAN

“Our security alliance is key to maintaining a Pacific at peace, especially at this time of profound regional change. The Security Declaration that the Prime Minister and I just signed is a result of more than one year's hard work and careful study. It strengthens our alliance for the 21st century.”


President Clinton entered office determined to undertake a new approach to our partnership with Japan. This new approach called for a more even distribution of the burdens and benefits of our relationship. Our goal was to redefine the alliance to meet the demands of the post Cold War era and build a partnership for the Twenty-first Century, to repair our damaged economic relations, and to end soaring trade deficits at home.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Our Close Security Relationship:

Military Personnel and Facilities:

• Japan and the United States renewed the Host Nation Support agreement through which Japan provides nearly $25 million over five years for support of the 47,000 U.S. military personnel stationed in Japan.

• Without sacrificing defense readiness, we are reducing and consolidating U.S. facilities in Japan, in particular on Okinawa, to lessen any burden of the American military presence on Japanese communities.

Military Cooperation:

• Japan and the U.S. reached a joint agreement to bring the F-2 fighter plane into production.

• Each country has issued a national defense statement that reaffirms its commitment to regional security and its dedication to reinvigorating the U.S.-Japan security treaty.

• We concluded an Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement that enhances the peacetime interoperability of our militaries.

North Korean Denuclearization:

• Japan is a generous partner in helping eliminate North Korea's nuclear program, including providing support for the four-party peace proposal of Presidents Clinton and Kim and
contributing financially to KEDO and its international efforts to implement the agreed nuclear framework with North Korea.

Security Outreach:

- Japan is a significant contributor to reconstruction in Bosnia and to the Middle East Peace Process.

Our Reciprocal Trade Relationship:

- Our new Economic Framework has produced over 20 trade agreements (covering everything from medical supplies to computers) that improve U.S. access to important Japanese markets. Exports in these sectors are up 85 percent -- total 1995 exports are up 35% since 1993.

- Auto exports are up 37% as a direct result of the Auto Agreement. Exports of auto parts have grown by 60 percent since 1992.

- In 1995, our bilateral deficit declined by almost 10% compared to 1994. In the first six months of 1996, our deficit with Japan was down even further, 31% from a year earlier.

Our Common Agenda:

- In 1993, President Clinton and then-Prime Minister Miyazawa declared a “Common Agenda” to deepen and expand our mutual cooperation to solve global challenges in such areas as the environment, education, combating AIDS, and fighting terrorism.

- During the April 1996 State Visit new joint efforts to eradicate polio worldwide and to improve responses throughout the region to natural disasters were announced.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- The U.S.-Japan partnership has sustained regional peace for nearly fifty years and is now poised to meet the challenge of the next fifty years. We envision an alliance based on advancing our common interests rather than on containing mutual enemies.

- As the world’s two largest economic powers, the U.S. and Japan share responsibility to invigorate global and regional economies and to sustain economic growth. We must strengthen the rules of the global trading system and enhance the role of APEC dialogue (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) in opening new regional markets.

- Through our regular economic dialogue we will continue to address the many issues that are critical to the health of our economies and the global marketplace. Through our “Common Agenda” we will galvanize world support for cooperative solutions to the pressing transnational problems that lie beyond any one country’s capacity to address.
President Clinton's goal of building an Asia Pacific community grounded in peace, stability and prosperity is based on shared U.S.-Republic of Korea (South Korea) interests in security, economics, democracy, and in developing an enduring peace with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea). Through close consultation over three years we have made progress in all of these areas.

**A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:**

**Security:**
- The U.S. has maintained a strong security relationship with South Korea, including the forward deployment of 38,000 U.S. troops -- one of the important ways in which we maintain U.S. leadership in the Asian Pacific.

- The U.S.-Korea security treaty is one of the five bilateral defense alliances that form the cornerstone of American engagement in the Asia Pacific. We are renewing our Status of Forces Agreement that provides for Korean support of our military presence on the peninsula.

- Presidents Clinton and Kim proposed talks among North and South Korea, China and the United States to reduce tensions on the peninsula and replace the armistice agreement with a permanent peace treaty.

**North Korea Denuclearization:**

- Working with South Korea and others we reached agreement on a framework with North Korea that freezes and leads to the eventual elimination of North Korea's dangerous nuclear program. An international consortium (KEDO) will oversee this process.

- North Korea continues to adhere to the requirement to "freeze" its nuclear facilities as required by the October 1994 Agreed Framework; canning of spent fuel rods continues under international safeguards.
North Korea Dialogue:

• Bilateral missile talks are underway to secure a reduction of tension and a freeze on missile development and deployment on the peninsula.

• Bilateral discussions to advance our goal of accounting for our POW/MIA's from the Korean War are underway; we have completed one joint recovery operation with North Korea and a second is planned for September.

U.S. Humanitarian Assistance to North Korea:

• The United States contributed $6 million to the international appeal for carefully monitored humanitarian assistance to North Korea intended to address the severe food shortages resulting from extreme flooding in several regions of the North.

U.S. Exports to South Korea:

• U.S. exports to South Korea were up 40 percent last year to over $25 billion.

• U.S. trade balance with South Korea shifted from a $1.6 billion deficit in 1994 to a $1.2 billion U.S. surplus last year.

South Korean Economic Reform:

• South Korea’s economy has registered impressive growth thanks to regular economic negotiations with the U.S. and due to internal economic deregulation and liberalization. South Korea is actively negotiating membership in the OECD (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development).

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

• The 16 April Summit meeting between Presidents Clinton and Kim reaffirmed the U.S.-South Korea security alliance which serves to deter hostilities on the Korean peninsula. We will work with South Korea to ensure these ties remain strong and firm.

• We will continue to implement the nuclear agreement with North Korea and improve the international monitoring of the agreement. Our goal is a nuclear-free Korean peninsula.

• We will explore ways to encourage the North-South dialogue which is so necessary to achieving a permanent peace on the peninsula.
• Working together as democracies, Korea and the United States will strive to expand the rule of law throughout the Asia Pacific region.

• As our economic relationship with Korea continues to grow (South Korea is our 7th largest trading partner), we are working to improve market access for U.S. products. Reforming trade regulations in several key industries, including autos and telecommunication, will create new jobs at home.

Last Updated: August 15, 1996
ADVANCING RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM

"Never before in ... history ... has such an extensive effort been made to resolve the fate of soldiers who did not return. Let me emphasize, normalization of our relations with Vietnam is not the end of our effort. We will keep working until we get all the answers we can. Our strategy is working."

President Clinton, Public Remarks
White House, July 11, 1995

From the outset of his Administration, the President has been determined secure the fullest possible accounting for Americans who were missing in action (MIA) or held as prisoners of war (POW) during the war in Indochina, while advancing relations with Vietnam as progress is made. This policy has worked: Vietnam's continuing efforts have significantly advanced our goal of achieving the fullest possible accounting for POW/MIA's. To make further progress, we have gradually restored political, diplomatic and economic relations with Vietnam.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Fullest Possible Accounting:

- Dispatched four Presidential Delegations to Vietnam to advance our fullest possible accounting efforts.

Systematic and Comprehensive POW/MIA Accounting:

- Established four categories of POW/MIA accounting to provide a systematic and comprehensive approach to our accounting efforts:
  
  (1) Resolving discrepancy cases and live sightings, as well as conducting field activities;
  
  (2) Recovering and repatriating American remains;
  
  (3) Accelerating efforts to provide documents that will help lead to the fullest possible accounting of POW/MIA's; and
  
  (4) Providing further assistance in implementing trilateral investigations with Laos.
Discrepancy Cases:

- We have confirmed the fate of eighty-five individuals on the Vietnam last known alive discrepancy list, reducing the number of individuals whose fate remains unknown to fifty (from 135 as of January 1993 and from 196 originally). The remains of five individuals on the discrepancy case list have been identified this year, bringing the number of those whose remains have been recovered and identified to twenty-seven. We have conducted twenty joint field activities in Vietnam.

Remains:

- We have returned to the United States 183 sets of remains recovered through joint excavation and unilateral turn-over. Within the last year, the remains of fifty individuals repatriated from Vietnam have been identified and returned to their families.

Documents:

- Joint research teams reviewed and photographed approximately 28,000 archival items. In 1995, Vietnamese officials unilaterally turned over 295 documents totaling 563 untranslated pages; in the last ten months, Vietnam has provided forty-seven reports on last known alive discrepancy cases, and additional reports containing information on twelve individual Americans.

Trilateral Investigations:

- Since a December 1994 agreement on a mechanism for trilateral operations, seven Vietnamese witnesses have participated in joint field activities in Laos, providing information that led to the recovery and January 1996 repatriation of remains believed associated with a case involving eight unaccounted for Americans. Forty-two more Vietnamese witnesses have been identified to participate in future field activities in Laos.

Comprehensive Review:

- Completed the first-ever comprehensive review of each of the 2,202 individual cases from the war in Indochina, which identified the next appropriate steps for achieving accounting by the U.S., Vietnam, Laos or Cambodia.

Normalized Relations:

- Lifted the trade embargo in February, 1994; opened liaison offices in January, 1995; and normalized diplomatic relations in July, 1995.
• Bilateral discussions have been launched on the elements of a trade agreement, improved intellectual property protection, human rights issues, investment restrictions, and civil aviation concerns.

Trade Relations:


• Vietnam has become a member of the six nation Association of Southeast Asian Nations and is committed to implementing ASEAN’s free trade area scheme.

Refugee Support:

• Continued to implement the Orderly Departure Program and initiated the Resettlement Opportunities for Vietnamese Returnees, aimed at providing Vietnamese boat people of special interest to the United States a chance to settle in this country.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration is dedicated to achieving the fullest possible accounting for our POW/MIA’s; this remains the central priority in the development of our relations with Vietnam. The United States will:

• Continue to pursue all investigative leads related to POW/MIA issues.

• Support expansion of political dialogue with Vietnam on important issues of concern to the United States, including human rights, refugee resettlement and democratization.

• Conduct extensive consultations to secure meaningful market access for U.S. goods and services exports and close public debt accounts.

Last Updated: September 9, 1996
DEEPENING THE PARTNERSHIP WITH INDIA

"I told the Prime Minister that we heartily support his ambitious program of economic reform that brings India's economy into the global marketplace. This important reform plan will be the engine of growth in our relationships. Our Commerce Department has identified India as one of the 10 biggest emerging markets around the world. We are pleased at the rapid expansion of trade and investment between our two countries. We are now the largest bilateral trading partner and investor with India. We're proud of that, and we want that relationship to grow."

President Clinton
White House News Conference with Prime Minister Rao
May 19, 1994

India and the United States have much in common. We are both vast countries, multi-cultural democracies, and blessed with a dynamic and enterprising populace. Our relationship with India has tremendous potential as India seeks to nurture its blossoming high-tech industries and more fully integrate into the global economy. In May 1994, former Indian Prime Minister Rao and President Clinton called for a "new partnership" between India and the United States. Our combined achievements since then evince the power of our deepening relationship.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Trade & Investment:

- The United States is India's largest trading partner with $9 billion in bilateral trade and $3.2 billion in U.S. exports to India.

- US investments in India exceeds 25% of all foreign investment there. This total is four times that of the nearest competitor.

U.S. Assistance:

- India remains one of the most important beneficiaries of innovative new US assistance projects.

- Since 1993, US AID has provided assistance to the Securities and Exchange Board of India on administration, regulations, and technology to increase the efficiency of India's securities markets to attract domestic and foreign capital. This aid has helped India raise more than $14 billion in new capital last year.
• The US also provides technical assistance to Indian utilities and power authorities to develop methods of evaluating and selecting private-sector proposals as well as arranging for international financing. Over $5.5 billion in potential US investments in India’s power sector has been lined up through our technical assistance and training.

Military Cooperation:

• In January 1995, Secretary Perry agreed to a program of cooperation between the United States military and India on a wide range of security issues. This agreement has led to a growing schedule of exercises and exchanges as well as cooperation in international peacekeeping operations.

Diplomatic Engagement:

• Five US Cabinet Secretaries and the First Lady have all traveled to India since 1993, engaging Indian officials on the entire range of our bilateral and global relations.

Counter-Terrorism Cooperation:

• The United States also has an Anti-Terrorism Assistance program with India that will provide skills and training for Indian police officers in modern techniques of deterring and preventing terrorist attacks.

ASEAN:

• The US helped India gain admittance into the ASEAN Regional Forum.

Pakistan:

• The U.S. encourages India and Pakistan to settle their differences at the negotiating table and has offered to facilitate such talks should both parties desire our assistance.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

• Further expand bilateral and multilateral economic ties.

• Continue to urge India to solve its differences with Pakistan in a peaceful fashion.

• Press for direct negotiations between India and Pakistan on Jammu and Kashmir, taking into account the views of the people of Kashmir.
• Search for common ground on international efforts to end nuclear testing and to curb, and eventually eliminate, weapons of mass destruction in South Asia and the world.

Last Update: July 31, 1996
PAKISTAN: A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH AN OLD FRIEND

"The long-standing friendship between Pakistan and the United States ... goes back to Pakistan's independence."

President Clinton, Press Conference with Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, April 11, 1995

The relationship between Pakistan and the United States is as old as Pakistan itself. The United States has been a friend and supporter of Pakistan since its birth in 1947 as a free and democratic society. During the Cold War, the US developed a strong security relationship with Pakistan as one of our allies in the CENTO pact designed to contain Soviet expansion southward toward the Persian Gulf. These bonds were strengthened as our two nations labored to oppose the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan throughout the 1980s. Today, we seek to define a new relationship with Pakistan, one based not only on threats to our mutual security, but also on the promise of mutual economic and other interests that will lead to prosperity and stability in Pakistan and throughout South Asia.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Strong Relations:

- Hosted official working visit of Prime Minister Bhutto in April 1995. Numerous senior administration officials have met with their Pakistani counterparts, either in Washington or in Pakistan.

Brown Amendment:

- Enacted the Brown Amendment which will help put U.S.-Pakistan relations on a more stable footing. Among its provisions, it allows the return of $358 million of embargoed military equipment to Pakistan.

F-16:

- We are working to find purchasers for Pakistani F-16s, with proceeds from any sale being returned to Pakistan.

Peacekeeping:

- Worked to support and obtain funding from the international community for Pakistani peacekeeping efforts in Somalia, the Persian Gulf, and elsewhere.

U.S. Assistance:

- Donated over $70 million to Pakistani development assistance and agricultural programs since 1993.
• Contributed nearly $198 million for Afghan refugee assistance, nearly all of which is provided through Pakistan.

Pakistan and India:

• The U.S. encourages India and Pakistan to settle their differences at the negotiating table and has offered to facilitate such talks should both parties desire our assistance.

U.S.-Pakistan Trade:

• The U.S. is Pakistan's largest trading partner, with two-way trade of $2.3 billion in FY 1995, and its largest investor, with direct investment of $728 million in FY 91-95. Thanks to Pakistan's liberal energy policy and extensive privatization efforts, U.S. trade and investment is expected to continue to grow rapidly.

• To help U.S. business maintain and improve its position in the Pakistani market, the Clinton Administration has taken steps to form a U.S.-Pakistan Business Development Forum, which will provide a direct channel for private sector input to trade and investment policies that affect it. The U.S. has also maintained a regular dialogue with ranking Pakistani officials on behalf of U.S. economic and commercial interests.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The United States seeks to improve and expand its relationship with the government of Pakistan. We are trying to address Pakistan's legitimate security concerns in a manner that is not seen as threatening by its neighbors. We support the continued development of the democratic process in Pakistan and will seek to expand our relations with Pakistan to promote economic growth and prosperity both in the United States and Pakistan. We will:

• Continue to press the government of Pakistan to desist from the development or further acquisition of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles, to avert a destabilizing arms race in the region.

• Work with the U.S. private sector to maintain our position as Pakistan's largest trading partner and foreign investor.

• Develop new cooperative initiatives to combat the threats of terrorism and narcotics trafficking.

Last Updated: August 21, 1996
MIDDLE EAST
MIDDLE EAST FACT SHEETS

SUPPORTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
STANDING BY ISRAEL FOR PEACE AND SECURITY
THE PALESTINIANS: CREATING A NEW FUTURE
REBUILDING RELATIONS WITH LEBANON
SAUDI ARABIA AND THE GULF: A VITAL INTEREST
IRAQ AND IRAN: THE POLICY OF DUAL CONTAINMENT
THE U.S. AND THE ARAB WORLD
SUPPORTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

"The enemies of peace have grown desperate and more vicious as the reality of peace has moved closer, but we must not let acts of the wicked few destroy the dream of many. Together we must restore the security that building peace requires. Those who practice terror must not succeed. We must root them out, and we will not let them kill the peace."

President Clinton, Tel Aviv, Israel
March 13, 1996

"To the voices of hatred and violence I say, and let us all say, you kill yourselves and others in the aim of killing peace, yet... peace survives. And peace will grow stronger."

President Clinton, Summit of the Peacemakers, Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt
March 13, 1996

Since hostilities first erupted at the time of the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, the U.S. has been committed to achieving peace in the Middle East. The United States has undertaken peace making efforts at the same time that it has honored its long-standing commitment to the security of the State of Israel. Part of this commitment includes maintaining the sales of advanced military equipment to Israel.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process:

• Helped forge the agreements that led to the Israel-Palestinian Declaration of Principles in September 1993 and the Interim Agreement on Palestinian self-rule in September 1995. Both agreements were signed at the White House.

• Organized the creation of regional institutions designed to preserve the achievements of the peace process through long-term economic growth and prosperity.

• Provided diplomatic and technical support to Israel and led the international donor assistance effort to aid the Palestinians in implementing the Interim Agreement. In addition, active U.S. aid and encouragement paved the way for the first Palestinian elections on January 20, 1995.

Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty:

• Helped clear the way to the signing of a formal peace treaty between Jordan and Israel in October 1994. With U.S. support, these countries have made substantial progress in establishing a truly warm and enduring peace.
Israel-Syria Peace Talks:

- Served as the facilitator for peace talks between Israel and Syria.

Israel-Lebanon Border:

- Negotiated April 26, 1996 written agreement between Israel and Syria to end Hezbollah attacks on Israel and provide for restoration of calm and protection of civilians on both sides of the Lebanon-Israel border.

Counter-Terrorism:

- Took decisive unilateral action and led multilateral efforts to aid Israel against terrorists determined to undermine the peace process. Co-chaired the “Summit of the Peace Makers” at Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt in March 1996.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The United States continues to seek a comprehensive and lasting settlement in the Middle East which will ensure the security of Israel and its neighbors. We will continue to help those parties still in conflict negotiate durable peace agreements with and among each other; stand firm by those who already have undertaken such agreements with strong moral and material support; and demonstrate to the enemies of peace that violence and terror will not succeed in disrupting the process.

- Continue to serve as the key broker in the peace talks between Syria and Israel peace talks, helping those nations as they search for peace.

- Encourage further normalization of relations between Israel and all of the Arab states and an end to the boycott of Israel.

- Secure additional aid for the Palestinian Authority and encourage regional economic integration.

Last Update: July 30, 1996
STANDING BY ISRAEL FOR PEACE AND SECURITY

"It is the great challenge of your generation to overcome those fears in perhaps the hardest place in the world to do it. For you can live out your dreams only if you can convince others to lay down their fear and to define themselves in terms of what they can become, not who they can hate. We are determined to stand with you in that effort. We know that overcoming adversity is the genius of the Jewish people and the history of the state of Israel. No nation on Earth knows better that the path of triumph often passes through tragedy. No people know better through millennia of exile and persecution, inquisition and pogrom, the ultimate evil of the Holocaust, that you must deny victory to oppressors; that you must flourish -- indeed flourish, not just endure -- against all the odds.

"Israel is not alone. America stands with you, and with every passing day so do more people here and abroad. But we will not rest until, in the words of the psalm, 'there is peace within Israel's walls and security in her towers.' And we know that Israel will never give her enemies the victory they seek, never abandon the hope of peace, never lose hatikvah le shalom.'"

President Clinton, Remarks to the People of Israel, March 14, 1996

No administration has forged stronger ties to the state of Israel than the Clinton Administration. Although every President since Harry S. Truman has been committed to the security of Israel, it is widely recognized that no one has won the friendship and admiration of the Israeli people like President Clinton. As the President has repeatedly made clear in his words and his actions, the United States will stand with Israel through good times and bad because our nations cherish the same ideals of freedom, tolerance, compassion and democracy.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

U.S. Economic and Security Assistance to Israel:

- Maintained aid levels to Israel despite post-Cold War foreign aid cutbacks.
- Fulfilled our pledge to maintain Israel's qualitative military edge by providing the IDF with state-of-the-art early warning missile defenses and F-15E fighter-bombers, and by agreeing to fund development of the Arrow anti-tactical ballistic missile system.
- The United States is Israel's largest donor, and Israel is the United States' largest aid recipient. In 1995, the US provided Israel with $1.8 billion in military assistance and $1.2 billion in economic assistance.
- The United States is also Israel's largest trading partner. In 1995, U.S. trade with Israel topped $11.3 billion.
Diplomatic Cooperation:

- Held over a dozen meetings between President Clinton and Israeli Prime Ministers Rabin, Peres and Netanyahu.

Israel-Palestinian Agreement:

- Helped forge the agreements that led to the Israel-Palestinian Declaration of Principles in September 1993 and the Interim Agreement on Palestinian self-rule in September 1995. Both agreements were signed at the White House.

Israel-Jordan:

- Helped clear the way to the signing of a formal peace treaty between Jordan and Israel in October 1994. With US support, these countries have made substantial progress in establishing a truly warm and enduring peace.

Counter-Terrorism:

- Co-hosted the Sharm el-Sheikh Summit of the Peacemakers to galvanize international support to fight terrorist attacks on Israel.

- Provided $100 million in emergency counter-terrorism aid to Israel in the immediate aftermath of terrorist attacks in February and March of 1996.

- Signed the US-Israel Counter-Terrorism Accord to increase counter-terrorism cooperation and facilitate greater US counter-terrorism aid to Israel.

Syria-Lebanon:

- Brokered a written agreement among Israel, Syria, and Lebanon to prevent terrorist attacks on Israel from Lebanese soil in April 1996.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The United States' commitment to the security of Israel remains ironclad. Building on this foundation, the United States seeks to broaden and deepen our relations with the state of Israel, one of our closest friends and allies.

- Continue to stand by Israel as it takes risks for peace.

- Facilitate further peace negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors.
• Maintain Israel's qualitative military edge.

• Expand counter-terrorism cooperation between the US and Israel to better combat the threat of terrorism around the world.

