

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Gabhain O Cinneide to Daniel E. O'Brien at 16:01:07.00. Subject: Re: Meeting and IAIS Newswire. (partial) (1 page)	10/06/1999	b(6)

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**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
 Automated Records Management System [Email]  
 WHO ([Northern Ireland Peace Process])  
 OA/Box Number: 500000

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

[10/30/1998 - 10/31/1999]

2006-1990-F  
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### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]
  
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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CREATION DATE/TIME:30-OCT-1998 20:44:55.00

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TEXT:

On Friday, October 30, 1998, the President signed into law:

H.R. 700 - Cahuilla Indians Mineral Springs Parcel Distribution  
H.R. 1274 - Technology Administration Act of 1998  
H.R. 1756 - Money Laundering and Financial Crimes Strategy Act of 1998  
H.R. 2675 - Federal Employees Life Insurance Improvement Act  
H.R. 2807 - Migratory Bird Treaty Reform act of 1998  
H.R. 3055 - Miccosukee Reserved Area Act  
H.R. 3494 - Protection of Children From Sexual Predators Act of 1998  
H.R. 3528 - Alternative Dispute Resolution Act of 1998  
H.R. 3687 - Canadian River Project Prepayment Act  
H.R. 3903 - Glacier Bay National Park Boundary Adjustment Act of 1998  
H.R. 4151 - Identity Theft and Assumption Deterrence Act of 1998  
H.R. 4293 - Irish Peace Process Cultural and Training Program Act of 1998  
H.R. 4309 - Torture Victims Relief Act of 1998  
H.R. 4326 - Oregon Public Lands Transfer and Protection Act of 1998  
H.R. 4337 - To Authorize the Secretary of the Interior to Provide  
Financial Assistant to the State of Maryland Program to Restore Marshlands  
H.R. 4660 - Rewards for Information  
H.R. 4679 - Antimicrobial Regulation Technical Corrections Act of 1998  
S. 231- National Cave and Karst Research Institute Act of 1998  
S. 890 - Dutch John Federal Property Disposition and Assistance Act of 1998  
S. 1333 - National Park Fees  
S. 2094 - Fish and Wildlife Revenue Enhancement Act of 1998  
S. 2106 - Arches National Park Expansion Act of 1998  
S. 2193 - Trademark Law Treaty Implementation Act

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Natalie S. Wozniak ( CN=Natalie S. Wozniak/OU=NSC/O=EOP [ NSC ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:31-OCT-1998 00:07:41.00

SUBJECT: 1998 National Security Strategy Report

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TEXT:

Jason --

This is the best I could do; hope it works on the Internet.

Thanks.

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

WPC~

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boucharjNatalie S. Wozkiak

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As we approach the beginning of the 21st century, the United States remains the worlds most powerful force for peace, prosperity and the universal values of democracy and freedom. Our nations challenge "and our responsibility" is to sustain that role by harnessing the forces of global integration for the benefit of our own people and people around the world.

These forces of integration offer us an unprecedented opportunity to build new bonds among individuals and nations, to tap the worlds vast human potential in support of shared aspirations, and to create a brighter future for our children . But they also present new, complex challenges. The same forces that bring us closer increase our interdependence, and make us more vulnerable to forces like extreme nationalism, terrorism, crime, environmental damage and the complex flows of trade and investment that know no borders.

To seize these opportunities, and move against the threats of this new global era, we are pursuing a forwardlooking national security strategy attuned to the realities of our new era. This report, submitted in accordance with Section 603 of the Goldwater- Nichols Defense Department Reorganization Act of 1986, sets forth that strategy. Its three core objectives are:

To enhance our security.

To bolster Americas economic prosperity.

To promote democracy abroad.

Over the past five years, we have been putting this strategy in place through a network of institutions and arrangements with distinct missions, but a common purpose "to secure and strengthen the gains of democracy and free markets while turning back their enemies. Through this web of institutions and arrangements, the United States and its partners in the international community are laying a foundation for security and prosperity in the 21st century.

This strategy encompasses a wide range of initiatives: expanded military alliances like NATO, its Partnership for Peace, and its partnerships with Russia and Ukraine; promoting free trade through the World Trade Organization and the move toward free trade areas by nations in the Americas and elsewhere around the world; strong arms control regimes like the Chemical Weapons Convention and the C

omprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty; multinational coalitions combating terrorism, corruption, crime and drug trafficking; and binding international commitments to protect the environment and safeguard human rights.