Last Updated: August 21, 1996
THE PALESTINIANS: CREATING A NEW FUTURE

“Our purpose is to try to speed the peace process along and to help those like Chairman Arafat who take risks for peace. When people take risks for peace, we want to minimize those risks, and we want to do what we can to help improve life for ordinary people in the region. And we intend to do that.”

President Clinton, Press Conference with Palestinian Chairman Yasser Arafat, May 1, 1996

As co-sponsor of the Madrid process, the United States has been one of the strongest supporters of the Palestinian Authority. We have led the international effort to support the Palestinians financially. We have helped them and Israel through the arduous negotiations to spell out the role and functions of the Palestinian Authority. We have stood by the Palestinian people as they took risks for peace and we will continue to do so to see that Palestinians, Israelis and all of the peoples of the Middle East enjoy what President Clinton has called, “the quiet miracle of a normal life.”

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Israeli-Palestinian Accord:

• Helped facilitate the September 1993 Declaration of Principles, which established the Palestinian Authority, and the September 1995 Interim Agreement between Israel and the Palestinians.

International Assistance:

• Led the international donor effort to provide financial support for the Palestinians, including organizing the January 1996 Conference on Assistance to the Palestinians which secured $865 million in pledges to the Palestinian Authority.

U.S. Assistance:

• Pledged $500 million in aid to the Palestinian Authority between 1994 and 1998. Disbursed $190 million of the first $200 million pledged.

• Provided an additional $13 million in vehicles, spare parts, medical supplies and other miscellaneous equipment.

• Established a multimillion dollar program for the Palestinians administered by the United States Information Agency to fund English language instruction, Fulbright scholarships, and various programs in the rule of law and the practice of democracy.
U.S.-Palestinian Trade:

- Arranged for duty-free access to U.S. markets for Palestinian exports from the West Bank and Gaza. Working with Congress to see that the necessary enabling legislation is passed.

Counter-Terrorism:

- Encouraged sustained efforts by the Palestinian Authority to contain and deter terrorist attacks.

- Working closely with the Palestinian Authority security services with better training in counter-terrorism techniques.

Diplomatic Relations:

- Hosted Chairman Arafat at the White House in May 1996.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- Promote the continued development of democratic institutions within the Palestinian Authority

- Secure additional aid for the Palestinian Authority from foreign donors and promote regional economic relations to weave the Palestinians into a broader Middle East trade and financial structure.

- Continue to facilitate the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians by supporting permanent status negotiations and aiding their implementation.

Last Updated: August 20, 1996
REBUILDING RELATIONS WITH LEBANON

"The United States supports the United Nations resolution on (Lebanon). We don't believe there should be any foreign troops in Lebanon. I'd like to see Lebanon completely sovereign and free and independent. The Lebanese people have been subjected to all kinds of problems because of the influence of outside forces in their country. But our position has been consistent: we think the only way to re-establish Lebanese sovereignty is to have a comprehensive resolution of the problems in the region. And no one has worked harder for that, including for the sovereignty of Lebanon, than the United States."

President Clinton, Press Conference with President Elias Hraoui of Lebanon, April 24, 1996

Since the Second World War, the United States has championed the cause of Lebanon. Throughout the postwar period the United States stood by Lebanon in time of need with economic assistance, humanitarian relief, diplomatic support, and even our military muscle when necessary. The United States continues to honor that tradition today. The United States remains firm in its commitment to Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

U.S. Diplomacy:

- Hosted a visit by Lebanese President Hraoui to meet with President Clinton on April 24, 1996.
- Pressing for a comprehensive peace in the Middle East that is inclusive of Lebanon.

U.S. Aid:

- Provided Lebanon with aid to rebuild housing and infrastructure, trained public administrators, and provided assistance to small businesses as the foundation for a revived Lebanese economy.
- Rushed aid to Lebanon in April 1996 in the midst of Operation Grapes of Wrath to alleviate the suffering of Lebanese civilians. The US supplied Lebanon with medical supplies and equipment, provided $1 million to the Red Cross for Lebanon and authorized the US Ambassador to draw down the Embassy's emergency funds for immediate relief.

Lebanon-Syria-Israel Agreement:

- Brokered the written agreement among Lebanon, Israel, and Syria that ended the April 1996 fighting between Hizballah and Israel.
THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- Continue to work toward a comprehensive Middle East peace that includes a free and independent Lebanon.

- Support efforts to see the full implementation of UNSC Resolution 425, which provides for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon.

- Encourage further international assistance to Lebanese efforts to rebuild after the devastation of fifteen years of civil war.

- Provide aid and expertise to revitalize the Lebanese economy.

- Encourage continued progress toward a new, stronger Lebanese democracy.

Last Updated: August 21, 1996
SAUDI ARABIA AND THE GULF: A VITAL INTEREST

"We're not in Saudi Arabia simply for Saudi oil fields. We are there because it is a base from which we can prevent further aggression by Saddam Hussein in the area, first. And, second, it is a base which enables us to cooperate with those who agree with us in the Middle East, including many Arab countries, in fighting terrorism."

President Clinton, Interview with Tom Brokaw of NBC News, July 15, 1996

The United States has a vital and abiding interest in the security of Saudi Arabia, first declared by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1943. Today, Saudi Arabia is one of our closest friends: a staunch ally in the fight against terrorism; a bulwark against the ambitions of Iran and Iraq; an important contributor to UN peacekeeping operations in Bosnia, Somalia and elsewhere; and a valued partner in our efforts to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict through a comprehensive peace settlement. U.S. leadership of the coalition that deterred an Iraqi attack on Saudi Arabia and evicted Saddam Hussein’s armies from Kuwait during Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm helped to cement these ties.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Security:

- The United States maintains 6,000 military personnel in Saudi Arabia to defend America’s vital interests in the Gulf region.

- The United States flies regular combat air patrols over Iraq from Saudi air bases to prevent Saddam Hussein from employing his air force against innocent Iraqi Shi’a who have been ruthlessly oppressed by the Baghdad regime.

- U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia serve as the lead elements of a U.S. military response to Iraqi or Iranian aggression.

- President Clinton deterred Saddam Hussein from attacking Kuwait by the prompt deployment of 30,000 U.S. military forces in October 1994.

- U.S. military personnel have helped train and advise Saudi forces as they have undertaken a major military expansion and modernization program in the wake of the Gulf War.

- Reconstituted the U.S. Fifth Fleet to improve the command and control of U.S. naval and air forces in the Gulf.
• Constructing expanded military facilities at Prince Sultan Air Base, a remote and safer location to which virtually all American troops based in Saudi will relocate. Repatriating nearly all U.S. military dependents from Saudi.

Counter-terrorism:
• Working closely with Saudi authorities to establish the identities of those who conducted the terrorist attack on the al-Khobar Towers complex to see that they are brought to justice.

• Bombed Baghdad intelligence headquarters in July 1993 in retaliation for Iraq’s attempted assassination of Former President Bush.

Trade:
• The United States does roughly $20 billion a year in bilateral trade with Saudi Arabia.

• In 1995, U.S. exports to Saudi Arabia topped $13 billion, translating into roughly 250,000 American jobs.

• Helped facilitate the purchase of over $6 billion in advanced airliners from Boeing and McDonnell Douglas by Saudia Airlines.

• Secured deals for over $6 billion in military purchases by Saudi Arabia from U.S. companies since 1993.

Energy:
• Saudi Arabia provides about 25% of U.S. oil imports. Saudi Arabia possesses 25% of the world’s proven oil reserves and the majority of spare oil production capacity in the world.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The United States has vital interests in the Gulf, and deep friendships with Saudi Arabia and many of the other states of the region. These interests include ensuring the free flow of oil from the region, helping our friends and allies defend themselves against a wide range of threats such as terrorism and external subversion, and preventing aggression by the rogue states of the region -- Iran and Iraq.

• Maintain and strengthen ties to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states.

• Develop new cooperative initiatives to combat the threats of terrorism, aggression and external subversion.
• Encourage the continued positive role of Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states in the Middle East peace process.

Last Update: July 30, 1996
IRAQ AND IRAN: THE POLICY OF DUAL CONTAINMENT

"[Iraq and Iran] aim to destabilize the region. They harbor terrorists within their borders. They establish and support terrorist base camps in other lands. They hunger for nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. Every day, they put innocent civilians in danger and stir up discord among nations. Our policy toward these rogue states is simple: they must be contained."

President Clinton, Remarks to the World Jewish Congress
April 30, 1995

From the Second World War until 1979, the United States maintained a close relationship with the Shah’s Iran as a bulwark against Soviet expansion toward the Gulf. The Iranian revolution of 1978-79 ousted the Shah and brought to power a clerical regime in Tehran virulently opposed to the United States. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and the ensuing Gulf War demonstrated how dangerous Iraq, too, was to U.S. interests in the region. In response, the Clinton Administration adopted a policy of containing both states.

The U.S. provides military and other assistance to our allies in the Gulf to help them counter destabilizing efforts by Iran and Iraq. We maintain a sizable military presence in the region to confront Iran or Iraq directly should they attempt to use force against their neighbors. And we have taken the following specific actions:

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Containing Iraq:

U.S. policy toward Iraq rests on the foundation of United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) passed after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990. The U.S. favors the maintenance of economic sanctions on Iraq until it has demonstrated its peaceful intentions by fulfilling all of its obligations to the Security Council. As part of this regime, the U.S. strongly supports the efforts of the United Nations Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM) to uncover and eliminate Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction programs.

- Iraq’s seizure of Irbil demonstrated the threat that Saddam Hussein’s regime still poses to its own people and to its neighbors. Our firm response -- Operation Desert Strike and the expansion of the southern No Fly Zone from the Kuwait border to the southern suburbs of Baghdad-- made Saddam pay a strategic price for his reckless action. It changed the strategic equation, making it more difficult for Saddam to threaten his neighbors and easier for us to stop him if he does.
• Responded to the threat of a renewed Iraqi invasion of Kuwait by deploying nearly 30,000 U.S. troops to the Gulf in October 1994. Intelligence reports subsequently showed that Saddam's threat to Kuwait was real and that this rapid, forceful response caused him to back down.

• Led the international effort to maintain economic sanctions against Iraq aimed at compelling Baghdad to comply with all UNSC resolutions.

• Bombed Baghdad intelligence headquarters in July 1993 in retaliation for Iraq's assassination plot against former President Bush.

• Sponsored UNSCR 986 in 1995, to allow Iraq to sell oil to purchase food and medicine to ease the suffering of its population under strict UN supervision to prevent manipulation of this program by the regime.

• Provided financial, logistical, and diplomatic aid to UNSCOM in its efforts to root out Iraqi programs to develop weapons of mass destruction.

**Containing Iran:**

The government of Iran employs terrorism and seeks to acquire nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. It has attempted to subvert the governments of neighboring states and has threatened them with force. Iran violently opposes the Middle East peace process. Until Tehran ceases these practices, the United States will oppose Iranian policies and will work to see that the Iranians suffer the consequences for their actions.

• In August, 1996, President Clinton signed into law the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act. The law further isolates Iran by reimposing tough penalties on foreign companies that provide new investments exceeding $40 million in its oil industry. It will help deny Iran revenues that could be used to finance international terrorism or to acquire weapons of mass destruction.

• In March and May, 1995, the President signed two Executive Orders imposing a comprehensive ban on U.S. financial and trade ties to Iran.

• Engaged in vigorous diplomacy to forestall Iran's acquisition of missile technology and weapons of mass destruction.

**THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:**

• Maintain sanctions against Iraq until it has fully complied with all UNSC resolutions.

• Maintain our economic sanctions against Iran to compel Tehran to cease its unacceptable practices. Continue to press our allies and major trading partners to adapt complimentary approaches.
• Continue work to prevent the development of weapons of mass destruction by either Iran or Iraq.

• Closely monitor Iraqi military activity to forestall another move against Kuwait.

• Maintain Operation Provide Comfort in northern Iraq.

Last Update: September 17
THE U.S. AND THE ARAB WORLD: CREATING A FUTURE OF HOPE

"From the outset, America’s commitment to a comprehensive peace in the Middle East has been backed by a strong pledge that whenever Arabs and Israelis turn the page on the past, the United States would work with them to write a real, practical future of hope."

President Clinton, remarks to the Jordanian Parliament, 26 October 1994

BACKGROUND:

The Clinton administration is committed to promoting a future of hope in the Arab world. We are working with our Arab friends to create the conditions—peace, prosperity, democracy, and security—that will enable hope to take root and flourish.

The United States respects the religious traditions of the Arab world, as indeed we respect religious traditions from all parts of the world. The values of faith in God, service to the community and devotion to family are not unique to the West—or to Judaism, Christianity, or Islam. Rather, they are part of a common heritage which draws us closer together.

The United States does not formulate policies toward any religion, including Islam. Indeed, freedom of religion is among our most cherished national values.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Nurturing Arab-Israeli Peace:

- As a sponsor of the Middle East peace process, the United States has played a pivotal role in the dramatic events that produced breakthroughs between Israel, the Palestinians, Jordan, and other Arab states. President Clinton is committed to obtaining progress in both the bilateral and multilateral tracks of the peace process and frequently communicates with Arab heads of state to move the process along.

- The Clinton Administration has taken the lead on promoting economic development within the autonomous zones administered by the Palestinian Authority. The U.S. has pledged $500 million from 1994-1998, $156 million of which has already been released. We have provided another $153 million through our regular contributions to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees regular budget. US efforts helped to secure an additional $1.9 billion in pledges from other governments.
Developing Regional Prosperity:

- As the President has said, the United States understands the need for peace to produce real benefits. The Administration therefore supported the creation of a Middle East Bank for Cooperation and Development at the Amman Economic Summit in October 1995.

- In order to link business and professional people working towards common goals, the Administration supported the establishment of a Middle East business association, a regional tourism association, and a regional desalination research center.

- Since 1991, the United States has provided vast amounts of humanitarian assistance to the Kurdish people of Iraq. Our humanitarian activities include Operation Provide Comfort, Operations Quick Transit and Pacific Haven (which moved more than 2,000 Kurdish refugees to safety on the island of Guam), and sponsorship of UN Security Council Resolution 986, which was designed to provide food and medicine to the Iraqi people and thus prevent Saddam Hussein from exploiting their suffering.

Ensuring Regional Security:

- In the Persian Gulf, we have close political, military and economic ties with Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman. We have demonstrated our rock-solid commitment to Persian Gulf security on numerous occasions, and continue to maintain powerful military forces in the area for this mission. We have various levels of military cooperation with no less than nine Arab states. Through a combination of joint exercises and forward deployments, we have lessened Iraq’s ability to threaten its neighbors. Likewise, our financial, logistical, and diplomatic aid to UNSCOM has been instrumental in denying Iraq the weapons of mass destruction it seeks.

- Recent events have shown that Saddam Hussein’s regime still poses a threat to its own people and to its neighbors. our firm response -- Operation Desert Strike and the expansion of the southern No Fly Zone -- made Saddam pay a high price for his reckless aggression and changed the strategic equation, making it more difficult for Saddam to threaten his neighbors.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration will continue to work for a future of hope in the Arab world by, among other things:

- Confronting backlash states--such as Iran, Iraq and Libya--that continue to pose a threat to regional and international security. Their support of terrorism, like their quest for weapons of mass destruction and their disregard for the norms of international behavior, must be curbed.
• Addressing the roots of extremism. We do not see any inevitable "clash of civilizations" between the West and the Arab world. Our foreign policy is based on our interests and the specific behavior of nations, not on labels. We will oppose extremism, terrorism, and the abuse of human rights wherever and whenever they arise.

Last Updated: September 26, 1996
LATIN AMERICA FACT SHEETS

NEW ERA OF COOPERATION WITH LATIN AMERICA
BUILDING A PARTNERSHIP WITH MEXICO
RESTORING DEMOCRACY TO HAITI
PROMOTING DEMOCRACY FOR CUBA
FIGHTING COLOMBIAN DRUG TRAFFICKERS
NEW ERA OF COOPERATION WITH LATIN AMERICA

"At the Miami Summit, the nations of our hemisphere agreed on the challenges we must face together -- in opening our markets, strengthening our democracies, protecting our shared environment against pollution...We developed a program to do all that and more so that our region can become more prosperous, more secure, and our freedom wider, broader and deeper."

President Clinton, Inter-American Dialogue Dinner, Organization of American States, May 16, 1996

The December 1994 Summit of the Americas launched a new era of cooperation between the United States and its neighbors and has provided a focal point for the Clinton administration’s policy towards Latin America. Convened at the invitation of President Clinton, the Summit of the Americas was the first such gathering in 27 years, the largest in history, and the first in which all participants were democratically elected.

This ambitious Summit agenda reflected the unprecedented convergence of democratic and free market values in our hemisphere. This new spirit of cooperation created the context for resolving several subsequent challenges to our common interests.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Summit of the Americas:

• In Miami, the Summit leaders adopted a Declaration of Principles and Plan of Action outlining 23 comprehensive initiatives with more than 150 action items, including the agreement to construct a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) by 2005.

• Convened a first-ever hemispheric Defense Ministerial in Williamsburg, Virginia to underscore the regional consensus on democratic authority and military respect for human rights. Second Ministerial to be held October 1996.

• A Hemispheric Energy Symposium chaired by the U.S. and Venezuela last October in Washington advanced initiatives for energy efficiency, regulatory cooperation, financing, rural electrification, and clean energy options.

NAFTA-FTAA:

• Led a bi-partisan coalition in support of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and achieved implementation of the agreement helping to create American jobs, reduce barriers to trade, service and capital, safeguard the integrity of our financial institutions and protect the safety of our workforce and health of the environment.
The Free Trade Area of the Americas will embrace a market that even today includes over 687 million consumers with a combined income of roughly $9.3 trillion.

Convened two major trade and commerce ministerials -- in Denver in July, 1995 and in Cartagena in March, 1996 -- to lay the groundwork for greater economic cooperation. By assembling the region's business leaders, we have ensured that private sector views will be reflected in plans for a Free Trade Area of the Americas.

At the same time that U.S. exports have expanded, Latin America has grown in importance as a U.S. supplier and a destination for U.S. investment.

U.S. Exports:

- Economic recovery and trade liberalization have increased demand for U.S. products throughout the Americas. Total U.S. exports to Latin America and the Caribbean have grown from $75.14 billion in 1992 to $96.28 billion in 1995.

- U.S. exports to Brazil (about $11.4 billion in 1995) are almost as large as those to China. Mexico is our third largest trading partner (after Canada and Japan).

Free and Fair Elections:

- Over the past year the United States has supported the conduct of free and fair elections throughout the hemisphere, including Guatemala, Haiti, Ecuador, Suriname, and the Dominican Republic.

Counter-Narcotics:

- Led multinational efforts to stop the flow of illegal drugs out of source countries in Latin America.

- With U.S. support, joint Colombian police and Army counterdrug initiatives have dismantled drug laboratories, seized large volumes of precursor chemicals, and eradicated thousands of acres of illegal coca and opium fields.

- Decertified Colombia as an ally in the drug war for its failure to meet counternarcotic performance requirements, including specific, agreed-upon steps to stem the flow of illegal drugs to the United States.

- The top leaders of the Cali Cartel are either behind bars or dead. We have requested the extradition to the United States of the top four kingpins now in prison.

- Intensified counterdrug cooperation with Mexico through a series of high-level meetings and initiatives that build on President Clinton's and President Zedillo's shared commitment to fight
the narcotraffickers. Created joint task forces to target drug kingpins, money-laundering and precursor chemicals.

• In 1995-96, Mexico apprehended 12 key members of the Gulf Cartel including kingpin Juan Garcia Abrego, who was on the FBI’s “Most Wanted” list. Garcia Abrego is currently in U.S. custody.

Anti-Corruption:

• Negotiated and signed the Inter-American Convention Against Corruption, a path-breaking agreement that sets a new international standard by committing signatories to cooperate in investigating, prosecuting and eventually eliminating corrupt business practices.

Mexico:

• Forged a successful financial rescue package for Mexico to contain the threat of their peso crisis from other emerging markets in the hemisphere and the world.

• In August 1996, Mexico prepaid $7 billion owed to the United States under its emergency support package. Combined with earlier payments, Mexico will have repaid almost three-quarters of the $12.5 billion it borrowed from the United States last year--two years ahead of schedule.

• The U.S. Treasury has earned more than $1.2 billion in interest on the Mexico loan program so far, which is $460 million above our borrowing costs.

• In 1994, the first year of NAFTA, U.S.-Mexico trade totaled more than $100 billion, an increase of 23 percent.

Haiti:

• Assembled a 30 nation multinational force which restored to power Haiti’s elected government.

Cuba:

• Supported the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act (CDA) which pressures the Cuban regime through tough economic sanctions; support for the Cuban people in their struggle for democracy and economic well-being; and readiness to encourage meaningful political and economic reform.

• Ordered a series of measures in response to the unjustified shootdown by Cuba of two unarmed U.S. civilian aircraft and the killings of the four passengers aboard including signing the Helms-Burton Act to tighten the economic embargo on the Cuban regime, ordering the
expansion of Radio Marti's reach into Cuba and restricting travel of Cuban officials residing in the U.S.

Paraguay:

- Rallied the hemisphere to stop the April, 1996 coup attempt in Paraguay and thereby defend the region’s unprecedented record of democratic expansion.

Peru-Ecuador:

- Worked together with other Latin guarantor governments to halt the 1995 border war between Peru and Ecuador and to find a definitive solution to the long standing territorial dispute.

CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- Ensure implementation of the Summit of the Americas initiatives through Cabinet-level participation in ministerial conferences, reinvigoration of the hemisphere's multilateral institutions, and outreach to the private sector and non-governmental groups.

- Prepare for a Trade Ministers’ meeting next year in Brazil which should consider how and when to launch negotiations leading to a Free Trade Area of the Americas.

- Support the hemispheric sustainable development summit next December in Santa Cruz, Bolivia.

- In support of the Summit’s sustainable development theme, continue working with hemispheric governments to phase out leaded gasoline.

- Support the next Summit of the Americas in late 1997 or early 1998 to be hosted by Chile.

Last Update: July 26, 1996
BUILDING A PARTNERSHIP WITH MEXICO

"Let me say again I have confidence in the long-term future of Mexico... they have had stable political leadership, a good economic direction, a commitment to the right kind of future. And they have shown real discipline. This is very important to us. Mexico is our neighbor and has been a constructive partner, has tried to work with us on issues ranging from the drug trade to immigration, as well as on economic issues."

President Clinton, News Conference
January 11, 1995

President Clinton supports a stable, democratic, economically open Mexico as an important trading partner and a key ally in the battle against criminals, illegal migration, and narcotics traffickers. Never before have the United States and Mexico shared so many ideals and objectives.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Peso Crisis:

- Took bold, decisive action by providing financial stabilization assistance to Mexico in the wake of their peso crisis of late 1994. This courageous initiative stabilized the Mexican economy and helped preserve the 700,000 U.S. jobs dependent on U.S. exports to Mexico.

- Restored financial stability to Mexico and contained the threat to other emerging markets in the world through a $12.5 billion loan that halted Mexico’s crippling liquidity crisis.

- Mexico is prepaying $7 billion owed to the United States under its emergency support package. Combined with earlier payments, Mexico will have repaid almost three-quarters of the $12.5 billion in loans that the U.S. guaranteed last year—two years ahead of schedule—leaving $3.5 billion in outstanding support.

- The U.S. Treasury has earned more than $1.2 billion in interest on this loan program so far, which is $460 million above our borrowing costs. Mexico is also repaying $1 billion on its International Monetary Fund obligations.

NAFTA:

- Achieved implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), helping to create American jobs, reduce barriers to trade, services and capital, safeguard the integrity of our financial institutions and protect the safety of our workforce and health of the environment.
In 1994, the first year of NAFTA, US-Mexico trade totaled more than $100 billion, an increase of 23 percent. In 1995, despite the Mexican liquidity crisis, U.S. exports to Mexico were 10 percent higher than pre-NAFTA levels.

**Counter-Narcotics:**

- Intensified counterdrug cooperation with Mexico through a series of high-level meetings and initiatives that build on President Clinton's and President Zedillo's shared commitment to fight the narcotraffickers. Created joint task forces to target drug kingpins, money-laundering and precursor chemicals.
- In 1995-96, Mexico apprehended 12 key members of the Gulf Cartel including kingpin Juan Garcia Abrego, who was on the FBI's "Most Wanted" list. Garcia Abrego is currently in U.S. custody.
- The Mexican Government significantly expanded drug crop eradication in 1995, cutting marijuana production by 35% and opium gum production by 10%.

**Border/Migration Issues:**

- Beefed up border patrol and immigration personnel along the Southwest border to further deter illegal immigration; closed border tunnels; virtually eliminated port and lane runners illegally entering California; developed cross-border quick response mechanisms to combat crime and drug smuggling; worked with Mexico on aggressive interdiction of third-country aliens seeking to enter the U.S. via Mexico and internal repatriation of illegal aliens to their homes inside Mexico.
- Expanded Customs and migration infrastructure as well as border crossings to accommodate increased pedestrian and vehicular traffic.
- INS made 1,271,390 apprehensions of illegal migrants along the Southwest border during 1995. Illegal entries into San Diego, historically the most heavily trafficked illegal corridor, have dropped 56 percent, and crime in local border communities has decreased significantly.
- The U.S.-Mexico International Boundary and Water Commission completed several border sewage projects, including the expansion of a wastewater treatment plant at Nogales.

**Political Reform:**

- Mexican political parties have agreed to sweeping political reforms that will increase electoral transparency and strengthen Mexico's democratic system.
THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- Continue and expand coordination on narcotics interdiction, investigation of money-laundering activities, extradition, and other law enforcement activities.

- Once Mexican legal reforms are promulgated, work to improve evidence sharing and other legal cooperation.

- Develop and implement programs to expedite legal border crossings while making illegal crossings more difficult.

- Encourage Mexico’s promising financial and economic recovery.

- Ensure full implementation of NAFTA.

Last Update: July 29, 1996
RESTORING DEMOCRACY TO HAITI

"A 30-nation multinational force, led by the United States, entered Haiti with a clear mission: To ensure the departure of the military regime, to restore the freely-elected government, and to establish a secure and stable environment in which the people of Haiti could begin to rebuild their country. Today, that mission has been accomplished, on schedule, and with remarkable success."

President Clinton, UN Transition Ceremony, Port-au-Prince, Haiti
March 31, 1995

In September 1994, in response to flagrant and widespread human rights abuses by a brutal military dictatorship, President Clinton ordered the deployment of more than 20,000 U.S. troops to Haiti. These troops were part of a Multinational Force (MNF) made up of contingents from 30 nations. The MNF succeeded quickly in its goals of ejecting the military regime and restoring the democratically-elected government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Dictatorship to Democracy:

- Assembled an international coalition in September 1994 to eject the dictatorship and restore to power Haiti’s first-ever freely-elected Government and President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Refugees:

- Stopped the tragic outflow of refugees from Haiti, which had peaked at more than 2,000 per day in July-August 1994, swamping safe-havens and threatening American shores.

Political Violence:

- Dismantled the brutal FAd’H (the army of the de facto regime) and FRAPH (the right-wing paramilitary organization) and reduced the killings and terror on the streets.

- Political violence has dropped dramatically in Haiti since the beginning of the intervention. Politically-motivated murders have dropped from more than 1000 in 1993-94 to a possible two dozen in 1995-96.

Confiscation of Arms:

- Multinational Force confiscated or bought back more than 30,000 firearms and individual explosive devices over the past nineteen months, drastically reducing their numbers throughout Haiti.
National Police Force:

- Established a new National Police Academy; and trained and supervised the deployment of the new Haitian National Police force.

Free and Fair Elections:

- Assisted the Haitian Government to conduct three rounds of national elections, culminating in the internationally-monitored, free and fair election of President Rene Preval in December 1995, succeeding President Aristide. This was the first democratic transition of power from one President to another in Haiti's history.

Economic Improvement:

- In the first twelve months of the restoration of Haiti's democratically-elected government, the economy expanded by over 5 percent and the rate of inflation dropped by half.

- Haiti's National Deficit is 1 percent of GDP, down from 6% during the military dictatorship.

Economic Assistance:

- The Clinton Administration generated international pledges of more than $1.3 billion in economic assistance for Haiti.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration is dedicated to continued support for democracy in Haiti. Although U.S. troops completed withdrawal last April from the military component of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH), the successor to the MNF, the United States will remain engaged by:

- Continuing to monitor and assist the operations of the renamed UNSMIH military component, now under Canadian command and control.

- Supporting the training and operations of a professional civilian Haitian National Police force.

- Providing humanitarian assistance, infrastructure improvement, agrarian reform, and job training.

- Sponsoring governance programs by the Agency for International Development at the local, regional and national levels.

- Providing technical assistance to the Government of Haiti, particularly in the areas of budget and fiscal policy.
• Leading diplomatic efforts in international organizations supportive of the Government of Haiti’s democratization and privatization moves.

Last Update: July 23, 1996
PROMOTING DEMOCRACY FOR CUBA

"In our time, democracy has swept the globe ... to all but one nation in our hemisphere. I will do everything in my power to see that this historic tide reaches the shores of Cuba."

President Clinton, The White House
February 26, 1996

Cuba remains the only nation in our hemisphere whose leadership continues to resist the movement toward democracy and free markets. When Cuba's leader Fidel Castro first came to power in 1959, he promised to hold elections within 18 months. More than three decades have gone by, and still the Cuban people wait for Castro to deliver on this promise. The Cuban regime denies its people the most basic rights of free speech, free assembly, free press and representative democracy. At the same time, the people of Cuba have seen their economy collapse, suffocated by the state's centralized control over all aspects of their lives.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Promoting Democracy:

- Supported the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act (CDA) which pressures the Cuban regime through tough economic sanctions; support for the Cuban people in their struggle for democracy and economic well-being; and readiness to encourage meaningful political and economic reform.

- Twice adopted measures to further tighten the embargo and deprive the Cuban regime of the hard currency it requires to maintain its repressive system.

Refugees & Migrants:

- Intensified our commitment to protect Cuban refugees, increasing the number of Cuban refugees we can admit from 3,000 to 6,000 per year.

- President Clinton reduced the tragic and dangerous summer 1994 outflow of migrants from Cuba to the U.S. and in so doing saved lives, protected the integrity of U.S. national borders and protected Cuban refugees by providing rescue and safe haven.

- Fewer migrants are being interdicted at sea by the Coast Guard than at any time since the late 1980s.

- Reached an agreement to allow 20,000 Cubans to enter the U.S. legally and safely every year. As a result, more legal migrants entered the U.S. from Cuba in the past 18 months than in the six previous years combined. Reaffirmed our commitment to the safety of refugees fleeing persecution.
Brothers To The Rescue:

- Ordered a series of measures in response to the unjustified shootdown by Cuba of two unarmed U.S. civilian aircraft and the killing of the four passengers aboard, including:
  
  Signing the Helms-Burton Act to tighten the economic embargo on the Cuban regime; deter trafficking in American property expropriated by the regime; and expand assistance to the forces of change on the island. The President is vigorously implementing the provisions of the Act. In particular, the Administration has barred entry into the United States of traffickers in expropriated property and used Title III (creating a cause of action in U.S. courts against such traffickers) in a manner that will deter trafficking and help create an international coalition to promote democratic change in Cuba.

  Securing adoption of a United Nations Security Council Presidential Statement and Resolution denouncing Cuba's actions over international waters. The Security Council Resolution adopted the conclusions of the International Civil Aviation Organization that clearly vindicated the U.S. position. These were the first ever UN Security Council statements against Castro's Cuba.

  Ordering the expansion of Radio Marti's reach into Cuba.

  Restricting travel of Cuban officials residing in the U.S.

  Suspending direct charter air travel from the U.S. to Cuba.

Access to Information:

- Announced a series of new measures intended to significantly increase the flow of information to, from, and most importantly within Cuba and to allow private U.S. organizations to play a more active role in strengthening Cuba's civil society.

Humanitarian Efforts:

- Licensed the donation of medicine and other humanitarian supplies (including food) valued at over $125 million.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

U.S. interests and the goals of the Cuban people coincide: a peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba; a prosperous, free, and stable Cuba; and regularized migration relations between our two countries. We will continue to work toward these goals by:
• Intensifying efforts to strengthen independent groups and civil society in Cuba.

• Tightening enforcement of the economic embargo.

• Pursuing our efforts to build an international coalition of countries to promote a transition to democracy in Cuba.

Last Update: August 1, 1996.
FIGHTING COLOMBIAN DRUG TRAFFICKERS

"To stem the flow of narcotics and stop the spread of organized crime, we are cooperating with many nations, sharing information, providing military support, initiating anticorruption efforts. And results are coming. With Colombian authorities, we have cracked down on the cartels that control the world’s cocaine market. Two years ago, they lived as billionaires, beyond the law; now many are living as prisoners behind bars."

President Clinton, United Nations General Assembly
October 22, 1995

While the United States has many important interests in its relations with Colombia, it has elevated the common struggle against drug trafficking as its top priority. President Clinton has taken a tough line against Colombia’s narcotics traffickers, even when it means targeting those at the highest levels of the Colombian Government associated with narco-corruption.

In 1995, Colombia remained the world’s leading producer and distributor of cocaine and a major supplier of heroin and marijuana.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

U.S.-Colombian Cooperation:

- With U.S. support, joint Colombian police and Army counterdrug initiatives have dismantled drug laboratories, seized large volumes of precursor chemicals, and eradicated thousands of acres of illegal coca and opium fields.

Decertification:

- Decertified Colombia as an ally in the drug war for its failure to meet counternarcotic performance requirements, including specific, agreed-upon steps to stem the flow of illegal drugs to the United States.

- As a result of decertification, cut off most aid and ordered that we vote against Colombia’s requests for loans from the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.

Seeking Extradition:

- The top leaders of the Cali Cartel are either behind bars or dead. We have requested the extradition to the United States of the top four kingpins now in prison.
Freezing Assets:

- For the first time, invoked extraordinary Executive authority to freeze the assets in the United States of the largest drug ring in the world -- the Cali Cartel -- and prohibit dealings with its front companies to cut off its economic lifelines.

- As a result of President Clinton’s 1995 Executive Order, nearly 300 individuals and companies have been designated as fronting for Colombian narcotraffickers. All of their U.S. assets are blocked and U.S. individuals and entities are prohibited from engaging in transactions with them.

Visa Revocation:

- Revoked the personal visa of President Samper and other Colombian officials as a demonstration of U.S. resolve that those who knowingly assist narcotraffickers will be found ineligible to visit the United States, no matter who they are.

Targeted Assistance:

- Continued to provide targeted counternarcotics assistance to those courageous Colombian authorities who remain dedicated to our mutual goals of apprehending cartel kingpins, eradicating coca and opium fields, and fighting money laundering.

U.S.-Colombian Relations:

- Pursued other important national interests in Colombia. For example, negotiated expanded passenger and cargo air service for U.S. carriers.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- Continue working closely with those Colombian Government authorities who are cooperating with us, in particular the Prosecutor General, police and military, to increase cooperation on mutual counterdrug efforts.

- Continue to press the Government of Colombia to improve its counternarcotics performance and cooperation with us.

- Continue to closely monitor Colombia’s counterdrug performance in accordance with our law and its ramifications, and consider what possible further measures may be appropriate.

- Support democratic institutions in Colombia by strengthening judicial systems vulnerable to narco-corruption.
• Continue to identify and block the assets of Colombian narcotics traffickers and their front companies.

• Work with U.S. businesses to ensure legitimate trade with Colombia grows and does not become the victim of narco-related activities.

Last Update: September 7, 1996
AFRICA FACT SHEETS

PROMOTING DEMOCRACY AND STABILITY IN AFRICA
SUPPORTING DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA
SUPPORTING RECONCILIATION IN BURUNDI
PROVIDING RELIEF TO RWANDA
PRESSURE AND DIALOGUE WITH NIGERIA
SUPPORTING THE CESSTATION OF HOSTILITIES IN LIBERIA
PREVENTING FAMINE IN SOMALIA
PROMOTING DEMOCRACY AND STABILITY IN AFRICA

"Now a new generation of African leaders has found the courage to attack oppression from within and bring democracy to life in your nations. Consolidating its gains in your countries and throughout the continent will help complete the long journey to real freedom. We applaud your commitment to democracy and human rights -- and pledge to strengthen our partnership with you."

President Clinton, speaking at an UN reception for African nations
September 25, 1994

BACKGROUND:

The Clinton Administration is committed to maintaining a leading role in promoting democracy and peace in Africa. Just as the United States helped secure the transformations in Eastern Europe through the promotion of democratic governance during the Cold War, the Clinton Administration is committed to bringing its energies to the fight for democratic reform, prosperity and stability across the African continent. Democratic governance diminishes the need for costly humanitarian intervention and limits the likelihood of regional or internal conflicts. Participatory and transparent governance also increases the opportunities for U.S. companies to invest and expand markets. The Clinton Administration recognizes that democratic reforms must occur in a nurturing environment of economic growth. Thus, while promoting democracy, the U.S. also promotes economic reform and sustainable development. The Administration recognizes that the role of militaries in Africa must also be addressed and has worked to create constructive roles for them through assistance programs.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Aiding Democratic Transitions:

- After decades of apartheid, the Administration championed the 1994 democratic transition which established South Africa’s Government of National Unity headed by President Nelson Mandela, and committed $600 million over three years to promote growth and development in South Africa.

- In Mozambique, elections ended a fourteen-year civil war. Nearly 80,000 soldiers were demobilized and nearly 6 million voters were registered for elections in 1994. The United States actively supported the UN peacekeeping operation that helped end the conflict in Mozambique and provided almost $15 million for elections assistance. The Clinton Administration is continuing initiatives on decentralization and support for groups in civil society.

- In Sierra Leone, another country torn by civil war, free and fair elections were held in February 1996. The United States provided funds for election assistance and
civil/military relations workshops while also supporting the peace process through diplomatic efforts.

- In Malawi, following a 1993 referendum in favor of multiparty democracy, voters replaced a presidential incumbent who had ruled as dictator since 1964 with a democratically-elected president (1994 elections). The United States provided $4.5 million for election support and democratic institution building.

**Free and Fair Elections:**

- The United States has led efforts to support the creation of independent election commissions throughout Africa. Eleven countries as diverse as Ghana, Sierra Leone, and South Africa now have independent commissions. The United States is currently responding to a request for assistance by Mali to help create an independent commission.

  -- Including Sierra Leone, twenty-two, or fully two-thirds of Africa’s transitional elections, have been judged largely free and fair by international observers. Namibia, Cape Verde, Comoros, and Benin have recently conducted a second free and fair national election.

**Resolving Conflicts:**

Key to promoting and sustaining democracy and stability in Africa is the resolution of long standing conflicts and efforts to prevent new outbreaks of violence

- The Clinton Administration continues to work to bring peace to Angola, Liberia and Burundi through aggressive diplomacy, support for regional and international peacekeeping efforts and provisions of badly needed humanitarian assistance.

- Over time, the United States has worked with Africans and others to resolve successfully military conflicts in Mozambique, Uganda, Namibia and Ethiopia, opening the door to political reforms leading to democratic governance.

- The Administration has also taken innovative steps to work with African governments to try to prevent conflicts before they arise, such as through the Greater Horn of Africa Initiative.

- In Rwanda and Somalia, the United States led international humanitarian efforts that saved hundreds of thousands of lives in the wake of brutal civil conflicts.
THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration will continue to promote democratic reforms, peace and stability on the African continent by, among other things:

- Supporting groups that play important watchdog roles in civil society and reinforce their efforts to encourage governmental reforms.

- Providing assistance for voting monitors and the creation of independent electoral commissions in the upcoming African elections.

- Continuing efforts to help resolve long-standing conflicts in Liberia, Angola, Sudan, Sierra Leone, and the Great Lakes region.

Last Updated: August 24, 1996
"Whether in South Africa or America, we know there is no finish line to democracy’s work. Developing habits of tolerance and respect, creating opportunity for all our citizens, these efforts are never completely done. But let us savor the fact that South Africa now has the chance to begin that noble and vital work."

President Clinton, Remarks Announcing Assistance to South Africa
May 5, 1994

After decades of injustice legitimized through the apartheid system, all South Africans went to the ballot box for the first time in April, 1994 for the first fully participatory, non-racial elections. The elections, in which Nelson Mandela was elected President, were a peaceful, joyous, celebration of democracy that confounded cynics who predicted civil strife and disruption. Local elections, once threatened by political violence and intimidation, were completed peacefully in all provinces by July 1996. The Clinton Administration is dedicated to supporting this dramatic transition to non-racial, multiparty democracy in South Africa.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Assisting the Political Transition:

- Actively supported the April 1994 election process through voter education efforts and training of local conflict mediators. The U.S. assisted in training new Parliamentarians and in reforming the justice system.

- Supported President Mandela’s efforts to nurture a “New Patriotism” for all South Africans and assisted in the integration of former “liberation armies” into the South African National Defense Force.

Building Stronger Bilateral Ties:

- Vice President Gore and South African Deputy President Thabo Mbeki launched the U.S.-South Africa Binational Commission to increase cooperation on business development, science and technology, human resources, agriculture, environment, and water and energy conservation. The second full meeting of the Binational Commission, held in Washington, D.C. during July, was marked by the announcement of a new $120 million investment fund for southern Africa and the signings of a civil aviation agreement and a joint international anti-crime cooperation statement.

- U.S. Commerce Department designated South Africa as one of the ten “Big Emerging Markets” globally, providing special opportunities for U.S. trade and investment. The late Secretary of Commerce Ronald H. Brown co-chaired the U.S.-South Africa Business
Development Committee with then-Minister of Trade and Industry Trevor Manuel and led this Administration's first Presidential Business Development Mission to South Africa in 1993.

Providing U.S. Assistance:

- Generated $218 million in housing guarantees.

- Launched the $200 million Southern African Enterprise Development Fund -- a venture capital fund aimed at Southern African companies in the entire southern Africa region.

- Initiated a three-year, $600 million assistance package to strengthen South African democratic and political institutions, improve education, health, and housing, and support private enterprise development.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration's focus for South Africa is strengthening democracy, extending our political ties and expanding economic relations. The Administration will continue coordinating efforts to increase U.S. trade and development with South Africa by:

- Remaining actively involved in the consolidation of democracy in South Africa.

- Supporting the growth of majority private sector businesses.

- Recognizing South Africa and President Mandela's particular strengths in helping to solve regional problems.

- Establishing an agenda for discussion of commercial development issues with the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

Last Update: August 20, 1996
SUPPORTING RECONCILIATION IN BURUNDI

"I say to the people and leaders of Burundi: Do not go back. You deserve to live in peace and without fear. Democracy will help you build a better future for yourselves and your children. Say no to violence and extremism. Say yes to peace and reconciliation."

President Clinton, speaking in his weekly radio address
February 11, 1995

BACKGROUND:

Though the population of Burundi is 84% Hutu and 15% Tutsi, Tutsis have traditionally maintained dominance over Burundi's politics, economics and military in spite of their smaller numbers.

In June 1993, Melchior Ndadaye, a Hutu, won Burundi’s first democratic presidential election after President Pierre Buyoya, a Tutsi, voluntarily relinquished power. In October 1993, however, elements of the Burundi military attempted a coup in which Ndadaye and several Hutu ministers were killed. An estimated 50,000 persons were killed in the ensuing violence. After a lengthy debate, The National Assembly appointed Cyprien Ntaryamira as president. In April 1994, as he was returning to Kigali, Rwanda, from Dar es Salaam with Rwandan President Habyarimana, the plane in which they were traveling crashed and all aboard were killed, provoking another crisis of succession.

As several efforts at all-party talks, including the Arusha Declaration, failed to produce much progress, President (by way of a power sharing agreement) Sylvestre Ntibantunganya was displaced by a coup and former President Buyoya installed as interim president. International and regional efforts are underway to force a restoration of democratic institutions and to prevent a further deterioration of the situation.

Ever since the October 1993 coup attempt the security situation in Burundi has remained unstable. Fighting between Hutu insurgent groups and Tutsi militias has resulted in frequent civilians deaths and human rights abuses committed by both sides.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

High-Level Diplomatic Attention:

- Sent frequent high-level visitors -- such as National Security Advisor Lake, Ambassador Albright, and Deputy Secretary of State Talbott -- to Burundi to deliver tough messages and keep international attention focused on the situation.
- Designated former Congressman Howard Wolpe as Special Envoy to the Burundi Peace Negotiations, and dispatched an 11-person military team to the region to assist with planning efforts related to the Arusha Declaration.

- Designated Richard Bogosian as Special Coordinator for Rwanda and Burundi to coordinate overall USG policy response to the situation in both countries.

**Multilateral Efforts:**

- Supported the creation and operation of the International Commission of Inquiry into the October 1993 coup attempt and the massacres that followed.

- Backed the UN Secretary General’s Special Representative and his efforts at promoting national reconciliation.