The United States must have the tools necessary to carry out this strategy. We have worked diligently within the parameters of the Balanced Budget Agreement to preserve and provide for the readiness of our armed forces while meeting priority military challenges identified in the 1997 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR). The QDR struck a careful balance between nearterm readiness, longterm modernization and quality of life improvements for our men and women in uniform. It ensured that the high readiness levels of our forwarddeployed and "firsttofight" forces would be maintained. The priority we attach to maintaining a highquality force is reflected in our budget actions. This fiscal year, with Congress support for the Bosnia and Southwest Asia nonoffset emergency supplemental funds, we were able to protect our high payoff readiness accounts. Next year's Defense Budget increases funding for readiness and preserves quality of life for military personnel.

Although we have accomplished much on the readiness front, much more needs to be done. Our military leadership and I are constantly reevaluating the readiness of our forces and addressing problems in individual readiness areas as they arise. I have instructed the Office of Management and Budget and the National Security Council to work with the Department of Defense to formulate a multiyear plan with the necessary resources to preserve military readiness, support our troops, and modernize the equipment needed for the next century. I am confident that our military is and will continue to be capable of carrying out our national strategy and meeting America's defense commitments around the world.

We must also renew our commitment to Americas diplomacy to ensure that we have the superb diplomatic representation that our people deserve and our interests demand. Every dollar we devote to preventing conflicts, promoting democracy, and stopping the spread of disease and starvation brings a sure return in security and savings. Yet international affairs spending today totals just one percent of the federal budget a small fraction of what America invested at the start of the Cold War when we chose engagement over isolation. If America is to continue to lead the world by its own example, we must demonstrate our own commitment to these priority tasks. This is also why we must pay our dues to the United Nations.

Protecting our citizens and critical infrastructures at home is an essential element of our strategy. Potential adversaries whether nations, terrorist groups or criminal organizations will be tempted to disrupt our critical infrastructures, impede government operations, use weapons of mass destruction against civilians, and prey on our citizens overseas. These challenges demand close cooperation across all levels of government federal, state and local and across a wide range of agencies, including the Departments of Defense and State, the Intelligence Community, law enforcement, emergency services, medical care providers and others. Protecting our critical infrastructure requires new partnerships between government and industry. Forging these new structures will be challenging, but must be done if we are to ensure our safety at home and avoid vulnerabilities that those wishing us ill might try to exploit in order to erode our resolve to protect our interests abroad.

The United States has profound interests at stake in the health of the global economy. Our future prosperity depends upon a stable international financial system and robust global growth. Economic stability and growth are essential for the spread of free markets and their integration into the global economy. The forces necessary for a healthy global economy are also those that deepen democratic liberties: the free flow of ideas and information, open borders and easy travel, the rule of law, fair and evenhanded enforcement, protection for consum

ers, a skilled and educated work force. If citizens tire of waiting for democracy and free markets to deliver a better life for them, there is a real risk that at they will lose confidence in democracy and free markets. This would pose great risks not only for our economic interests but for our national security.

We are taking a number of steps to help contain the current financial turmoil in Asia and other parts of the world. We are working with other industrialized nations, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to spur growth, stop the financial crisis from spreading, and help the victims of financial turmoil. We have also intensified our efforts to reform international trade and financial institutions: building a stronger and more accountable global trading system, pressing forward with market-opening initiatives, advancing the protection of labor and the environment and doing more to ensure that trade helps the lives of ordinary citizens across the globe.

At this moment in history, the United States is called upon to lead to organize the forces of freedom and progress; to channel the unruly energies of the global economy into positive avenues; and to advance our prosperity, reinforce our democratic ideals and values, and enhance our security.

#### □I. Introduction□

We must judge our national security strategy by its success in meeting the fundamental purposes set out in the preamble to the Constitution:

...provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity,...

Since the founding of the nation, certain requirements have remained constant.

We must protect the lives and personal safety of Americans, both at home and abroad. We must maintain the sovereignty, political freedom and independence of the United States, with its values, institutions and territory intact. And, we must promote for the well being and prosperity of the nation and its people.