- Created the Rwanda/Burundi Operational Support Group, an association of concerned governments and international organizations that meets regularly to coordinate policy toward both Rwanda and Burundi.

- Supported the deployment of OAU military observers.

- Working to galvanize the international community in the event of further instability in Burundi. *(SN checking with McCormick).*

**Humanitarian Assistance:**

- Provided more than $600 million in humanitarian assistance to Rwanda and Burundi during the past two years.

**THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:**

The Clinton Administration is dedicated to continued support for national reconciliation and an end to ethnic violence in Burundi. We are working to promote a substantive political dialogue among all parties in Burundi. Creating an environment for these talks requires continued vigorous efforts by this Administration. We will:

- Support diplomatic efforts aimed at creating long-term political solution.

- Support contingency planning for a humanitarian crisis to buttress diplomatic efforts.

- Continue to support the efforts of regional players, including the Arusha participants, former Tanzanian President Nyerere, the UN Secretary General’s Special Representative, former President Carter and former Malian President Toure in urging national reconciliation.
- Maintain international attention on Burundi through frequent public statements and diplomatic efforts.

- Work closely with our allies and in the UN Security Council to develop a coordinated approach to press all parties in Burundi to work toward national reconciliation.

Last Updated: August 20, 1996
PROVIDING RELIEF TO RWANDA

"...we have to provide more aid; we have to try to deal with the refugee problem; we have to try to get a political process going again; and we have to try to marshall the resources, it seems to me, of all nations all around the world who care very deeply about this. I think the conscience of the world has grieved for the slaughter in Rwanda..."

President Bill Clinton
CNN Global Forum
May 3, 1994

BACKGROUND:

In April, 1994, the plane of President Habyarimana, a Hutu and the President of Burundi, crashed near Kigali airport. Immediately, a stampede of well-planned killing began in the capital with the assassination of moderate Hutus. This was followed by a genocide of at least 500,000 Tutsis.

In the face of massive chaos and widespread killing, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which had signed the Arusha powersharing peace accords with the government in 1992, resumed its offensive, taking the capital in July, 1994. The Army of the ousted government, now called the "ex-FAR," fled, taking much equipment and hundreds of thousands of Hutus with it. More than 2 million Rwandans (mostly Hutu) fled initially, with 1.7 million remaining outside of the country, mostly in Zaire. The sudden influx of refugees into eastern Zaire produced a major humanitarian crisis. The U.S. responded with a significant military airlift (Operation Support Hope) and large amounts of humanitarian aid to alleviate massive suffering.

After its military victory, the RPF installed a coalition, ethnically mixed government based upon the Arusha Accords.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

The United States is contributing economic advice and technical assistance, humanitarian assistance; support for the training of civilian police; support for the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, human rights monitors and other measures related to the rule of law; and diplomatic leadership in international organizations in support of the Government of Rwanda.

Operation Support Hope:

- Launched Operation Support Hope in the summer of 1994, in which the U.S. military airlifted and distributed humanitarian supplies to Rwandan refugees in eastern Zaire.

Recognized the RPF-Installed Regime:

- First government to recognize the RPF-installed regime.
International Criminal Tribunal:

- Supported the creation and ongoing operations of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, mandated to prosecute those responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law, including genocide. Provided $4.5 million and personnel to support the operation.

Justice and Human Rights:

- Provided $5.5 million to help rebuild the justice system and to support UN Human Rights Monitors.

Trained Rwandan Army:

- Trained new Rwandan military officers in managerial fields to help speed the professionalization of the army.

Humanitarian Aid:

- Provided more than $850 million in regional humanitarian aid.

Economic Assistance:

- Provided $10 million in development funds and $2.5 million to assist with payment of World Bank arrears.

- Generated pledges of more than $1 billion in international economic assistance for Rwanda.

VOA Programming:

- Established VOA programming in local languages to provide balanced news and civic education programs.

Refugee Repatriation:

- Engaged in efforts to encourage refugee repatriation.

UNAMIR:

- Provided political, financial support, equipment and other assistance to the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR), which sent peacekeeping troops to Rwanda.
Special Coordinator:

- Named a Special Coordinator, Ambassador Richard Bogosian, who travels to the region frequently to meet with Rwandan officials, neighboring governments and others involved in the peace process to promote reconciliation, reconstruction and justice in Rwanda.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration is dedicated to continued support for reconciliation, reconstruction and justice in Rwanda:

- Continue to support efforts to bring violators of international humanitarian law to trial.
- Encourage the continued repatriation of Rwandan refugees and their reintegration into Rwandan society.
- Assist the Rwandan government to restart its own judicial system and address the situation of some 80,000 detained in overcrowded jails.

Last Update: September 6, 1996
ENCOURAGING DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

The United States and Nigeria are enriched and bound together by a long history of mutual interests...I wish the Nigerian people every success in addressing the challenges that lie before them.

President William J. Clinton on Nigeria's National Day message
September 26, 1996

BACKGROUND:

The United States has continued to press for the early and peaceful establishment of a stable democratic, prosperous Nigeria that respects human rights; and, the avoidance of civil conflict or anarchy, which could destabilize the sub-region. Towards that end, the United States has brought international attention to the record of the Nigerian government and imposed a series of tough measures designed to encourage democracy in Nigeria.

Meanwhile, Nigeria's struggle with its transition program continue. Presidential elections were held in Nigeria on June 12, 1993, but were later annulled by then head of state General Ibrahim Babangida. Chief M.K.O. Abiola, a wealthy businessman, was the presumed winner. The annulment resulted in various forms of civil unrest. An interim government established by General Babangida on August 27, 1993, and headed by Ernest Shonekan, failed to win the support of the Nigerian people. General Sani Abacha took power on November 17, 1993, appointing a Provisional Ruling Council to govern Nigeria. Chief M.K.O. Abiola was imprisoned for pressing his claim as the elected democratic leader of Nigeria and still remains incarcerated today. Last October, General Abacha announced a transition timetable to restore Nigeria to civilian democratic rule. While some positive steps have been taken, the program still lacks credibility.

As Africa's most populous and as one of its wealthiest nations, Nigeria has the potential for significant economic and political influence on the African continent. Nigeria's oil is the motor of its economy. It accounts for about nine percent of total U.S. oil imports and is particularly important to the northeast and the Gulf coast where it constitutes over 20 percent of U.S. oil imports (mainly for domestic heating). Nigeria also plays a leading role in peacekeeping operations on the continent especially in its dominant role in the Economic Community of West Africa Peacekeeping Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and as current Chair of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

In June/July 1993, the United States implemented the following measures in response to the Nigerian government's suspension of the democratic process:

Terminated Military/Security Ties:

- Reduced military-to-military contacts, i.e., withdrew the U.S. military assistance officer, suspended replacement of the U.S. Defense Attaché and terminated all military assistance training.
• Imposed a case-by-case review, with the presumption of denial, for all new license applications for commercial export of defense articles and services.

• Terminated all government-to-government security assistance except humanitarian, democratization and social sector programming.

Denied Visas to Government Elites and Families:

• Beginning in December 1993, visas were denied to high-ranking members of the Abacha regime and their families.

Denied Counternarcotics Certification:

• In April 1994, Nigeria was denied counternarcotics certification for failure to cooperate on counternarcotics operations.

On November 10, 1995, in further response to the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and others, President Clinton:

Recalled Ambassador:

• Recalled Ambassador Walter Carrington from Lagos for consultations.

Banned the Sale of Military Goods and Services:

• Banned the sale and repair of military goods and services to Nigeria.

Extended the Visa Ban:

• Extended the ban on U.S. visas, which currently prohibits the entry into the U.S. of senior military officers and senior government officials and their families, to include all military officers and civilians who actively formulate, implement or benefit from the policies that impede Nigeria’s transition to democracy.

UNSC Resolution:

• Led adoption of a UNSC Resolution condemning the Government of Nigeria.

Opposed Economic Support:

• Continued to oppose IMF loans and credits and debt relief for Nigeria.
Restriction on Nigerian Officials:

- Required all Nigerian Government officials visiting the United Nations or the international financial institutions to remain within 25 miles of those organizations.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

In order to facilitate a peaceful transition to stable civilian democratic rule and curb human rights abuses in Nigeria, the United States will:

- Continue to maintain pressure on the Government of Nigeria.

- Maintain an open dialogue with Government of Nigeria in an effort to: speed the transition to democracy, starting with the immediate release of all political detainees; and, ensure bold, credible steps are taken to restore Nigeria promptly to civilian democratic rule.

Last Updated: August 28, 1996
SUPPORTING THE PEACE PROCESS IN LIBERIA

In Liberia, where brutal conflict has raged far too long, we support the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States to restore peace. We seek a negotiated settlement leading to full disarmament of all warring factions. We seek free and fair internationally monitored elections, and we seek the establishment of a democratic government.

Liberia’s future will be determined in Monrovia, not in Washington. Only Liberians can create a real and lasting peace. Only Liberians can heal the deep scars in Liberian society, and only they can determine who will lead their future.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher, speaking to the African American Institute
May 21, 1993

After almost six years of war and a struggle for power, the leaders of the main warring factions -- the National Patriotic Front for Liberia (NPFL), the ethnic Mandingo-based United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO/M), the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), and the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) (which has been responsible for the political administration of Liberia since March 1994), signed a new peace agreement in August 1995 known as the Ahuja Accord.

The Accord, named for its signing in Abuja, Nigeria, is Liberia’s thirteenth peace agreement since the start of this Civil War in 1989. It is viewed as the most hopeful effort to date aimed at restoring peace to the country. The Accord represents a reconciliation between long-time rival factions and a consensus among West African States on Liberia, whereas historically, different parties to the conflict, have repeatedly failed to honor the numerous peace agreements negotiated by the United Nations (UN) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Although the peace process frequently stalls, ECOWAS, through its recent summit in and follow-on Committee of Nine meetings in Abuja, Nigeria, in August 1996 has taken several steps to reaffirm its commitment to finding a peaceful settlement to the Liberian crisis. These steps include measures to ensure compliance with the peace accord, restructuring of the Council of State, preparations for elections, disarmament, demobilization and repatriation.

The United States has monitored events in Liberia closely and supported efforts to bring about a lasting end to hostilities and a resumption of normal life for the Liberian people. These efforts have borne fruit in the most recent meetings of local and regional leaders. Constant vigilance will be necessary to see the peace process to completion.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Diplomatic Efforts:

- Condemned the factional fighting that broke out in Monrovia, April 6, 1996, which had threatened to unravel the Abuja Peace Accord.
• U.S. recently named Ambassador Howard F. Jeter as Special Presidential Envoy on Liberia, replacing former envoy Ambassador Dane Smith who has been named Ambassador to Senegal.

Peacekeeping Assistance:

• U.S. contributed $75 million to the Liberia peace process at the October 27, 1995, UN Pledge Conference.

• In April, the U.S. announced that it was prepared to provide an additional $30 million in conditional assistance to ECOMOG if it continued to demonstrate a renewed capacity to play a neutral, effective peacekeeping role in Liberia.

Humanitarian Assistance:

• U.S. has provided more than $425 million in humanitarian food aid and more than $60 million for conflict resolution and peacekeeping.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration is committed to supporting a successful peace process in Liberia. This includes meeting the most urgent needs of the West African Peacekeeping Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and providing humanitarian aid, logistical support and electoral support. The United States will continue to pursue its goals by:

• Providing the necessary support to ensure that ECOMOG is deployed to all disarmament and demobilization assembly sites as a credible military force.

• Effectively pressuring the new Liberian National Transitional Government Council of State to conform to the Abuja Agreement on disarmament, demobilization, and elections.

• Strengthening the UN's ability to play its proper role in facilitating implementation of the Abuja Agreement, particularly for demobilization of fighters.

• Drawing the civilian population into increasing participation in the reconstruction and governance of Liberia by enhancing confidence in planned civilian reintegration programs for ex-fighters, the displaced and refugees and by promoting free and fair elections by early/mid 1997.

Last Updated: August 28, 1996
PREVENTING FAMINE IN SOMALIA

"We went to Somalia on a humanitarian mission ... Ours was a gesture of a great nation, carried out by thousands of American citizens, both military and civilian ... We went to Somalia because without us a million people would have died. We, uniquely, were in a position to save them, and other nations were ready to share the burden after our initial action."

President Clinton's Letter to Congress, October 13, 1993

By November 1992, 350,000 people had died in the famine and chaos that gripped Somalia, and two million more were threatened with imminent starvation. Factional fighting was preventing the delivery of vital humanitarian relief to the masses in the countryside. At this time, the United States intervened militarily with 25,000 troops to ensure that the emergency food aid could get through.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:

Tragedy Averted:

- By any measure, one of the great human tragedies of our time was averted. A million lives may have been saved from starvation, war, and pestilence. For example, before US troops arrived in Baidoa, 60 to 70 percent of the children there suffered from malnutrition, many of them severely. By October 1993, that number had dropped to 10 to 20 percent.

Bipartisan Authorization:

- American undertakings in Somalia were conducted in a bipartisan manner. President Bush began the operation that President Clinton then continued. On February 4, 1993, the Senate adopted S.J. Res 45, authorizing the US operation in Somalia. On May 25, the House adopted S.J. Res 45, as amended, authorizing that operation for twelve months.

Multilateral Effort:

- American undertakings in Somalia were part of a multilateral effort. By the autumn of 1993, 28 nations, from Australia to Zimbabwe, were contributing to the United Nations activities in Somalia. At no time, however, did President Clinton relinquish his constitutional command authority over US military forces.

Meaningful Improvements:

- By mid-1993, approximately 70 percent of Somali children were vaccinated, twice as many as in 1989, and basic medical assistance was made available in most villages. When US forces arrived in 1992, no schools were operating in Somalia. By the end of 1993, 234 were open.
American Casualties:

- The deaths of American soldiers in Somalia were tragic and painful. The President took full responsibility as Commander-in-Chief for what occurred.

- After the tragedy in Mogadishu, President Clinton resisted cries to leave immediately. Instead, he kept our troops in Somalia for another five months -- without losses -- to reduce the chance Somalia would fall back in famine and total chaos as soon as we left.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

Thanks in large part to the United States, Somalia is not currently threatened with a return to mass starvation. While Somalia will have to confront many challenges in the years ahead, these are challenges for the Somali people and the African community, not for the United States.

Last Updated: August 21, 1996
SELECTED ADDRESSES

PRESIDENT CLINTON
FREEDOM HOUSE
OCTOBER 6, 1995

PRESIDENT CLINTON
UNITED STATES COAST GUARD ACADEMY
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
MAY 22, 1996

PRESIDENT CLINTON
THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
“AMERICAN SECURITY IN A CHANGING WORLD”
AUGUST 5, 1996

PRESIDENT CLINTON
51ST GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE UNITED NATIONS
SEPTEMBER 24, 1996

ANTHONY LAKE
THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
“DEFINING MISSIONS, SETTING DEADLINES”
MARCH 6, 1996

ANTHONY LAKE
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
“BOSNIA AFTER DAYTON”
JUNE 14, 1996
THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release October 6, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN FREEDOM HOUSE SPEECH

The Hyatt Regency Washington, D.C.

9:37 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. I'm honored to be introduced by someone who writes so powerfully about the past and is working so effectively to shape the future. The Secretary of State and I have tried to encourage both those activities by keeping Win Lord busy at the State Department.

I'm honored to be here with all of you and to be here at Freedom House. For more than 50 years, Freedom House has been a voice for tolerance for human dignity. People all over the world are better off because of your work. And I'm very grateful that Freedom House has rallied this diverse and dynamic group. It's not every day that the Carnegie Endowment, the Progressive Policy Institute, the Heritage Foundation, and the American Foreign Policy Council share the same masthead. I feel that I should try out a whole list of issues and try to get check-off here -- (laughter) -- before the meeting goes any further.

It does prove that there is a strong, dynamic center in our country that supports America's continued leadership in the world. We have all worked for that. And I want to publicly thank the Secretary of State and Tony Lake, the others in our foreign policy team -- my counselor, Mr. McLarty, up here who's been especially active on our behalf in Latin America. And I want to thank all of you who have supported that continued endeavor.

You know, in 1991 I sought the presidency because I believed it was essential to restore the American Dream for all Americans and to reassert America's leadership in the post-Cold War world. As we move from the Industrial to the Information Age, from the Cold War world to the global village, we have an extraordinary opportunity to advance our values at home and around the world. But we face some stiff challenges in doing so as well.
We know that at home we have the responsibility to create opportunity for all of our citizens to make the most of their own lives, to strengthen their families and their communities. We know that abroad we have the responsibility to advance freedom and democracy, to advance prosperity and the preservation of our planet. We know that the forces of integration and economic progress also contain the seeds of disruption and of greater inequality. We know that families, communities and nations are vulnerable to the organized forces of disintegration and the winner-take-all mentality in politics and economics. We know all this and therefore, we have an even heavier responsibility to advance our values and our interests.

Freedom House, in my view, deserves extraordinary praise for your sense of timing of this meeting. I wonder if Adrian Karatnycky and his colleague knew that in the days prior to this discussion the United States would have the opportunity to demonstrate so vividly once again the proposition this conference seeks to advance: that American leadership and bipartisan support for that leadership is absolutely essential as a source of our strength at home and our success abroad.

We must stand for democracy and freedom. We must stand for opportunity and responsibility in a world where the dividing line between domestic and foreign policy is increasingly blurred.

Our personal, family and national security is affected by our policy on terrorism at home and abroad. Our personal, family and national prosperity is affected by our policy on market economics at home and abroad. Our personal, family and national future is affected by our policies on the environment at home and abroad. The common good at home is simply not separate from our efforts to advance the common good around the world. They must be one in the same if we are to be truly secure in the world of the 21st century.

We see the benefits of American leadership and the progress now being made in Bosnia. In recent weeks, our military muscle through NATO, our determined diplomacy throughout the region, have brought the parties closer to a settlement than at any time since this terrible war began four years ago. Yesterday, we helped to produce an agreement on a Bosnia-wide cease-fire. Now, the parties will come to the United States to pursue their peace talks mediated by our negotiating team and our European and Russian counterparts.

We have a long way to go, and there's no guarantee of success. But we will use every ounce of our influence to help our parties make a peace that preserves Bosnia as a single democratic state, and protects the rights of all citizens, regardless of their ethnic group.

If and when peace comes, the international community's responsibility will not end. After all the bloodshed, the hatred, the loss of the last years, peace will surely be fragile. The international community must help to secure it. The only organization that can meet that responsibility strongly and effectively is NATO. And as NATO's leader, the United States must do its part and send in troops to join those of our allies under NATO command with clear rules of
engagement. If we fail, the consequences for Bosnia and for the future of NATO will be severe. We must not fail. (Applause.)

The United States will not be sending our forces into combat in Bosnia. We will not send them into a peace that cannot be maintained. But we must use our power to secure that peace. I have pledged to consult with Congress before authorizing our participation in such an action. These consultations have already begun.

I believe Congress understands the importance of this moment and of American leadership. I'm glad to see Chairman Livingston here at the head table today. As I have said consistently for two years, we want and welcome congressional support. But in Bosnia as elsewhere, if the United States does not lead, the job will not be done.

We also saw the benefits of America's leadership last week at the White House where leaders from all over the Middle East gathered to support the agreement between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. For nearly a half-century now, Democratic and Republican administrations have worked to facilitate the cause of peace in the Middle East. The credit here belongs to the peacemakers. But we should all be proud that at critical moments along the way, our efforts helped to make the difference between failure and success.

It was almost exactly a year ago that the United States led the international effort to remove Haiti's military regime and give the people of Haiti a real chance at democracy. We've succeeded because we've backed diplomacy with sanctions and, ultimately, with force. We've succeeded because we understood that standing up for democracy in our own hemisphere was right for the Haitian people and right for America.

American efforts in Bosnia, the Middle East and Haiti and elsewhere have required investments of time and energy and resources. They've required persistent diplomacy and the measured use of the world's strongest military. They have required both determination and flexibility in our efforts to work as leaders and to work with other nations. And, sometimes, they've called on us to make decisions that were, of necessity, unpopular in the short run, knowing that the payoff would not come in days or weeks, but in months or years.

Sometimes, they have been difficult for many Americans to understand because they have to be made, as many decisions did right after World War II without the benefit of some over-arching framework, the kind of framework the bipolar Cold War world provided for so many years.

To use the popular analogy of the present day, there seems to be no mainframe explanation for the PC world in which we're living. We have to drop the abstractions and dogma, and pursue, based on trial and error and persistent experimentation, a policy that advances our values of freedom and democracy, peace and security.
We must continue to bear the responsibility of the world's leadership. That is what you came here to do, and that's what I want to discuss today. It is more than a happy coincidence that the birth of bipartisan support for America's leadership in the world coincides with the founding of this organization by Eleanor Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie in 1941 when, for the first time, Americans, both Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives and moderates, understood our special obligation to lead in the world.

The results of that responsible leadership were truly stunning -- victory in the war and the construction of a post-Cold War world. Not with abstract dogma, but again, over a five-year period, basing experience on new realities, through trial and error with a relentless pursuit of our own values, we created NATO, the Marshall Plan, Bretton Woods -- the institutions that kept the peace in Europe, avoided nuclear conflict, helped to spread democracy, brought us unparalleled prosperity and ultimately ensured the triumph of freedom in the Cold War.

In that struggle, Freedom House and organizations like it reminded Americans that our leadership is essential and that to advance our interests that leadership must remain rooted in our values, must continue to advance democracy and freedom to promote peace and security, to enhance prosperity and preserve our planet.

When it comes to the pursuit of these goals, it is important that we never forget that our values and our interests are one in the same. Promoting democracies that participate in this new global marketplace is the right thing to do. For all their imperfections, they advance what all people want and often fight and die for: Human dignity, security and prosperity. We know these democracies are less likely to go to war, less likely to traffic in terrorism, more likely to stand against the forces of hatred and intolerance and organized destruction.

Throughout what we now call the American Century, Republicans and Democrats disagreed on specific policies -- often heatedly from time to time -- but we have always agreed on the need for American leadership in the cause of democracy, freedom, security and prosperity. Now that consensus is truly in danger, and interestingly enough, it is in danger in both parties. Voices from the left and the right are calling on us to step back from, instead of stepping up to, the challenges of the present day. They threaten to reverse the bipartisan support for our leadership that has been essential to our strength for 50 years. Some really believe that after the Cold War the United States can play a secondary role in the world, just as some thought we could after World War II, and some made sure we did after World War I.

But if you look at the results from Bosnia to Haiti, from the Middle East to Northern Ireland, it proves once again that American leadership is indispensable, and that without it, our values, our interests, and peace itself would be at risk.

It has now become a truism to blame the current isolationism on the end of the Cold War because there is no longer a mainframe threat in this PC world. But when I took office, I made it clear that we had a lot of work to do to get our own house in order.
I agree that America has challenges at home that have to be addressed. We have to revive our economy and create opportunity for all of our citizens. We have to put responsibility back into our social programs and strengthen our families and our communities. We have to reform our own government to make it leaner and more effective. But we cannot do any of these things in isolation from the world which we have done so much to make and which we must continue to lead.

Look at what is going on. Many of the new democracies in this world, they're working so hard. I see their leaders all the time. They believe in the cause of freedom, and they are laboring out there in these countries against almost unbelievable obstacles. But their progress is fragile. And we must never forget that. We have to see them as growing, growing things that have to be nurtured in a process that could still be reversed.

And we also have to recognize that we confront a host of threats that have assumed new and quite dangerous dimensions -- the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. In the Technology Age, that can mean simply breaking open a vial of sarin gas in a Tokyo subway. It can mean hooking into the Internet and learning how to build a bomb that will blow up a federal building in the heart of America. These forces, just as surely as fascism and communism, would spread darkness over light, disintegration over integration, chaos over community. And these forces still demand the leadership of the United States.

Let me say again: The once bright line between domestic and foreign policy is blurring. If I could do anything to change the speech patterns of those of us in public life, I would almost like to stop hearing people talk about foreign policy and domestic policy, and instead start discussing economic policy, security policy, environmental policy -- you name it.

When you think about the world in the way that you live in it, you readily see that the foreign-domestic distinction begins to evaporate in so many profound ways. And if we could learn to speak differently about it, the very act of speaking and thinking in the way we live, I believe, would make isolationism seem absolutely impossible as an alternative to public policy. (Applause.)

When the President of Mexico comes here in a few days and we talk about drug problems, are we talking about domestic problems or foreign problems? If we talk about immigration, are we discussing a domestic issue or a foreign issue? If we talk about NAFTA and trade, is it their foreign politics or our domestic economics? We have to understand this in a totally different way. And we must learn to speak about it in different ways.

The isolationists are simply wrong. The environment we face may be new and different, but to meet it with the challenges and opportunities it presents and to advance our enduring values, we have to be more engaged in the world, not less engaged in the world. That's why we have done everything we could in our administration to lead the fight to reduce the nuclear threat; to spread democracy in human rights; to support peace; to open markets; to enlarge and defend
the community of nations around the world; to share our aspirations and our values, not in abstract, but in ways that are quite practical and immediately of benefit to the American people.

Consider just a few examples. Every American today is safer because we're stepping back from the nuclear precipice. Russian missiles are no longer pointed at our citizens and there are no longer American missiles pointed at their citizens. Thanks to agreements reached by President Reagan, President Bush and our administration, both our countries are cutting back their nuclear arsenal.

Over the past three years, we've been able to persuade Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus to give up nuclear weapons left on their land when the Soviet Union collapsed. We've convinced North Korea to freeze its nuclear program. We've secured the indefinite extension of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. We're working hard to make sure nuclear materials don't wind up in the hands of terrorists or international criminals. And I hope and pray that next year we'll succeed in getting a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty.

Americans are safer because of the tough counterterrorism campaign we have been waging, including closer cooperation with foreign government, sanctions against states that sponsor terrorism, and increasing the funding, the manpower, the training for our own law enforcement. These have helped us to get results -- big, visible results, like the conviction just this week of those who conspired to wage a campaign of terror in New York -- and things that aren't so visible but are very important, the planned terrorist attacks that have been thwarted in the United States and on American citizens, the arrests that have been secured in other countries through our cooperation.

We have an obligation to work more and more and more on this. And if there is any area in the world where there is no difference between domestic and foreign policy, surely it is in our common obligation to work together to combat terrorism.

That is why, even before Oklahoma City, I had sent legislation to the Hill asking for additional resources and help to deal with the threat of terrorism. And after Oklahoma City, I modified and strengthened that legislation. The Senate passed the bill quickly, but I am very disappointed that the bill is now stalled in the House. We need this legislation.

I believe federal law enforcement authorities must be held accountable. I believe we must be open about whatever has happened in the past. But that has nothing to do with our obligation to make sure that the American people have the tools that they need to combat the threat of terrorism. So, once again, I say I hope antiterrorism legislation will pass. We need it. The threat is growing, not receding.

When we gave democracy another chance in Haiti, a lot of people said this has nothing to do with the United States. Well, it did. It did. It mattered that, when somebody came to our country and gave their word that they would leave and bring back democracy, that we enforce that commitment. And in a more immediate sense, in the month before our intervention, 16,000
Haitians fled tyranny for sanctuary in Florida and elsewhere in our region; but three months after the intervention, the refugee flow was practically zero.

When Mexico ran into a cash flow crisis, we put together an emergency support package to help put our neighbor back on the course of stability and economic progress. And to their credit, the Republican leaders of the Congress supported that effort. But it was impossible to pass a bill through the Congress endorsing it because of all the surveys which showed that the American people were opposed to the Mexican bailout by about 80-15, as I remember the poll on the day that I took executive action to do it. This is another case, however, when what may be unpopular in the short run is plainly in the interest of the United States in the long run.

When your neighbors are in trouble and they're trying to do the right thing, you normally try to help them, because it's good for the neighborhood. Look what's happened since the United States stepped in to try to be a good neighbor to Mexico. Economic growth has returned, even though in a fragile state, more quickly than it was anticipated; exports have returned to levels that exceed what they were pre-NAFTA; and just yesterday, President Zedillo called me to say that Mexico will repay $700 million of its debt to the United States well ahead of schedule.

Consider what would have happened if we would have taken the isolationist position. What would have happened to their economy? What would have happened to the international financial market's reaction to that in Argentina, in Brazil, throughout Latin America and other fragile, emerging democracies? What would have happened to our relationships and our cooperation on a host of issues between us? It was the right thing to do. Was it a domestic issue or a foreign issue? You tell me. All I know is, we have a better neighborly relationship and the future is brighter for the American people and for the people of Mexico because we are pursuing a strategy of engagement, not isolation.

You can see that in what's happening in Europe, where we're trying to bring the nations of Europe closer together, working for democracy and economic reform in the Soviet Union and Central Europe and modernizing NATO, strengthening the Partnership for Peace. And, again I will say, these things also further our interests.

I was told just last week that by all the trade initiatives which have been taken, from NAFTA and GATT to over 80 separate individual trade agreements that Ambassador Kantor has conducted, 15 of them with Japan alone, the expanded volume of exports for the United States has created more than two million jobs in the last two and a half years, paying well above the national average. With the Summit of the Americas, with the APEC process that we have agreed on, there are more to come.

The Commerce Department and the State Department have worked together more and have worked harder than ever before to try to help Americans take advantage of these new opportunities. They are a part and parcel of our foreign policy and our domestic policy.
And let me say one other thing: We have tried to make it a constant refrain that while we seek to engage all countries on terms of goodwill, we must continue to stand up for the values that we believe make life worth living. We must continue to stand up for the proposition that all people, without regard to their nationality, their race, their ethnic group, their religion or their gender, should have a chance to make the most of their own lives to taste both freedom and opportunity.

The most powerful statement of that by anyone in our administration recently was a statement made by the First Lady at the Women's Conference in Beijing, where she condemned abuses of women and their little children, and especially their little girl children, throughout the world, not sparing the problems of domestic violence and street crime here in the United States.

These are the kinds of things that America must continue to do. From Belfast to Jerusalem, American leadership has helped Catholics and Protestants, Jews and Arabs to walk the streets of their cities with less fear of bombs and violence. From Prague to Port-au-Prince, we're working to consolidate the benefits of democracy and market economics. From Kuwait to Sarajevo, the brave men and women of our Armed Forces are working to stand down aggression and stand up for freedom.

In our own hemisphere, only one country, Cuba, continues to resist the trend toward democracy. Today we are announcing new steps to encourage its peaceful transition to a free and open society. We will tighten the enforcement of our embargo to keep the pressure for reform on, but we will promote democracy and the free flow of ideas more actively. I have authorized our news media to open bureaus in Cuba. We will allow more people to travel to and from Cuba for educational, religious and human rights purposes. We will now permit American nongovernmental organizations to engage in a fuller range of activities in Cuba.

And today, it gives me great pleasure to announce that our first grant to fund NGO work in Cuba will be awarded to Freedom House to promote peaceful change and protect human rights. (Applause.)

Just mentioning this range of activities and the possibilities for positive American leadership demonstrates once again how vital it is to our security and to our prosperity, demonstrates once again that advancing our values and promoting our self-interests are one in the same.

I suppose, given the purpose of this conference and the unique sponsorship of it, that everybody here shares that believe and that, in a way, I'm just preaching to the choir. But this isolationist backlash, which is present in both parties, is very real. And if you look at it from the point of view of people who feel threatened by the changes in the world, it is even completely understandable. So it is important that we not simply condemn it, it is even more important that we explain the way the world is working. And as the world works its way through this period of transition toward a new order of things in which we can garner all of the benefits of change and technology and opportunity and still reinforce the importance of giving everybody a chance,
giving all families the chances to be strong, solidifying communities, as we work our way through this period, it is more and more important that we not simply condemn the isolationists, but that we seek to explain how the world works and why we must be engaged and lead.

Condemnation is not enough. Characterization is not enough. We must work through these issues. The American people are good people. They have common sense. They care when people are being murdered around the world. They understand that a war somewhere else could one day involve our sons and daughters. They know that we cannot simply pretend that the rest of the world is not there. But many of them have their own difficulties. We must work and work and work on the basic values and interests and arguments until we beat back the forces of isolation, with both intense passion and reason.

You can do that. That is what you must help us to do. Every one of you, each in your own way, with your own centers of influence, you can do that, with assertion and with argument.

Let me just give you one specific example: I am determined to do everything I can to preserve our international affairs budget. It represents, after all, less than two percent of our overall budget. Foreign aid is unpopular in the abstract because Americans believe we spend a lot more of their money on foreign aid than we do. But when you ask the American people how much we should spend, they will tell you, three percent, four percent, five percent -- more than we, in fact, spend.

No agency in this era when we're trying to balance the budget can be exempt from conscious cost-cutting. Vice President Gore and I have worked very hard to give the American people the smallest government, in terms of federal employees, we've had since President Kennedy was in office; to eliminate hundreds of programs. But we must have the tools of diplomacy.

American leadership is more than words and the military budget. Although the military budget is important, we must have a diplomacy budget. Some in Congress literally want to gut foreign assistance -- to hack the State Department's budget, to slash the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the USIA, AID. They would shirk our responsibilities to the United Nations. I want to go give this speech to the United Nations. Wouldn't you like it if I did? Wouldn't you like it if I did? (Applause.) I appreciate the applause, but you tell me what I'm supposed to say. I will go give this speech, and they will say, thank you very much, Mr. President, where's your $1 billion? (Laughter.) Why is the United States the biggest piker in the U.N.?

Now, let me say, does the United Nations need to be reformed? Has a lot of our money and everybody else's money been wasted? Does there need to be greater oversight? Of course, there does. Is that an argument for taking a dive on the United Nations? No.
We need your support for this. We must do this. It is the right thing to do. It is the responsible thing to do. Those who really would have us walk away from the U.N., not to mention the international financial institutions, they would really threaten our ability to lead.

As you know, in instances from Bosnia to Haiti, working out how we can lead and still maintain our alliances and cooperate through the United Nations and through NATO is sometimes frustrating and almost always difficult. But it is very important. We don't want to run off into the future all by ourselves. And that means we have to work responsibly through these international organizations. And we have to pay our fair share. Every dollar we spend on foreign assistance comes back to us many times over.

By reducing the threat of nuclear war in the Newly Independent States, we've been able to cut our own spending on strategic weapons. By supporting democratic reforms and the transition to free markets in the Soviet Union and in Central Europe, we promote stability and prosperity in an area that will in the future become a vast market for the United States. By assisting developing nations who are fighting against overpopulation, AIDS, drug smuggling, environmental degradation, the whole range of problems they face, we're making sure the problems they face today don't become our problems tomorrow. The money we devote to development or peacekeeping or disaster relief, it helps to avert future crises whose cost will be far greater. And it is the right thing to do. It is the right thing to do.

I am very worried that all these budgets are at risk -- some of them in an almost deliberate attempt to cut the United States off from partnership. I'll just give you one other example so I can go home and tell the Vice President I did it. (Laughter.)

We have a little bit of money devoted to a comprehensive, worldwide effort to deal with the threat of global warming. It is simply a matter of science and evidence. Just in the last several days, there have been a whole new rush of scientific evidence that 1995 is the warmest year on our entire planet in 20,000 years, that the whole in the ozone layer is bigger than we had imagined it to be, and that global warming is a real threat. We spend a pittance on it. That is one of the items targeted for elimination. This is not budget-cutting, this is ideology. This is another example of what the teenagers say about "denial" being more than a river in Egypt. (Laughter.) This is wrong. It is not necessary to balance the budget, and it necessary to reverse it to stand up for America's values and America's interests.

Let me just cite one more example. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were key weapons in the war of ideas waged against communism. Many of you stood up for it and fought for them. To meet the challenges of the new era, they have been dramatically downsized and moved from Munich to Prague. But some want to squeeze their already vastly reduced budget on the eve of major Russian elections, at the very time the Russian reformers most need objective information and the free exchange of ideas. They would do the same for the Voice of America, which serves on the front lines of democracy all around the world from Burma to the Balkans.
Reckless budget cutters would shut down our embassies first and consider the consequences later. Last year alone, our embassies responded to nearly two million requests for assistance from Americans overseas. They helped American companies billions of dollars in contracts. And every international business leader will tell you that the State Department and its embassies are working harder to advance our economic interests than at any time in the history of the global economy.

If we didn't have diplomats in Asia and Latin America to help stem the flow of drugs to our shores, imagine how much harder that task would be. In Northern Ireland and the Middle East, if we didn't have people representing us, it would be a lot harder to move the peace process forward. In Burundi or Rwanda, if we didn't have brave people there, like Ambassador Bob Krueger, it would be even harder to avoid human tragedy. We don't need half-strength and part-time diplomacy in a world of fast-moving opportunities and 24-hour-a-day crisis.

The last point I want to make is this: There are people who say, "Oh, Mr. President, I am for a strong America. I just don't understand why you fool with the U.N. What we need is for America to stand up alone. We'll decide what the right thing to do is and do it. Let the rest of world like it or lump it. That's what it means to be the world's only superpower." That also is a disguised form of isolationism.

Unilateralism in the world that we live in is not a viable option. When our vital interests are at stake, of course, we might have to act alone. But we need the wisdom to work with the United Nations and to pay our bills. We need the flexibility to build coalitions that spread the risk and responsibility and the cost of leadership, as President Bush did in Desert Storm and we did in Haiti.

If the past 50 years have taught us anything, it is that the United States has a unique responsibility and a unique ability to be a force for peace and progress around the world, while building coalitions of people that can work together in genuine partnership.

But we can only succeed if we continue to lead. Our purpose has to be the same in this new era as it has ever been. Whatever our political persuasions, I believe we all share the same goals. I think we want a future where people all over the world know the benefits of democracy; in which our own people can live their lives free from fear; in which our sons and daughters won't be called to fight in wars that could have been prevented; in which people no longer flee tyranny in their own countries to come to our shores; in which markets are open to our products and services; where they give our own people good, high-wage jobs; a country in which we know an unparalleled amount of peace and prosperity because we have fulfilled a traditional American mandate of the 20th century well into the 21st, because we -- we -- have led the world toward democracy and freedom, toward peace and prosperity.

If we want the kind of future I described, we have to assume the burden of leadership. There is simply not another alternative. So I ask you, bring your passion to this task, bring your
argument to this task, and bring the sense of urgency that has animated this country in its times of
greatest challenge for the last 50 years to this task.

The future, I believe, will be even brighter for the American people than the last 50
years if -- if -- we can preserve our leadership in pursuit of our values.

Thank you, and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

10:19 A.M. EDT
THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release May 22, 1996

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT UNITED STATES COAST GUARD ACADEMY
COMMENCEMENT

United States Coast Guard Academy
Groton, Connecticut

11:34 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Secretary Pena, Commandant Kramek -- thank you for doing such an excellent job, Admiral. Admiral Versaw, Commander Wiemer. To the United States Coast Guard Band, thank you today. To the members of this fine class, your families and your friends, this is your day and I am deeply honored to share it with you.

I am especially indebted to the Coast Guard right now because there are four members of the White House staff who are Coast Guard officers. Three of them are graduates of this Academy -- Commander Peter Boynton, Lieutenant Matt Miller, Lt. Commander Bob Malkowski. The fourth is not a graduate of this Academy, but she is my Coast Guard military aide, and I'm very proud of her -- Lt. Commander June Ryan. And she informed me that every Coast Guard officer was a supporter of this Academy. I am delighted to be here with all of you.

I must say I only had one pause when I was invited to be your commencement speaker, and that's when I heard that the mascot for the Class of '96 is the guinea pig. (Laughter.) Having been in that position more than once in my life -- (laughter) -- I was not particularly anxious to take on another one. (Laughter.) But then I remembered what a wonderful reception the Coasties gave the First Lady and our daughter, Chelsea, when they visited here two years ago. And I told the pilot to go on and hold course for New London.

I am honored to be here today. God has given us a beautiful day, and I hope you all enjoy it and remember it fondly for the rest of your lives.

We gather before the Coast Guard cutter, Eagle, the largest tall ship flying the Stars and Stripes. On its decks and its riggings, you cadets were tested time and again to ready you for the
important responsibilities you are about to assume as Coast Guard officers. I can look at you and
tell that you are ready.

The course you're on will not always be easy, but it will be exhilarating because you are
serving at a time of extraordinary challenge and change; a time of new risks to our security, but
also real opportunities to make the future brighter for every American, especially the Americans
of your generation and the generations to come.

You will know this by the virtue of the work you will be doing week in and week out,
along the 47,000 miles of America's coastline, lakes and rivers; from the frigid waters of the North
Pacific and the North Atlantic to the balmy Caribbean; and far from home patrolling the Baltic,
the Mediterranean and the Black Sea with our allies.

Consider the average Coast Guard -- something I hope the American people will get to
do as a result of this appearance. Most of your fellow citizens have no idea the sweep, the scope,
the importance of the work you do. But in the average week, you and your fellow sailors will
seize drugs with a street value of $50 million, stop hundreds of illegal immigrants from reaching
our shores, respond to 260 hazardous chemical spills, salvage property worth $17 million,
conduct 1,250 search and rescue missions and save the lives of nearly 100 people. That's an
average week. That's a pretty good average, and the American people should be very, very proud
of the United States Coast Guard. (Applause.)

But since you're facing such a heavy load in the future, I think I should lighten it for
now. So as Commander in Chief I hereby grant amnesty to all cadets marching tours or serving
restrictions for minor offenses. (Laughter and applause.)

To the members of this graduating class, from this day forward you will be guardians of
America's security. There is no higher calling. And so, as you celebrate today, I ask you just to
take a few moments with me to join in thinking about the future that you will help to shape for
your fellow Americans and for the citizens of the world. What do you want the future to look
like? What do we want the future to look like? How do we want America to enter the 21st
century?

Four years ago I said that the answer to that question for me is as straightforward as the
path ahead is full of twists and turns. For me, America must enter the 21st century as a nation of
opportunity for all and responsibility from all; a nation that is coming together, instead of drifting
apart; a nation that remains the strongest force on Earth for peace, freedom and prosperity.

For nearly four years our administration has pursued that vision with a strategy
that involves making American people more secure, by leading a powerful movement now
sweeping the globe for democracy and peace, by creating greater prosperity for our people, by
opening markets abroad.
And that strategy is working. Our military is stronger, our alliances are deeper, the danger of weapons of mass destruction and the other major threats to our security are receding. Conflicts long thought to be unsolvable are moving toward resolution. More markets than ever before are open to our goods and services. And more markets than ever before are open to the goods and services of other nations, as well.

The mission before you is to build on these achievements, at a time when the world we live in is going through profound and fast-paced change, perhaps the fastest pace of change in all human history. In so many ways this change is clearly for the good, and you have been a part of it. Democracy and free markets are on the march; the laptops, the CD-ROMs, the satellites that are second nature to all of you send ideas, products, money, all across our planet in a matter of seconds. Political, economic and technological revolutions are bringing us all closer together, and bringing with them extraordinary opportunities for all to share in humanity's genius for progress.

But we know these same forces also pose new challenges. The end of communism has opened the door to the spread of weapons of mass destruction and lifted the lid on religious and ethnic conflicts. The growing openness we so cherish also benefits a host of equal opportunity destroyers -- terrorists, international criminals, drug traffickers, and those who do environment damage that cross national borders.

None of these problems has any particular respect for the borders of the nation you are sworn to defend. Because the Cold War is over, some of these challenges are underestimated, and Americans that typically don't have much in common from the left to the right find themselves saying it is now time for us to retreat from our global leadership role.

But we cannot withdraw into a fortress America -- there is no wall high enough to keep out the threats to our security -- or to isolate ourselves from the world economy and other trends in the global society. There are some who say we should lead, all right, but they would deny us the resources to do so. To them I also ask, reconsider your position.

One of the most important lessons of the last 50 years is that democracy and free markets are neither inevitable nor irreversible. They need our support, the power of our example, the resolve of our leadership. My job as President is to match the need for American leadership to our interests and to our values; to act where we can make a difference; to do so wisely, not reflexively; relying on diplomacy and sanctions when we can, force when we must; working with our allies whenever possible, but alone when necessary; rejecting the call to isolationism, refusing to be the world's policeman.

It also means, as the Secretary said earlier, from time to time making some decisions that are unpopular in the short run. But if you consider some of those, imagine the alternative. Imagine what the Persian Gulf would look like today if the United States had not stepped up with our allies in Desert Storm. Then two years ago, we had to do it again to stop Iraqi aggression. Imagine the ongoing reign of terror and the flood of refugees to our shore had
we not backed diplomacy with force in Haiti. And, by the way, you ought to be proud that it was a Coast Guard cutter that led our forces into Port-au-Prince Harbor on that mission.

Imagine the shells and the slaughter we would still be seeing in Bosnia had we not brought our force to bear through NATO. Imagine the chaos that might have ensued had we not used our economic power to stabilize Mexico's economy. Imagine the jobs we would have lost if we hadn't taken the lead to expand world trade through GATT and NAFTA and over 200 specific agreements. In each case there was substantial, sometimes overwhelming, opinion against America's course. But because we followed the course, Americans are better off.