#### □Challenges and Opportunities□

The security environment in which we live is dynamic and uncertain, replete with a host of threats and challenges that have the potential to grow more deadly, but also offering unprecedented opportunities to avert those threats and advance our interests.

Globalization—the process of accelerating economic, technological, cultural and political integration—means that more and more we as a nation are affected by events beyond our borders. Outlaw states and ethnic conflicts threaten regional stability and economic progress in many important areas of the world. Weapons of mass destruction (WMD), terrorism, drug trafficking and organized crime are global concerns that transcend national borders. Other problems that once seemed quite distant—such as resource depletion, rapid population growth, environmental damage, new infectious diseases and uncontrolled refugee migration—have important implications for American security. Our workers and businesses will suffer if foreign markets collapse or lock us out, and the highest domestic environmental standards will not protect us if we cannot get others to achieve similar standards. In short, our citizens have a direct stake in the prosperity and stability of other nations, in their support for international norms and human rights, in their ability to combat international crime, in their open markets, and in their efforts to protect the environment.

Yet, this is also a period of great promise. Globalization is bringing citizens from all continents closer together, allowing them to share ideas, goods and information at the tap of a keyboard. Many nations around the world have embraced

ced Americas core values of representative governance, free market economics and respect for fundamental human rights and the rule of law, creating new opportunities to promote peace, prosperity and greater cooperation among nations. Former adversaries now cooperate with us. The dynamism of the global economy is transforming commerce, culture, communications and global relations, creating new jobs and economic opportunity for millions of Americans.

#### □The Imperative of Engagement□

Our strategic approach recognizes that we must lead abroad if we are to be secure at home, but we cannot lead abroad unless we are strong at home. We must be prepared and willing to use all appropriate instruments of national power to influence the actions of other states and nonstate actors. Today's complex security environment demands that all our instruments of national power be effectively integrated to achieve our security objectives. We must have the demonstrated will and capabilities to continue to exert global leadership and remain the preferred security partner for the community of states that share our interests. We have seen in the past that the international community is often reluctant to act forcefully without American leadership. In many instances, the United States is the only nation capable of providing the necessary leadership and capabilities for an international response to shared challenges. American leadership and engagement in the world are vital for our security, and our nation and the world are safer and more prosperous as a result.

The alternative to engagement is not withdrawal from the world; it is passive submission to powerful forces of change—all the more ironic at a time when our capacity to shape them is as great as it has ever been. Threequarters of a century ago, the United States helped to squander Allied victory in World War I by embracing isolationism. After World War II, and in the face of a new totalitarian threat, America accepted the challenge to lead. We remained engaged overseas and worked with our allies to create international structures—from the Marshall Plan, the United Nations, NATO and other defense arrangements, to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank—that enabled us to strengthen our security and prosperity and win the Cold War. By exerting our leadership abroad we have deterred aggression, fostered the resolution of conflicts, strengthened democracies, opened foreign markets and tackled global problems such as protecting the environment. U.S. leadership has been crucial to the success of negotiations that produced a wide range of treaties that have made the world safer and more secure by limiting, reducing, preventing the spread of, or eliminating weapons of mass destruction and other dangerous weapons. Without our leadership and engagement, threats would multiply and our opportunities would narrow.

Underpinning our international leadership is the power of our democratic ideals and values. In designing our strategy, we recognize that the spread of democracy supports American values and enhances both our security and prosperity. Democratic governments are more likely to cooperate with each other against common threats, encourage free trade, and promote sustainable economic development.

They are less likely to wage war or abuse the rights of their people. Hence, the trend toward democracy and free markets throughout the world advances American interests. The United States will support this trend by remaining actively engaged in the world. This is the strategy to take us into the next century.

#### □Implementing the Strategy□

Our global leadership efforts will continue to be guided by President Clinton's strategic priorities: to foster regional efforts led by the community of democratic nations to promote peace and prosperity in key regions of the world, to increase cooperation in confronting new security threats that defy borders and unilateral solutions, to strengthen the military, diplomatic and law enforcement tools necessary to meet these challenges and to create more jobs and opportuni

ties for Americans through a more open and competitive economic system that also benefits others around the world. Our strategy is tempered by recognition that there are limits to Americas involvement in the world. We must be selective in the use of our capabilities and the choices we make always must be guided by advancing our objectives of a more secure, prosperous and free America.