For all the new demands on our troops and our treasure, the basic tools of leadership still require a powerful military and strong alliances. Those things allowed us to triumph through two world wars and a Cold War. And for this new era we must first sharpen and strengthen these tools. Our military has never been more ready than it is today, prepared to fight and win on two major fronts at once, to deter aggression and to defeat it.

Because of our military strength we can often achieve our objectives by ourselves or with our allies without a fight. In the last couple of years that's why Saddam Hussein pulled his forces back from Kuwait's border; why the military dictators stepped down in Haiti; and why, after a bombing but not a ground campaign, the Bosnian Serbs turned from the battlefield to the bargaining table. We still have the best-trained, best-equipped, best-prepared fighting force in the world. It is being strengthened every day. It is also strengthened by strong alliances and cooperative action with like-minded nations.

As we saw in the Gulf War, in Haiti, and now in Bosnia, there are a lot of other countries who share our goals and who are willing to share our burdens -- through NATO, the United Nations and other coalitions. The end of the Cold War presented us with an historic opportunity to broaden our alliances, to build a peaceful and undivided Europe, to forge a stable community of nations in an increasingly open and democratic Asia, to draw our own hemisphere closer together in a shared embrace of democracy and free enterprise. We have seized those opportunities.

In Europe we have reinforced our ties with our longtime friends and opened NATO's doors to new democracies, beginning with the Partnership For Peace. We have worked to support Russia's transition to democracy and a free market economy. Another national election will soon be held there. More than 60 percent of Russia's economy has moved from the heavy grip of the state into the hands of its people. The cooperation between our troops in Bosnia proves that we can have a strong partnership with Russia and with Europe. The main battleground for the bloodiest century in history, Europe, is finally coming together in peace.

We also have vital strategic and economic interests in Asia, the fastest-growing part of the world economically. They require new efforts to maintain stability. I recently returned from a trip to Korea and Japan, reaffirming our security relationship with Japan, launching a new initiative to make peace on the Korean Peninsula, committing to maintain 100,000 troops in North
Asia, and reaffirming our determination to engage China in developing a productive security dialogue.

These are the things that you will have to carry out. By living up to the legacy of American leadership, being steady and strong in the judgments necessary to advance our interests and our values, keeping our military ready, deepening our alliances, we will meet the challenges of your time.

But there is more to be done for America to keep moving forward and to pass on an even safer and more prosperous world to our children as we enter this new century and a new millennium. First, we must continue to seize the extraordinary opportunity to reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction. We have set the most far-reaching arms control and nonproliferation agenda in history, and I am determined to pursue it and complete it. Already, there are no Russian missiles pointed at our cities or our citizens. We are cutting our arsenals by two-thirds from their Cold War height. Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan have been convinced to give up their nuclear weapons.

Our diplomacy backed with force persuaded North Korea to freeze its nuclear program. We have now secured the indefinite and unconditional extension of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. (Applause.) Sometimes I wonder if people know what that is. Now I know you do. (Laughter.) I wish I could give you a citation. (Laughter.)

But we have other things to do. We must continue to help people who will work with us to safeguard nuclear materials and destroy those nuclear weapons so they don't wind up in the wrong hands. We have got to stop an entire new generation of nuclear weapons by signing a comprehensive test ban treaty this year. We have to ban chemical weapons by ratifying the chemical weapons convention now.

All of these things are focused on reducing the threat of weapons of mass destruction. But we also have to be prepared to defend ourselves in the extremely unlikely event that these preventive measures fail. That's why we're spending $3 billion a year on a strong, sensible, national missile defense program based on real threats and pragmatic responses. Our first priority is to defend against existing or near-term threats, like short- and medium-range missile attacks on our troops in the field or our allies. And we are, with upgraded patriot missiles, the Navy Lower and Upper Tier and the Army THAAD.

The possibility of a long-range missile attack on American soil by a rogue state is more than a decade away. To prevent it, we are committed to developing by the year 2000 and defensive system that could be deployed by 2003, well before the threat becomes real.

I know that there are those who disagree with this policy. They have a plan that Congress will take up this week that would force us to choose now a costly missile defense system that could be obsolete tomorrow. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that this cost will be between $30 and $60 billion.
Those who want us to deploy this system before we know the details and the dimensions of the threat we face I believe are wrong. I think we should not leap before we look. I believe this plan is misguided. It would waste money. It would weaken our defenses by taking money away from things we know we need right now. It would violate the arms control agreements that we have made and these agreements make us more secure. That is the wrong way to defend America. (Applause.)

The right way to defend America includes eliminating weapons of mass destruction, stopping this dread, and building a smart missile defense system. It also includes continuing the fight against the increasingly interconnected forces of destruction like terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking.

Believe me, no one is immune to their danger, and you will see them more in your career: Not the people of Tokyo where the sarin gas attack in the subway injured thousands of commuters; the people of Latin America or Southeast Asia where drug traffickers wielding imported weapons have murdered hundreds of innocent people. Not the people of Israel where hatemongers have blown up buses full of children; nor the people of the former Soviet Union and Central Europe where organized criminals are undermining new democracies. And, of course, not the people of our United States, where home-grown terrorists blew up the Murrah Federal Building in the heart of America and foreign terrorists tried to topple the World Trade Center, where drug traffickers poison our children and bring untold violence to our streets.

As Coast Guard officers, you will be on the front lines of this struggle against these forces of destruction, especially drugs. With every seizure, like last summer's record haul of 12 tons of cocaine from a Panamanian fishing vessel, you are literally saving the lives of American citizens. Today I pledge this to you: With our military and law enforcement agencies, you will have the tools you need to get the job done. (Applause.)

We must cooperate as never before with countries around the world, sharing information, providing military support, pursuing anticorruption efforts, shutting down front companies and money laundering operations, opening more FBI training centers. We have to keep up the funding, the personnel, the training for our law enforcement agencies. We have to keep the heat on states that sponsor terrorism or violate international law with tough sanctions like the one the international community has imposed on Iraq since the Gulf War.

And I'd like to take this occasion to congratulate the Coast Guard, which recently completed its 10,000th boarding in the Persian Gulf in support of those sanctions. Thank you and congratulations. (Applause.)

Since the forces of destruction never give up, we must never give in. And your job will be to help America remain vigilant and victorious. We also have to continue to advance the fight for peace and democracy faster than before. Nothing can strengthen our security more in the long run. When people are free and at peace, they are less likely to resort to violence or to abuse the rights of their fellow citizens. They are more likely to join with us in common cause.
We see this so clearly here in our own hemisphere where the powerful movement to democracy has produced unparalleled cooperation in dealing with drugs and illegal immigrants and has brought freedom to every single country in our hemisphere but one.

We see the promise of peace in Northern Ireland where negotiations are set to begin next month. We see it in the Middle East where a comprehensive, lasting settlement is within reach. In the last three years alone, Israel and its Palestinian and Jordanian neighbors have committed to peace and they're making good on their commitments, including just a few weeks ago, Chairman Arafat fulfilling his pledge to rid the Palestinian Charter of all references to the destruction of Israel. (Applause.)

We know that many difficult issues remain to be resolved between Israel and Syria, between Israel and Lebanon. We know there will be problems from time to time, as there was in the tragic fighting along the border between Israel and Lebanon, which I am grateful has been resolved now. We know that, most importantly, every step along the path to peace, the enemies of peace will show their own desperation with bullets and bombs.

So I say this to the people of Israel: We've been with you every step of the way for the last three years. As Israel takes further risks for peace in the future, it can count on further manifestations of American support. We must be with you every step of the way until there is a comprehensive, lasting peace in the Middle East. Now is not the time to turn back, and the United States must do its part. (Applause.)

Finally, we must never forget that the true measure of our country's well-being and our security not only includes physical safety, but economic prosperity as well. Decades from now people will look back at this period and see the most far-reaching changes in the world trading system in 50 years, since the end of World War II; changes that are making a dramatic difference in the lives of ordinary people -- through the negotiations that produced the GATT and NAFTA agreements, through the persuasion we had in working with Japan on 21 separate agreements. Barriers to our products have come down and our exports have gone up, creating more than one million new jobs in the last three years alone.

We still have a lot to do in the Asia Pacific region and in other areas of the world. We have to extend free and fair trade on every continent. We have the best workers and the best products in the world. If we give them a fair deal with free trade, they will bring even greater prosperity home to America.

Members of the Class of 1996, I want to leave you with this one final thought as you go forward: This new era calls on all of us to rise to more different and difficult challenges than in the past. I know the rewards of serving on the front lines of change may seem distant and uncertain from time to time, but you will succeed if you remember always to measure your success by one simple standard: Have you made the lives of the American people safer? Have
you made the future of our children more secure? That must remain our guiding principle for the years ahead.

If it does, we will enter the 21st century with a military whose fighting edge is sharper than ever; with a peaceful, undivided Europe and a stable, prosperous Asia; with fewer nuclear weapons in the world's arsenals and tough new agreements to control chemical and biological weapons; with terrorists, organized criminals, and drug traffickers on the run, not on the rampage; with more barriers to American products coming down; with more people than ever living with the blessings of peace and democracy.

For 50 years now, our country has been the world's leading force for freedom and progress around the world, and it has brought us real security and prosperity here at home. If we continue to lead, if we continue to meet the peril and seize the promise of this new era, that proud history will also be your future and the future of your children.

Good luck, and God bless you, and God bless America. (Applause.)

END 11:59 A.M. EDT
REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON AMERICAN SECURITY IN A CHANGING WORLD

George Washington University
Washington, D. C.
August 5, 1996

I'm pleased to be back here at George Washington University, especially as you celebrate your 175th anniversary. President James Monroe signed the congressional charter establishing GWU. I can only applaud his wisdom and hope that 175 years from now our administration will be associated with a similarly proud legacy. I think he would be very proud if he could see what GWU has become.

Last night the Centennial Olympics came to an end. It was a great Olympics for America not only because of the triumphs of our athletes, but also because of the magnificent job done by the city of Atlanta and all the other hosts. But, in a larger sense, it was a great event not just for Americans, but for people everywhere who believe in peace and freedom, who believe in individual achievement and common effort.

I believe we love the Olympics because they work the way we think the world ought to work. They are possible because all different kinds of people come together in mutual respect and mutual acceptance of the rules of the games. No one wins by breaking their opponents legs or by bad-mouthing their opponents in a public forum. Instead, victory comes from doing well in a good way. And all who strive are honored, as we saw when our volunteers cleared the track for the brave, injured marathon runner who was the very last finisher in the race.

Most individuals and teams from the 197 competing nations did not win any medal, but they all had their chance, did their best and were better for their efforts. That is what we want for our country and the world at the edge of a new century and a new millennium.

In the world of the 21st century, the Olympic way will become possible in the lives of more people than ever before. More people than ever before will have the chance to live their dreams. The explosion of knowledge, communication, travel and trade will bring us all closer together in the global village. But as we saw in that terrible moment of terror in Centennial Park, this new openness also makes us more vulnerable to the forces of destruction that know no national boundaries.

The pipe bomb reminded us, as did the murder of 19 fine American service men in Saudi Arabia, and the still unresolved crash of TWA 800, that if we want the benefits of this new world we must defeat the forces who would destroy it by killing the innocent, to strike fear and burn hatred into the hearts of the rest of us. This is a lesson and a responsibility every American must accept.
As the Mayor of Montoursville, a town of just 5,000 people in Pennsylvania that lost 21 of its brightest hopes for the future on TWA Flight 800, said, "No matter how secluded and how innocent we are, once we leave our community we're subject to the troubles of the outside world."

America faces three great challenges as we enter the 21st century: keeping the American Dream alive for all who are willing to work for it; bringing our own country together, not dividing it; and making sure America remains the strongest force in the world for peace and freedom, security and prosperity.

I come to this place of learning and reason -- a place so focused on the future -- to explain why we cannot meet our own challenges of opportunity, responsibility and community unless we also maintain our indispensable role of leadership for peace and freedom in the world.

The worldwide changes in how people work, live and relate to each other are the fastest, and perhaps, the most profound in history. Most of these changes are good: The Cold War is over. Our country is at peace. Our economy is strong. Democracy and free markets are taking root on every continent. The blocks, the barriers, the borders that defined the world for our parents and grandparents are giving way, with the help of a new generation of extraordinary technology. Every day millions of people use laptops, modems, CD ROMs and satellites to send ideas, products and money all across the planet in seconds. The opportunities to build a safer world and a more prosperous future are enormous.

But for all the promise of our time, we are not free from peril. Fascism and communism may be dead or discredited, but the forces of destruction live on. We see them in the sudden explosions of ethnic, racial, religious and tribal hatred. We see them in the reckless acts of rogue states. We see them especially in a dangerous web of new threats -- terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking, and the continuing danger that weapons of mass destruction might spread across the globe. These forces of destruction find opportunity in the very openness, freedom and progress we cherish.

We must recognize that modern technologies by themselves will not make for us a new world of peace and freedom. Technology can be used for good or evil. American leadership is necessary to assure that the consequences are good.

That is why we have worked so hard to seize the opportunities created by change -- and to move swiftly and strongly against the new threats that change has produced.

To seize the opportunities, we are strengthening our alliances, dramatically reducing the danger of weapons of mass destruction, leading the march for peace and democracy throughout the world, and creating much greater prosperity at home by opening markets to American products abroad.
Our alliances are the bedrock of American leadership. As we saw in the Gulf War, in Haiti, and now in Bosnia, many other nations who share our goals will also share our burdens. In Europe we have supported the forces of democracy and reform in the former Soviet Union, the removal of Russian troops from the Baltics, and led the way to opening NATO's doors to Europe's new democracies through the Partnership for Peace, as Europe, the main battleground for the bloodiest century in history, is finally coming together peacefully. In Asia we have revitalized our security alliance with Japan, joined with South Korea to promote lasting peace on the Korean Peninsula, and worked steadily to encourage the emergence of a strong, stable, open China.

The end of the Cold War has also allowed us to lift the dark cloud of nuclear fear that had hung over our heads for 50 years. Today not a single Russian missile is pointed at our citizens or cities. We are cutting Russian and American arsenals by two-thirds from their Cold War height. We helped Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan to give up their nuclear weapons which were left on their land when the Soviet Union dissolved. Working with Japan and Korea, we persuaded North Korea to freeze the dangerous nuclear program it had been developing for over a decade.

We have advanced the struggle for peace and freedom. When people live free and at peace, we are more secure because they are less likely to resort to violence or to abuse human rights, and more likely to be better trading partners and partners in our common struggle against terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking, and environmental degradation.

Because America is taking risks for peace and democracy, the dictators are gone from Haiti, democracy is back and the flow of desperate refugees has stopped. In Bosnia, the snipers' killing fields have become children's playing fields once again. In Northern Ireland and the Middle East, though difficulties remain, conflicts that once seemed unsolvable are moving closer to resolution.

None of these struggles is easy. There is no guarantee of success. But we will continue to work for success and we will make a difference.

Finally, we have seized the opportunity to better our people's lives at home by opening markets abroad. The true measure of our security includes not only physical safety, but economic well-being as well. Decades from now people will look back on this period and see the most far-reaching changes in the world trading system in generations. Changes that are good for the American people. Changes that include 200 new trade agreements, including GATT and NAFTA, the Summit of the Americas, and the Asian Pacific leaders' commitment to bring down trade barriers. Because of these changes, America is the world's number one exporter again, and we have a million new high-paid jobs as a result.

Now, none of these achievements just happened. They came about because we work with others to share the risk and cost of engagement, because we use the power of our example and, where necessary, the example of our power. They happened because we were willing to make tough choices today, knowing they would pay off for you tomorrow.
Above all, they happened because we refused to listen to those who said that with the Cold War over America could choose escapism over engagement. Had we done so we would have weakened the world's reach for freedom, tolerance and prosperity and undermined our own security and prosperity.

The fact is, America remains the indispensable nation. There are times when America, and only America, can make a difference between war and peace, between freedom and repression, between hope and fear. Of course, we can't take on all the world's burdens. We cannot become its policeman. But where our interests and values demand it, and where we can make a difference, America must act -- and lead.

Nowhere is that responsibility more clear or more urgent than in the struggle against terrorism. No one is immune, whether you're riding a subway in Tokyo or a bus in Tel Aviv, whether you're window shopping in London or walking the streets in Moscow, whether you're doing your duty in Saudi Arabia or going to work in Oklahoma City. Terrorism has become an equal opportunity destroyer, with no respect for borders.

Whether we like it or not, in ways both good and bad, we are living in an interdependent world. That's why we must break down the walls in our mind between foreign and domestic policy. And I might say, Mr. President, on this 175th anniversary, that is one of the intellectual objectives that I hope our great universities will commit themselves to.

The reality is our personal, community and national prosperity depend upon our policies on economics and trade at home and abroad. Our personal, community and national well-being depend upon our policies on the environment at home and abroad. Most dramatically, our personal, community and national security depend upon our policies on terrorism at home and abroad. We cannot advance the common good at home without also advancing the common good around the world. We cannot reduce the threats to our people without reducing threats to the world beyond our borders.

That's why the fight against terrorism must be both a national priority and a national security priority.

We have pursued a concerted national and international strategy against terrorism on three fronts: First, beyond our borders, by working more closely than ever with our friends and allies; second, here at home, by giving law enforcement the most powerful counterterrorism tools available; and, third, in the airports and airplanes that link us together by increasing aviation security.

This will be a long, hard struggle. There will be setbacks along the way. But just as no enemy could drive us from the fight to meet our challenges and protect our values in World War II and the Cold War, we will not be driven from the tough fight against terrorism today. Terrorism is the enemy of our generation, and we must prevail.
First, on the international front, stopping the spread of terrorism clearly requires common action. The United States has a special responsibility to lead in this effort. Over the past four years, our intelligence services have been sharing more information than ever with other nations. We've opened up a law enforcement academy in Budapest which is training people from 23 nations, an FBI office in Moscow -- and just last Friday, Congress gave us the funding for FBI offices in Cairo, Islamabad, Tel Aviv and Beijing. We've requested more money for intelligence in 1997. This focus is making a difference. As the Senate Intelligence Committee concluded in its 1996 report on the Intelligence Authorization bill, "the work of U.S. intelligence agencies against terrorism has been an example of effective coordination and information sharing."

I've also worked to rally other nations to the fight against terrorism -- last year at the U.N. General Assembly; this spring at the historic Summit of Peacemakers at Sharm el-Sheikh, where 29 nations, including 13 Arab nations for the first time condemned terrorism in Israel and anywhere else it occurs in the Middle East and throughout the world; at the G-7 Summit in Lyon; and the recently held follow-on conference we called for in Paris, where we were represented ably by the Attorney General.

Now, the point of all these efforts with other countries is not to talk, but to act. More countries are acting with us. More countries are taking the "no sanctuary" pledge and living up to their extradition laws so that terrorists have no place to run or hide. More countries are helping us to shut down the gray markets that outfit terrorists with weapons and false documents. Last week in Paris, the G-7 nations and Russia agreed to pursue a sweeping set of measures to prevent terrorists from acting, and to catch them if they do. And we set timetables with specific dates by which progress must be made.

We're also working with Saudi Arabia to improve the security of our forces stationed there, so that we can continue to deter aggression by rogue states and stand against terrorism in the Middle East. After Khobar Towers, I immediately ordered investigations by the FBI and a commission headed by General Wayne Downing, which is to report to me later this month. While it's too early to reach conclusions, these investigations are moving aggressively in cooperation with our host. And we are working with the Saudi government to move almost all our troops to other bases to better protect them from terrorist attacks.

Even though we're working more closely with our allies than ever, and there is more agreement on what needs to be done than ever, we do not always agree. Where we don't agree, the United States cannot and will not refuse to do what we believe is right. That's why we have maintained or strengthened sanctions against states that sponsor terrorism like Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Sudan. You cannot do business with countries that practice commerce with you by day while funding or protecting the terrorists who kill you and your innocent civilians by night. That is wrong. I hope, and expect, that before long our allies will come around to accepting this fundamental truth.
This morning I signed into law the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act. It builds on what we've already done to isolate those regimes by imposing tough penalties on foreign companies that go forward with new investments in key sectors. The act will help to deny them the money they need to finance international terrorism or to acquire weapons of mass destruction. It will increase the pressure on Libya to extradite the suspects in the bombing of Pan Am 103.

With us today are some of the Pan Am 103 families and the loved ones of other victims of terrorism sponsored by Iran and Libya. Let me repeat the pledge I made to them earlier. We will not rest in our efforts to track down, prosecute and punish terrorists -- and to keep the heat on those who support them. And we must not rest in that effort.

The second part of our strategy is to give American law enforcement officials the most powerful tools available to fight terrorism without undermining our civil liberties.

In the wake of Oklahoma City, I strengthened the terrorism bill I had previously sent to Congress, but which had not then been passed. Despite the vow of Congress to act quickly, it took a year before that bill came to my desk to be signed. The bill had some very good points. It made terrorism a federal offense, expanded the role of the FBI and imposed the death penalty for terrorism. As strong as it was, however, it did not give our law enforcement officials other tools they needed and that they had asked for -- including increased wiretap authority for terrorists to parallel that which we have for people involved in organized crime now, and chemical markers for the most common explosives so that we can more easily track down bomb makers.

After the bombing in Atlanta, Congress said it would reconsider these and other measures. I immediately called the congressional leadership to the White House and urged them to put together a package and vote it into law before they left for the August recess last Friday. I am disappointed -- and, more importantly, the America people are disappointed -- that that job was not done. These additional measures would save lives. They would make us all more secure. When the Congress returns from the August recess, we will take them up again. We must get the job done.

There is more I will ask Congress to do. Next month I will submit to Congress the International Crime Control Act that our Justice, State and Treasury Departments drafted at my request, because more and more, terrorism, international organized crime and drug trafficking are going hand in hand. This bill expands our fight against money laundering, so criminals and terrorists will have a tougher time financing their activities. It strengthens our extradition powers and border controls to keep more criminals and terrorists out of America. It increases the ability of American law enforcement to prosecute those who commit violent crimes against Americans abroad. Congress should pass it.
And, once again, I urge the Senate to ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention, so that we can eliminate chemical weapons stockpiles and give our law enforcement new powers to investigate and prosecute people planning attacks with such weapons. We have seen the terrible, destructive impact of Sarin gas in the Tokyo subway. Within a month of that attack, Japan's Diet ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention, but we still have not done so. If the Chemical Weapons Convention were in force today, it would be much more difficult for terrorists to acquire chemical weapons. They are not waiting, and we shouldn't either.

Finally, the third front of our struggle against terrorism is the airports and airplanes that bring us all closer together.

Air travel remains the safest form of transportation. And our airlines have the best safety record and security record in the business. But that's a small consolation when a single attack can take so many lives. Last year we began field testing new high-tech explosive detection machines in Atlanta and San Francisco. We significantly increased security at our airports. And the FAA created a new government and industry panel to review airline security.

After the TWA crash, I ordered new measures to increase the security of air travel. As any of you who have flown in recent days will have noticed, we're doing more hand searches and machine screening of luggage. We're requiring preflight inspections for every plane flying to or from the United States -- every plane, every cabin, every cargo hold, every time. The Vice President is leading a commission on aviation security that is to report back to me within 45 days with an action plan to deploy machines that can detect the most sophisticated explosives and other needed changes.

Now, I know all this has led to some extra inconvenience for air travelers, and it may lead eventually to a modest increase in the cost of air travel. But the increased safety and peace of mind will be worth it.

So, greater international cooperation, stronger American law enforcement, safer air travel -- these are the fronts of our concerted strategy against terrorism. Much of this work by law enforcement, intelligence and military professionals goes unheralded, but we are getting results. For example, we prevented attacks on the United Nations and the Holland Tunnel in New York. We thwarted an attempt to bomb American passenger planes from the skies over the Pacific. We convicted those responsible for the World Trade Center bombing and arrested suspects in the Oklahoma City and Unabomber cases. We've tracked down terrorists around the world and extradited more terrorists in four years than in the previous 12.
But I want to make it clear to the American people that while we can defeat terrorists, it will be a long time before we defeat terrorism. America will remain a target because we are uniquely present in the world, because we act to advance peace and democracy, because we have taken a tougher stand against terrorism, and because we are the most open society on Earth. But to change any of that -- to pull our troops from the world's trouble spots, to turn our backs on those taking risks for peace, to weaken our opposition against terrorism, to curtail the freedom that is our birth right -- would be to give terrorism a victory it must not and will not have.

In this fight, as in so many other challenges around the world, American leadership is indispensable. In assuming our leadership in the struggle against terrorism we must be neither reluctant nor arrogant, but realistic, determined, and confident. And we must understand that in this battle we must deploy more than police and military resources. Every one of you counts; every American counts.

Our greatest strength is our confidence. And that is the target of the terrorists. Make no mistake about it: The bombs that kill and maim innocent people are not really aimed at them, but at the spirit of our whole country and the spirit of freedom. Therefore, the struggle against terrorism involves more than the new security measures I have ordered and the others I am seeking. Ultimately, it requires the confident will of the American people to retain our convictions for freedom and peace and to remain the indispensable force in creating a better world at the dawn of a new century.

Everywhere I travel on behalf of our country I encounter people who look up to us because of what we stand for and what we're willing to stand against. I have said this before, but when Hillary and I visited the Olympic Village I was so moved by the athletes who came up to me and talked about what America had meant to their country: a young Croatian athlete who thanked me for our efforts there, not long after Secretary Brown's plane crashed and Secretary Kantor had finished the mission; an Irish athlete who thanked me for our efforts to bring peace in Northern Ireland; a Palestinian athlete who said that he came from a very old people, but they never had an Olympic team until they made peace with Israel, and that many people wanted to keep that peace.

This responsibility is great, and I know it weighs heavily on many Americans. But we should embrace this responsibility because at this point in time no one else can do what we can do to advance peace and freedom and democracy -- and because it is necessary at this point in time for our own peace and freedom and prosperity.

As we remember the Centennial Olympics -- the weeks of courage and triumph, the wonder of the world's youth bound together by the rules of the game in genuine mutual respect -- let us resolve to work for a world that looks more like that in the 21st century, to stand strong against the moments of terror that would destroy our spirit, to stand for the values that have brought us so many blessings, values that have made us, at this pivotal moment, the indispensable nation.

Thank you very much.
THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(New York, New York)

For Immediate Release September 24, 1996

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ADDRESS TO THE
51ST GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly Hall
United Nations
New York, New York

10:03 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, heads of government, foreign ministers, ambassadors, your excellencies, distinguished guests: Three years ago, I had the honor of being the first American President born after the founding of the United Nations to address you. In its 51st year, the United Nations has not yet realized all its founders' aspirations, but the ideals of the U.N. Charter -- peace, freedom, tolerance, prosperity -- these now touch more people in more nations than ever before.

Now we find ourselves at a turning point in history, when the blocks and barriers that long defined the world are giving way to an age of remarkable possibility; a time when more of our children and more nations will be able to live out their dreams than ever before.

But this is also an age of new threats: Threats from terrorists, from rogue states that support them; threats from ethnic, religious, racial and tribal hatreds; threats from international criminals and drug traffickers, all of whom will be more dangerous if they gain access to weapons of mass destruction.

The challenge before us plainly is twofold -- to seize the opportunities for more people to enjoy peace and freedom, security and prosperity, and to move strongly and swiftly against the dangers that change has produced. This week in this place, we take a giant step forward. By overwhelming global consensus, we will make a solemn commitment to end all nuclear tests for all time.

Before entering this hall I had the great honor to be the first leader to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. I did so with some pride with this pen, for this pen is the very one that President Kennedy used to help bring the Limited Test Ban Treaty to life 33 years ago.
This Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty will help to prevent the nuclear powers from developing more advanced and more dangerous weapons. It will limit the ability of other states to acquire such devices themselves. It points us toward a century in which the roles and risks of nuclear weapons can be further reduced, and ultimately eliminated.

I want to thank all of those who helped to bring us to this day, especially the Chairman of the Comprehensive Test Ban Negotiating Committee, Netherlands' Ambassador Ramaker, and the government of Australia, which took the lead at the U.N. I thank the Secretary General for the remarks he made this morning in establishing the criteria and standards and support of the United Nations as a depository of the treaty.

The signature of the world's declared nuclear power -- the United States, China, France, Russia and the United Kingdom -- along with those of the vast majority of its nations, will immediately create an international norm against nuclear testing, even before the treaty formally enters into force.

The CTBT is the shared work of hard negotiation. Some have complained that it does not mandate total nuclear disarmament by a date certain. I would say to them, do not forsake the benefits of this achievement by ignoring the tremendous progress we have already made toward that goal.

Today, there are no Russian missiles pointed at America, and no American missiles pointed at Russia. Through the START treaties we are cutting our nuclear arsenals by two-thirds. Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan are giving up the nuclear weapons left on their land after the Soviet Union dissolved. We are working with the New Independent States to improve security at nuclear facilities and to convert nuclear weapons to peaceful uses.

The United States and other nuclear weapons states have embraced the South Pacific and African Nuclear Free Zones. Now, half the world's land area is nuclear free by international agreement. And the world community extended indefinitely the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

Yet, some of the very changes that have made this progress possible have also created new risks. The breakup of the Soviet Union left nuclear materials dispersed throughout the New Independent States. As barriers have come down around the world, the danger of nuclear smuggling has gone up. So even as we reduce the global stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction, we must also reduce the danger that lethal materials could wind up in the wrong hands, while developing effective defenses for our people if that should happen.

The United States has six priority goals to further lift the threat of nuclear weapons destruction and the threat of weapons of mass destruction, and to limit their dangerous spread. First, we must protect our people from chemical attack and make it harder for rogue states and terrorists to brandish poison gas by bringing the Chemical Weapons Convention into force as soon as possible.
I thank the nations here that have ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention. I deeply regret that the United States Senate has not yet voted on the Convention, but I want to assure you and people throughout the world that I will not let this treaty die and we will join the ranks of nations determined to prevent the spread of chemical weapons.

Second, we must reduce the risk that an outlaw state or organization could build a nuclear device by negotiating a treaty to freeze the production of fissile materials for use in nuclear weapons. The Conference on Disarmament should take up this challenge immediately. The United States, Russia, France and the United Kingdom already have halted production of fissile materials for weapons. I urge other nations to end the unsafeguarded production of these materials pending completion of the treaty.

Third, we must continue to reduce our nuclear arsenals. When Russia ratifies START II, President Yeltsin and I are all ready to discuss the possibilities of further cuts, as well as limiting and monitoring nuclear warheads and materials. This will help make deep reductions irreversible.

Fourth, we must reinforce our efforts against the spread of nuclear weapons by strengthening the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. We should give the International Atomic Energy Agency a stronger role and sharper tools for conducting worldwide inspections. Our law enforcement and customs officials should cooperate more in the fight against nuclear smuggling. And I urge all nations that have not signed the NPT to do so without delay.

Fifth, we must better protect our people from those who would use disease as a weapon of war, by giving the Biological Weapons Convention the means to strengthen compliance, including on-site investigations when we believe such weapons may have been used, or when suspicious outbreaks of disease occur. We should aim to complete this task by 1998.

Finally, we must end the carnage caused by antipersonnel land mines, the hidden killers that murder and maim more than 25,000 people a year. In May, I announced a series of actions the United States would take toward this goal. Today, I renew my appeal for the swift negotiation of a worldwide ban on the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of antipersonnel land mines. Our children deserve to walk the Earth in safety.

Thirty-three years ago, at the height of the Cold War, President Kennedy spoke at American University in Washington. Peace was the topic of his address, but not an abstract ideal of peace. Instead, he urged us to focus on, quote, "a more practical, attainable peace, based not on a sudden revolution in human nature, but on a gradual evolution in human institutions; on a series of concrete actions and affirmative, effective agreements which are in the interests of all concerned."

It was in that same speech that he announced that talks would shortly begin in Moscow on a comprehensive test ban treaty. President Kennedy's vision exceeded the possibilities of his time. But his words speak to us still. As we sign our names to the
Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the longest sought, hardest fought prize in arms control history, let us summon the confidence of earlier pioneers and set our sights on the challenges of the new century.

Over the past three years we have moved in the right direction in meeting those challenges. In Bosnia, where the war is over, and just 10 days ago its people went to the polls in peace, we have moved in the right direction. Now we must help Bosnia build a unified, democratic and peaceful future. In Haiti, where the dictators are gone, democracy is back and the exodus of refugees has ended, we have moved in the right direction. Now we must help the Haitian people seize the full benefits of freedom and forge a more prosperous future.

In the Middle East and in Northern Ireland, there is progress towards lasting peace, and we are moving in the right direction. Now we must support continued progress between Israel and Palestinians, and we must broaden the circle of peace to include more of Israel's neighbors. We must help to give the children of Belfast a chance to live out normal lives.

In the fact that democracies opened markets and peace are taking hold around the world, we are moving in the right direction. Here in the Americas, every nation but one has raised freedom's flag. In Central Europe, in Russia, Ukraine, the other New Independent States, the forces of reform have earned all our respect and will continue to have the support of the United States. Now we must begin to welcome Europe's new democracies into NATO, strengthen NATO's partnership with Russia, and build a secure and undivided Europe.

In Asia, South Korea, Japan, China and America, working together persuaded North Korea to freeze its nuclear program under international monitoring. Now, in the wake of provocative actions by North Korea, we must pursue a permanent peace for all the Korean people.

Our planet is safer because of our common efforts to close Chernobyl, to address the challenges of climate change, to protect the world's forests and oceans. Now we must uphold our duty as custodians of our environment, so that our children will inherit an even healthier planet.

All of us must continue our historic efforts to build a better, more global trading system for the 21st century. We have made remarkable progress, but there is more to do in opening markets, in creating millions of new jobs for all our people.

In this time of challenge and change, the United Nations is more important than ever before, because our world is more interdependent than ever before. Most Americans know this. Unfortunately, some Americans, in their longing to be free of the world's problems and perhaps to focus more on our own problems, ignore what the United Nations has done, ignore the benefits of cooperation, ignore our own interdependence with all of you in charting a better future. They ignore all the United Nations is doing to lift the lives of millions by preserving the peace, vaccinating children, caring for refugees, sharing the blessings of progress around the
world. They have made it difficult for the United States to meet its obligations to the United Nations.

But let me reassure all of you, the vast majority of Americans support the United Nations, not only because it reflects our own ideals, but because it reinforces our interests. We must continue to work to manifest the support that our people feel.

For the 51st year in a row, the United States will be the largest financial contributor to the U.N. We are paying our dues, and I am committed to paying off our accumulated obligations. However, we also support the process of reform, which has done great work in reforming and streamlining the bureaucracy and reining in the budget, and it should continue.

We also believe that all of us, the nations of the world working together, must do more to fight terrorism. Last year I asked the nations assembled here to commit to a goal of zero tolerance for aggression, terrorism and lawless behavior. Frankly, we have not done that yet. Real zero tolerance means giving no aid and no quarter to terrorists who slaughter the innocent and drug traffickers who poison our children, and to do everything we can to prevent weapons of mass destruction from falling into the wrong hands.

Real zero tolerance requires us to isolate states that refuse to play by the rules we have all accepted for civilized behavior. As long as Iraq threatens its neighbors and people, as long as Iran supports and protects terrorists, as long as Libya refuses to give up the people who blew up Pan Am 103, they should not become full members of the family of nations.

The United States is pursuing a three-part strategy against terrorists -- abroad, by working more closely than ever with like-minded nations; at home, by giving our law enforcement the toughest counterterrorism tools available, and by doing all we can to make our airports and the airplanes that link us all together even safer.

I have requested more than $1 billion from our Congress to meet these commitments, and we are implementing the Vice President's Aviation Security Plan to make those traveling to, from and within the United States more secure.

There are other steps we must take together. Last year, I urged that, together, we crack down on money-laundering and front companies; shut down gray markets for guns, explosives and false documents; open more law enforcement centers around the world; strengthen safeguards on lethal materials. In each of these areas, we have made progress -- through the U.N., at the Summit of Peacemakers in Sharm-el Sheikh, at the Paris Terrorism Conference, and individually.

Now, we should adopt the Declaration on Crime and Public Security I proposed last year. It includes a no-sanctuary pledge, so that we can say with one voice to the terrorists, criminals and drug traffickers: you have no place to run, no place to hide.
I call on every member to ratify 11 international conventions that would help prevent and punish terrorism and to criminalize the use of explosives in terrorist attacks. To every nation whose children fall prey to drugs, and every nation that makes those drugs, we must do more to reduce demand and to take illegal drugs off the market and off the streets.

The United States will do its part. Next week I will target more than $100 million worth of defense equipment, services and training to Mexico, Colombia and other South American and Caribbean countries. These resources will help our friends stop the flow of drugs at the source. Now I ask every nation that exports the chemicals needed to make illicit drugs to create an informal group whose members will work to deny these chemicals to drug producers. We must not let more drugs darken the dawn of the next century.

Our duty to fight all these forces of destruction is directly linked to our efforts to reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction. We all know we are not immune from this. We saw it when our friends in Japan were subject to the murderous power of a small vial of sarin gas unleashed in a Tokyo subway. We know a small lump of plutonium is enough to build a nuclear bomb. We know that more dangerous people have access to materials of mass destruction because of the rapid movement and open borders of this age. The quest to eliminate these problems from the world's arsenals and to stop them from spreading has taken on a new and powerful urgency for all of us.

So let us strengthen our determination to fight the rogue states, the terrorists, the criminals who menace our safety, our way of life and the potential of our children in the 21st century. Let us recommit ourselves to prevent them from acquiring weapons of mass destruction. Let us work harder than ever to lift the nuclear backdrop that has darkened the world's stage for too long now. Let us make these solemn tasks our common obligation, our common commitment. If we do, then, together, we will enter the 21st century, marching toward a better, safer world; the very better, safer world the United Nations has sought to build for 51 years.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END 10:23 A.M. EDT
I want to speak with you today about the most difficult issue any President has to address: when to use American force and to put young Americans in harm's way abroad. This is a good time for this discussion. Six weeks from now, the last of more than 20,000 American troops assigned to the U.N. mission in Haiti will come home. About an equal number are serving in Bosnia to help keep the hard won peace there. Both missions reflect answers to difficult questions about when to use force -- and especially how to use it.

Let me start by putting my thoughts in a larger context. Halfway between the end of the Cold War and the start of a new century, we're living a moment of very real hope. Our nation is secure. Our economy is strong. All around the world more people live free and at peace than ever before.

But the promise of this moment is also matched by its perils -- as the desperate and despicable acts of the enemies of peace in the Middle East have shown over the last week. Old threats like ethnic and religious violence and aggression by rogue states have taken on new and dangerous dimensions. And no one is immune to a host of equal opportunity destroyers: the spread of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, organized crime, drug trafficking, environmental degradation. Individually, each could undermine our growing security. Together, they have the potential to cause terrible chaos around the world and in our own society.

Faced with both the promise and the problems of our time, there are those -- on both the left and the right and in both political parties -- who would have America retreat from its responsibilities.

Some proclaim that America must stay engaged -- but they then would deny us the tools and the resources to match their rhetoric. These backdoor isolationists would stop us from
working with others to share the risks and the costs of engagement. They would gut our
diplomatic readiness and cut our assistance to those who take risks for peace around the world.
They fail to recognize that the global trend toward democracy and free markets -- and the
opportunities it creates for our people -- is neither inevitable nor irreversible. It needs our
support, our resources and our leadership.

Others -- call them neo-know-nothings -- argue that with the Cold War won, it's safe to
return to a Fortress America. It is not the American way to retreat or refuse to compete. We
can't build a wall high enough or dig a moat deep enough to keep out the threats to our well-
being -- or to isolate ourselves from the global economy. As President Clinton said in his State
of the Union address this year, we must confront these challenges now -- or we will pay a much
higher price for our indifference later.

The century that we have seen makes this truth very clear. After World War I, America
withdrew from the world -- leaving a vacuum that was filled by the forces of hatred and tyranny
and we paid the price in World War II. After World War II, we stayed involved, we worked with
others and we led -- patiently, persistently and pragmatically. And we helped create the
institutions that secured half a century of security and prosperity for us all.

For the past three years, the Clinton Administration has built upon this bipartisan legacy of
leadership by reducing the nuclear threat, supporting peacemakers, spreading democracy and
opening markets. And I'm proud of the results -- for our own people and for people around the
world.

We stayed engaged with Russia and the other states of the former Soviet Union -- despite
our differences -- because it is in the interests of the American people that we do so. Today,
American cities and American citizens no longer live under direct targeting of Russian missiles.
Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan are giving up the nuclear weapons left on their land when the
Soviet Union collapsed. We are safeguarding nuclear materials and destroying nuclear weapons
so they don't wind up in the wrong hands. And, we have taken the lead in securing, extending or
promoting landmark arms control agreements: START I and II, the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the
Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention.

We applied steady, patient pressure to North Korea. Now, it has frozen its dangerous
nuclear weapons program.

We're waging a tough counter-terrorism campaign with stronger laws; increased funding,
manpower and training for law enforcement; sanctions against states that sponsor terrorism and
closer cooperation with foreign governments. Now, those responsible for the World Trade
Center bombing are behind bars. We've foiled attacks on New York City and on our airliners
abroad, and we've tracked down terrorists and brought them to justice around the world.

We sent our troops, ships and planes to the Persian Gulf when Saddam Hussein moved his
forces closer to the Kuwaiti border. Now, Kuwait remains safe and the world's energy supply
secure.
We backed diplomacy with force in Haiti. Now, the dictators are gone. Haiti has celebrated the first democratic transfer of power in its 200-year history, and the flood of refugees to our shores has ended.

Our troops are standing up for peace in Bosnia. Now, its playgrounds are no longer killing fields. A dangerous fire at the heart of Europe is not raging as it had been for four years. The Bosnian people now have their first real chance for peace.

We are standing with those who are taking risks for peace -- very real risks for peace -- through good times, and as in the Middle East now, through bad times.

Now, in Northern Ireland, the determination of Prime Minister Major and Prime Minister Bruton is pushing the peace process back on track -- and a date certain for negotiations and, we hope, a new cease-fire is on its way.

In the Middle East, we know, tragically, that fanatics will stop at nothing to kill the hope for peace. As you know, the President has ordered a series of steps to express our complete support for the peacemakers as they combat terrorism.

We must also not lose sight of the tremendous progress that has been made toward a comprehensive peace -- or the fact that the overwhelming majority of people, Palestinians and Israelis, want peace. We will not rest until that desire becomes a reality.

What the terrorists want here is what we must not give them. We are going to be very tough and absolutely steadfast in the way we stand with Israel and the way we help the Palestinian Authority combat terrorism. But what the terrorists are trying to do is get us, in the process, to abandon the possibilities for peace itself, and to give up on peace. To abandon the peace process now in our very legitimate and natural anger at what has happened would be to do precisely what the terrorists want -- it would give them the victory, a victory that must be ours.

And we negotiated a better deal for America as we opened markets abroad. Now, our exports are at an all time high and hundreds of thousands more Americans have jobs at home. With Japan alone, this Administration has completed 20 specific trade agreements. The sectors covered by those agreements -- from auto parts to medical equipment -- have seen their exports increase by 80 percent. That's almost twice as much as exports from other sectors -- which are also growing fast.

Not one of these achievements came about easily or automatically. They happened for a number of reasons. First, because we kept our military strong while adapting our alliance to new demands. Because we acted with others where we could and alone where we had to. Because we were patient enough to stick with diplomacy but prepared to use force. Because we rejected isolationism but refused to become the world's policeman. Because in each and every instance, we brought together our interests and values, and we acted where we could make a difference.

Some people, in a curious bit of nostalgia for the Cold War, complain that our policy lacks a single, overarching principle -- that it can't be summed up on a bumper sticker. But while we are operating in a radically new international environment, America's fundamental mission
endures. The same ideas that were under attack by Communism, and before that by Fascism, remain under attack today as we are seeing in the Middle East. Now, as then, we are defending an idea that has many names -- tolerance, liberty, civility, pluralism -- but shows a constant face: the face of the democratic society. Now, as then, our special role in the world is to defend, enlarge and strengthen the community of democratic nations against all of these new threats and seizing these new opportunities.

Let me be very clear that in pursuing this mission, our interests and ideals converge. We know from experience that democracies rarely go to war with one another or abuse the rights of their people. They make for better trading partners. And each one is a potential ally in the struggle against the forces of hatred and intolerance -- whether those forces take the shape of rogue nations, ethnic and religious hatreds or terrorists trafficking in weapons of mass destruction.

What we have left behind are the certitudes and simplifications of the past -- and that's not necessarily a bad thing. During the Cold War, policymakers could justify every act with one word: containment. We got the big things right -- containment was the right policy and it succeeded and we won the Cold War and we are all far, far better for it. But even the best policy can become the worst straitjacket if it is pursued too rigidly and reflexively -- as we saw in Vietnam.

Now, we have the opportunity to think anew about the best ways to promote America's interests and ideals. Our tools of first resort remain diplomacy and the power of our example. But sometimes, we have to rely on the example of our power. We face no more important questions than when and how to use it. From our experience in countering traditional aggression -- as in the Persian Gulf -- and contending with more novel crises -- as in Haiti and Bosnia -- there are some principles on the use of force that I would like to discuss with you.

First, let me cite one underlying and enduring principle: We will always be ready to use force to defend our national interests. Until human nature changes, power and force will remain at the heart of international relations.

This begs the question of just what those interests are that we will defend. I would cite seven circumstances, which, taken in some combination or even alone, may call for the use of force or our military forces:

- (i) To defend against direct attacks on the United States, its citizens, and its allies;
- (ii) To counter aggression;
- (iii) To defend our key economic interests, which is where most Americans see their most immediate stake in our international engagement;
- (iv) To preserve, promote and defend democracy, which enhances our security and the spread of our values;
- (v) To prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking;
- (vi) To maintain our reliability, because when our partnerships are strong and confidence in our leadership is high, it is easier to get others to work with us, and to share the burdens of leadership.
• (vii) And for humanitarian purposes, to combat famines, natural disasters and gross abuses of human rights with, occasionally, our military forces.

Not one of these interests by itself -- with the obvious exception of an attack on our nation, people and allies -- should automatically lead to the use of force. But the greater the number and the weight of the interests in play, the greater the likelihood that we will use force -- once all peaceful means have been tried and failed and once we have measured a mission's benefits against its costs, in both human and financial terms.

In Haiti, when we saw democracy stolen from its people, a reign of brutality take hold in our hemisphere, a flood of refugees to our shores, international agreements consistently violated and efforts to resolve the impasse through negotiations and sanctions fail, the case for intervention was compelling. In Bosnia, the worst atrocities in Europe since World War II -- a dangerous fire at the very heart of the continent -- our commitments to our NATO allies and a peace agreement the parties were calling on us to secure required us to act, and the President decided to do so.

But more than the “when” of using force, Haiti, Bosnia and some other recent interventions highlight principles that get at a harder question, perhaps, and that is the “how” we should use force.

First, threatening to use force can achieve the same results as actually using it -- but only if you’re prepared to carry through on that threat. The best-trained, best-equipped and best-prepared fighting force in the world has a unique ability to concentrate the minds of our adversaries without firing a shot. In Haiti, when the military regime learned that the 82nd Airborne literally was on the way, those leaders got out of the way. In the Persian Gulf, as soon as President Clinton moved American forces into the region, Iraq moved its troops away from Kuwait. And by backing diplomacy with the presence of U.S. military forces to deter attack on the South, we convinced North Korea to freeze its dangerous nuclear weapons program.

A second principle is that the selective but substantial use of force is sometimes more appropriate than its massive use -- provided that the force is adequate to the task, and then some. President Clinton refused to engage our troops in a ground war in Bosnia because he knew that no outside power could force peace on the parties. To do so would have risked a Vietnam-like quagmire. But this summer, the combination of NATO’s heavy and continuous air strikes, Bosnian and Croat gains on the ground, and our determined diplomacy convinced the Bosnian Serbs to stop making war and start making peace. Now, our troops are in Bosnia not to fight a war through a massive intervention, but to secure a peace they produced through the deliberate, calibrated use of force.

A final principle is this: Before we send our troops into a foreign country, we should know how and when we’re going to get them out. Sounds simple, even obvious. But it is not an uncontroversial point. But carefully defined exit strategies for foreign interventions have not been a hallmark of our foreign policy in recent decades. Now they are -- and that makes sense for America, for America’s military and for the people we’re trying to help.

I don’t want to be doctrinaire in asserting an exit strategy doctrine. When it comes to deterring external aggression -- as in the Persian Gulf or the Korean Peninsula -- or fighting wars
in defense of our most vital security interests, a more open-ended commitment is necessary. But increasingly, our interests require that our military keep peace in the wake of internal conflicts. For these operations to succeed, tightly tailored military missions and sharp withdrawal deadlines must be the norm.

The logic is this: The first step is to give our Armed Forces a clear mission with achievable military -- I repeat, military -- goals, as President Clinton did in both Haiti and Bosnia. In Haiti, we asked our Armed Forces to return the elected government to power and restore a secure climate so that civilians could train a police force, hold elections and begin reconciliation. In Bosnia, our soldiers are overseeing the implementation of the military side of the Dayton accords -- separating the armies, maintaining the cease-fire, securing transferred territory -- while civilian authorities help the Bosnian people rebuild their lives and their land. In both places, our troops are highly trained and heavily armed, with very clear rules of engagement. And the Executive Branch and Congress are united in their commitment to our military’s goals and success, as they were in Operation Desert Storm.

Contrast these operations with Vietnam, Lebanon and Somalia. There, clear and achievable missions for our military were not defined. In Vietnam, our society blamed our soldiers for a defeat that was not theirs. Because we neglected to ask the right questions and establish clear military goals from the start, our fighting men and women paid a terrible price, both in Vietnam and on their return home. We must never put them in that position again. Never. It just mustn’t happen.

The next step, then having defined clear military missions, is to set deadlines for withdrawal based on the accomplishment of those missions. In Haiti, our military leaders informed the President that our troops could complete their military tasks in about a year and a half and in Bosnia in about one year -- and they will.

Here’s why setting deadlines is so important:

Neither we nor the international community has either the responsibility or the means to do whatever it takes for as long as it takes to rebuild nations. There are many reasons for this.

First, providing a security blanket for an indefinite period without making clear it’s on loan -- and not for keeps -- only gives those we are trying to help the comfort to believe that they can evade their own responsibilities for the future of their own societies. It creates unreasonable expectations that the hard work will be done for them not by them.

Second, assuming too much responsibility for a nation’s future tends to undercut the very government you are trying to help. In Vietnam, the more we assumed responsibility for a weak Saigon administration, the more dependent it became -- and the more open to charges it was a puppet regime beholden to foreigners. Unless you make clear that your mission is limited in scope and duration, you risk de-legitimating a government in the eyes of its own people and you will lose a conflict that is, at its heart, political, and not military.

Third, overstaying one’s welcome ultimately breeds resentment of our presence and provides an easy target for blame when things go wrong. And believe me, that target will be us.
By carefully defining the mission and clearly setting a deadline, we serve notice that our only goal is to give governments and people the breathing room they must have to tackle their own problems. This "tough love" policy may sound harsh to some. It may strike others as a gamble. But consider the alternative: self-defeating efforts to take on responsibilities that are not ours -- to create unsustainable dependencies instead of giving nations a chance to act independently. It is a dangerous hubris to believe we can build other nations. But where our own interests are engaged, we can help nations build themselves -- and give them time to make a start at it.

I believe we can see the benefits of our exit strategy doctrine in Haiti and Bosnia.

Given the chance, the Haitian people quickly focused on the ballot, not the bullet; on trade, not terror; on hope, not despair. In just a year and a half, with our civilian help, they have completed presidential, parliamentary and local government elections; trained a police force, that is as yet imperfect, but showing great progress. They have dramatically, despite problems, improved the human rights situation and begun to reverse the economic decline of the coup years. Haiti remains the poorest nation in the Americas. There is no guarantee democracy will take hold or the economy will prosper. But its people now have a real chance to build a better future for themselves and their children -- and for the U.S. forces who have acted in Haiti with such strength and with such skill are leaving when we promised they would, we can say "mission accomplished."

The same logic applies in Bosnia and the same opportunity lies before the people of Bosnia. Its people understand they have a window of opportunity that our military opened and will hold open for the remainder of this year to decide their future in peace: to freely choose their own leaders in elections later this summer; to begin to rebuild their roads and schools, their factories and their hospitals; to reunite children with their parents and families with their homes. At the end of this year, when our troops leave, we can reasonably hope that the people of Bosnia will have developed a greater stake in peace than war -- that peace will have taken on a life and logic of its own. That is all that can be asked of us.

But let me make one point absolutely clear -- the breathing room our military is providing in Haiti and Bosnia must be filled with the oxygen of economic reconstruction assistance. What we call civilian implementation is the vital and necessary companion to any peacekeeping operation. Our allies agree: That's why they are providing about 80 percent of the civilian assistance for Haiti and for Bosnia. The sooner people in conflicted countries recover the blessings of a normal life, the surer the chances our troops will leave behind them a legacy of peace and hope as they are doing in Haiti.

That's why Congress should now un-freeze the modest amount of outstanding development assistance for Haiti to fund primary education, child care and immunizations. They should do it now. And that's why we are working with Congress on our request for $200 million to assist civilian reconstruction in Bosnia -- money that will support economic revitalization and reform, the deployment of international police monitors and our demining efforts. Money that is needed now.
In both Haiti and Bosnia, our Armed Forces are doing everything we have asked of them -- and more. We should live up to their example on the civilian side in both the Executive branch and Congress. Their missions will only succeed if we do so. Holding back the dollars we need for relief and reconstruction doesn't serve our soldiers, it doesn't serve the people we're trying to help and it doesn't serve our Nation's interests.

One of the great privileges of my job is to travel around the world and to see firsthand the extraordinary respect our Nation now enjoys. People look to us for leadership not only because of our size and our strength but also because of what we stand for -- and what, as today in the Middle East, what we're willing to stand against. Now, perhaps more than any other time in our history, America has a unique ability to make a difference for our own people and for people around the world.

Our duty is to help use this power as wisely as possible -- to steer by the stars of our interests and our ideals. As President Clinton has said, we can't be everywhere. We can't do everything. But where those interests and ideals demand it -- and where we can make a difference -- we must not hesitate to lead. We haven't -- and we won't.

You must not hesitate, either. Many of you here today are embarking, I hope, on careers in foreign policy. Whether you do so as teachers or researchers, government officials or journalists, you will have an opportunity to weigh in on the great foreign policy questions of our time. Weigh in with passion, weigh in with argument -- but above all, weigh in. America needs to hear your voices. It needs to feel your enthusiasm.

Right now, no question is more fundamental -- and no outcome more important -- than America's role in the world. We can succeed, this is an absolute certainty, only if we continue to lead -- not merely be engaged, but lead. That is the lesson of what has come to be called the American Century. If we heed its call, we can remain a force for freedom and progress around the world as we are today, and for real security and prosperity at home. And the next century will be an American century, too. And the world will be a better place for it.

Thank you.
Six months ago today in Paris, the leaders of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia made a fateful decision: to turn Bosnia from the horror of war to the promise of peace.

Many of you in this room closely followed the Dayton negotiations that produced the peace accord. You know that, literally until the last minute, the outcome was in doubt -- indeed, our negotiators had their bags packed and, in the early morning hours, were ready to head home without an agreement. But the Balkan leaders decided, in the end, to make peace. They did so because, in the cold light of that Dayton dawn, the alternative simply was too terrible to pursue: renewed war, with all the horrors that came with it -- skeletal prisoners... mass graves... endless lines of refugees... economic chaos... international isolation... a wasted future.

Understanding the alternatives makes it easier to take difficult steps -- and since Dayton, that is what has kept the parties moving forward along the path to a lasting peace. Slowly... grudgingly... sometimes two steps forward, one step back. But moving forward. For three and a half years, the people of Bosnia lived the day-in, day-out destruction of war. These past six months, they have begun to enjoy the quiet blessings of peace. The more they understand the choice between war and peace... the starker it seems... the more likely peace will endure.

With that dynamic in mind, I'd like to discuss with you today what we've accomplished since Dayton, what we haven't accomplished, and the hard work that lies ahead. I don't want to play down the disappointments we've encountered so far, or the difficulties we still have to face. Freedom of movement, expression and association are not nearly as free as they should be. Indicted war criminals, most notably Radovan Karadzic and General Mladic, have not been turned over to the War Crimes Tribunal or fully withdrawn from authority. Fewer refugees have returned home than we would like. Economic activity is just resuming.
But I would ask everyone here first to step back for just a moment and look at the central facts. One year ago, war raged in Bosnia -- the worst war in Europe since World War II. Today, there is peace. A very fragile, imperfect peace, to be sure. But peace. That change -- from war to peace -- is the single most important fact of life for the people of Bosnia. It means that killing fields are once again playgrounds. That cafes and marketplaces are full of life, not death. That running an errand doesn't mean running a death race against snipers and shells. That women are no longer prey to systematic campaigns of rape and terror. That the water and lights are on... and there is shelter from the wind and the cold. Peace means all these very basic things. As we work to make sure peace endures, we must not lose sight of its reality.

Thus far, the peace has held because IFOR, the NATO Implementation Force, has done its carefully defined job -- and done it very well. In the days after Dayton, when President Clinton committed 20,000 American troops to lead a 60,000 strong IFOR force, the skeptics predicted gloom and doom. They warned of terrorism... renewed fighting... American casualties... and embarrassing retreat.

The reality has been the opposite. IFOR has maintained the cease-fire and compelled the parties to pull back their forces and weapons from a 3-mile wide separation zone -- without significant incident. Nearly all heavy weapons have been placed under IFOR supervision and many will be destroyed as part of the arms control agreement to be signed in the next few days. Already, more than 100,000 soldiers not based in barracks have been demobilized. And hundreds of square miles of territory were transferred from one entity to another without a shot being fired.

IFOR also has stopped the widespread killing of civilians and restored security to Sarajevo, where people now walk the streets in safety. Virtually all prisoners of war have been released and those few still in custody are being held as war crimes suspects. IFOR has moved aggressively to take down internal checkpoints and, while far from perfect, freedom of movement has improved -- between ten and fifteen thousand people cross the boundary between the Bosnia-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic every day.

As the climate in Bosnia becomes more secure, humanitarian assistance and reconstruction efforts have begun -- slowly -- to improve the lives of its people. On the American side alone, we've already spent $86 million in "Quick Impact" aid the President announced after Dayton -- restoring heat, hot water and electricity and providing medicine and winter clothing for hundreds of thousands of Bosnians. The recent Donors' Conference in Brussels added $1.2 billion to the $600 million raised earlier for Bosnian economic recovery -- including an American pledge of $200 million in reconstruction aid for this fiscal year, in addition to over $350 million in humanitarian aid, support for elections, demining and other initiatives.

As I speak to you, dozens of projects are underway -- to build new housing... to rehabilitate utilities, schools, community centers... to fix roads and factories -- that will have a tangible impact on the way people live. To cite just a few examples, we have a program up and running to repair 2500 homes for 12,500 people in 44 villages that will also provide 2000 new jobs. Next month, we will begin spending $70 million to rebuild Bosnia's economic infrastructure. And we'll start...
disbursing an equal amount in loans to small businesses and industrial enterprises to jump-start the economy, create jobs and spur growth.

As President Clinton made clear in committing our troops to IFOR, the point of this extraordinary international effort is straightforward: to give the people of Bosnia the breathing room they need to begin to rebuild their lives and their land... and to give peace a chance to take on a life and logic of its own.

President Clinton has made equally clear what the point is not: it is not to take on responsibilities that are not our own -- and to create in Bosnia an unsustainable dependency instead of giving its people a chance to act independently. The United States is not in the business of building other nations -- but we can help nations build themselves, and give them time to make a start of it.

That's why the next step in the Dayton process -- Bosnia-wide elections -- is so important. Only after elections are held will the Constitution fully take effect... only after elections are held can the structures of a unified Bosnian state be created... only after elections are held will Bosnia have a Parliament, a Presidency and a Constitutional Court that represent the interests of all the people of Bosnia, including the hundreds of thousands of refugees and millions of displaced persons...only after elections are held will government agencies be up and running and able to pursue foreign trade and oversee customs and immigration... only after elections are held can the promise of Dayton be shaped into a political reality.

A few hours ago in Florence, Bob Frowick, the head of the OSCE mission in Bosnia, recommended that the OSCE certify that conditions will be suitable for holding free and fair elections in Bosnia on September 14 -- as called for in the Dayton Agreement. The Clinton Administration strongly supports that recommendation, and we hope and expect the OSCE will endorse it soon.

Some people who share our goals in Bosnia disagree. They would postpone elections beyond the Dayton deadline because the parties have, as of this moment, failed to meet all the necessary conditions. Let me tell you why we believe they are wrong.

If you took a snapshot of Bosnia, would it show that conditions for fair elections exist right now? The answer is no. But that's the wrong picture to look at. Our focus should be on whether those conditions will exist by September 14. And if you switch from still frames to moving pictures and pan three months down the road, very different images of Bosnia will begin to unfold. They would show people taking small, steady steps every day to put in place the mechanisms for free and fair elections -- just as they have for the past six months by opening up new media outlets so more voices can be heard... by forming new political parties representing different points of view... by setting up local election committees to oversee voter registration. I believe those are the images we will see more and more of between now and election day. Here's why:

The very fact of setting an election date is a forcing event. It will concentrate the minds of the parties on the progress they must still make -- and that they committed to in Dayton -- to expand freedom of movement and association... open the news media to opposition candidates and
viewpoints... give refugees and displaced persons the ability to vote and run for office in their original places of residence... make sure that war criminals have no part in the electoral process. We will hold them to those commitments. And 3200 international supervisors and monitors will make sure the elections themselves run smoothly and openly.

Some assert that elections risk cementing the hold of extremists on Bosnia and, in effect, partitioning the country. Well, it's a little hypocritical for those of us who wave democracy's banner around the world to say that, just because you fear the possible result of an election, you shouldn't hold it. Besides, as the campaign proceeds and more voices and viewpoints are heard, the forces of tolerance will grow stronger. We will work hard to return more refugees and organizing absentee voting. The sooner elections are held, the sooner people of different backgrounds will begin to work together and bridge some of the differences that divide them.

The argument that elections will hasten partition fails to explain how delaying them could possibly make things any better. On the contrary, it would make things worse for the Bosnian people. Without the incentive of an election and a deadline, we'd see less progress -- not more -- on freedom of movement, speech and association and on refugee rights. Delay would freeze into place the status quo... prevent practical interaction between the Federation and the Serb Republic... reinforce extremism and promote separatism on all sides. As the Balkan leaders said in Geneva earlier this month: "Delay in the elections risks widening the divisions which continue to exist."

You don't have to take their word for it -- or mine for that matter. Listen to the people who matter most -- the Bosnian people. Polls show that the average Bosnian -- whether Muslim, Croat or Serb -- wants elections. Ninety-three percent of Bosnia's Muslims, 79% of the Croats and an equal number of Bosnia's Serbs said elections are important. The overwhelming majority of each group intends to vote -- 93% of the Muslims, 86% of the Croats, 80% of the Serbs. So instead of making the perfect the enemy of the good, we should heed the will of the Bosnian people and move forward with elections. If they want to vote, we shouldn't stop them.

Some people point to the continued presence of Karadzic as reason enough to postpone elections. We all want him out of power, out of Bosnia -- and in the Hague to stand trial for war crimes. But let me remind you: under Dayton, he can't run for public office. He can't hold public office. So even if he's still there come September, elections would guarantee his removal from official positions of authority. Postponing elections might, ironically, allow him to cling to power.

There's been some confusion about what we've done and what we will do between now and election day to work for the removal of Karadzic and Mladic. First, we will continue to pressure President Milosevic to make good on his commitment in Dayton and strengthen alternative political forces within the Serb Republic.

And, to be very clear: IFOR has not been given the mission of hunting down indicted war criminals -- indeed, the reason IFOR has been so successful so far is that we have insisted on limiting its mandate to clearly achievable military goals. But let there be no mistake: if IFOR comes into contact with Karadzic and Mladic, it will detain them. Now that IFOR has completed
most of its military tasks, it will conduct more visible and wide ranging security patrols throughout Bosnia. This will have the added benefit of restricting Karadzic and Mladic's freedom of movement. It will make their active participation in the election campaign extremely risky and extremely difficult.

Elections are a part of the beginning, not the end, of the hard work required to bring democracy to Bosnia. After so much bloodshed and loss, there is no guarantee that Muslims, Croats and Serbs will come together -- and stay together -- as citizens of a shared state with a common destiny. But the whole point of Dayton is to give them the chance to try. Elections are the necessary next step along the long, difficult road to a unified, peaceful Bosnia. If we let them slip, other crucial provisions of the Dayton plan could slip. And that's a slope we don't want to be on. Thus far, we've held to Dayton with fierce determination. Now, it is our responsibility to bring that same determination to making sure the elections in Bosnia are free and fair.

As we look to the elections and beyond, it is absolutely vital that we avoid the paralysis of pessimism. That's an affliction common to just about every difficult foreign policy initiative. If we had let it overcome us in Haiti, we never would have sent our troops to pave the way for democracy's return. After all, the chorus of Chicken littles was deafening -- Port au Prince will burn... Aristide will never return... the elections will never be held... Aristide won't step down. And so on. Well, Haiti still has a long way to go. But we can be very proud of what we achieved. The dictators are gone, democracy is back, the flow of refugees to our shores has stopped, and the Haitian people have their best chance ever to build a decent future in freedom.

In Bosnia, it's not hard to find places we've fallen short of our goals. The pace of economic reconstruction is too slow. Not enough refugees have returned to Bosnia and too few people within Bosnia have been able to reclaim their old homes. Political reconciliation has not yet met our expectations -- not just between Muslims and Serbs, but also between Muslims and Croats who have worked together as part of the Federation for two years now.

But instead of throwing up our hands in despair at the problems, we must redouble our efforts -- and solve them. That means seeing the elections through. But it also means making clear that our commitment to Bosnia's future extends well beyond the elections and the withdrawal of IFOR. Not by acting as a guarantor. Not by doing the hard work in place of the Bosnian people. But by doing our part for a lasting peace as long as they do theirs.

In the months ahead, the people of Bosnia can count on us to help them strengthen democratic institutions. To establish a stable military balance of power. To monitor the departure of foreign forces. To train a civilian police force. To help more refugees return. To secure cooperation with the War Crimes Tribunal. To help foster economic reconstruction, growth and prosperity. These are the building blocks of peace. As each one falls into place, the peace will become more and more secure.

That's a lot to accomplish. No one can guarantee we will succeed -- or that the Bosnian people will succeed. But already, in less than a year, we've changed the face of Bosnia. The war is over. The peace is just beginning. If we have faith in its promise while fearing its failure -- and if we
work away at its problems -- peace in Bosnia can last, it will last. That's our mission. Not just for those of us in government, but for all those who care so deeply about Bosnia's future, including many people I see in this room today. Some of us have disagreed on tactics in the past. No doubt we'll continue to have our differences in the months to come. So let's keep debating. But above all, let's keep acting, and moving forward, together. We owe at least that to the people of Bosnia.

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