We must always be prepared to act alone when that is our most advantageous course. But many of our security objectives are best achieved"or can only be achieved"through our alliances and other formal security structures, or as a leader of an ad hoc coalition formed around a specific objective. Durable relationships with allies and friendly nations are vital to our security. A central thrust of our strategy is to strengthen and adapt the security relationships we have with key nations around the world and create new relationships and structures when necessary. Examples include NATO enlargement, the Partnership for Peace, the NATO Russia Permanent Joint Council, the African Crisis Response Initiative, the regional security dialogue in the ASEAN Regional Forum and the hemispheric security initiatives adopted at the Summit of the Americas. At other times we harness our diplomatic, economic, military and information strengths to shape a favorable international environment outside of formal structures. This approach has borne fruit in areas as diverse as the elimination of nuclear weapons from Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus, our comprehensive assistance package for Russia and other Newly Independent States (NIS), the advancement of peace in Northern Ireland, and support for the transformation of South Africa.

Protecting our citizens and critical infrastructures at home is an intrinsic and essential element of our security strategy. The dividing line between domestic and foreign policy is increasingly blurred. Globalization enables other states, terrorists, criminals, drug traffickers and others to challenge the safety of our citizens and the security of our borders in new ways. The security challenges wrought by globalization demand close cooperation across all levels of government" federal, state and local" and across a wide range of agencies, including the Departments of Defense and State, the Intelligence Community, law enforcement, emergency services, medical care providers and others. Protecting our critical infrastructure requires new partnerships between government and industry. Forging these new structures and relationships will be challenging, but must be done if we are to ensure our safety at home and avoid vulnerabilities that those wishing us ill might try to exploit in order to erode our resolve to protect our interests abroad.

Engagement abroad rightly depends on the willingness of the American people and the Congress to bear the costs of defending U.S. interests" in dollars, energy and, when there is no alternative, the risk of losing American lives. We must, therefore, foster the broad public understanding and bipartisan congressional support necessary to sustain our international engagement, always recognizing that some decisions that face popular opposition must ultimately be judged by whether they advance the interests of the American people in the long run.

### □III. Advancing U.S. National Interests□

The goal of the national security strategy is to ensure the protection of our nations fundamental and enduring needs: protect the lives and safety of Americans, maintain the sovereignty of the United States with its values, institutions and territory intact, and promote the prosperity and wellbeing of the nation and its people. In our vision of the world, the United States has close cooperative relations with the worlds most influential countries and has the ability to influence the policies and actions of those who can affect our national wellbeing.

We seek to create a stable, peaceful international security environment in which our nation, citizens and interests are not threatened. The United States will

l not allow a hostile power to dominate any region of critical importance to our interests. We will work to prevent the spread of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and the materials for producing them, and to control other potentially destabilizing technologies, such as longrange missiles. We will continue to ensure that we have effective means for countering and responding to the threats we cannot deter or otherwise prevent from arising. This includes protecting our citizens from terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking.

We seek a world in which democratic values and respect for human rights and the rule of law are increasingly accepted. This will be achieved through broadening the community of freemarket democracies, promoting an international community that is willing and able to prevent or respond effectively to humanitarian problems, and strengthening international nongovernmental movements committed to human rights and democratization. These efforts help prevent humanitarian disasters, promote reconciliation in states experiencing civil conflict and address migration and refugee crises.

We seek continued American prosperity through increasingly open international trade and sustainable growth in the global economy. The health of the international economy directly affects our security, just as stability enhances the prospects for prosperity. Prosperity ensures that we are able to sustain our military forces, foreign initiatives and global influence. In turn, our engagement and influence helps ensure that the world remains stable so the international economic system can flourish.

We seek a cleaner global environment to protect the health and wellbeing of our citizens. A deteriorating environment not only threatens public health, it impedes economic growth and can generate tensions that threaten international stability. To the extent that other nations believe they must engage in unsustainable exploitation of natural resources, our longterm prosperity and security are at risk.

Since there are always many demands for U.S. action, our national interests must be clear. These interests fall into three categories. The first includes "vital interests" those of broad, overriding importance to the survival, safety and vitality of our nation. Among these are the physical security of our territory and that of our allies, the safety of our citizens, our economic wellbeing and the protection of our critical infrastructures. We will do what we must to defend these interests, including "when necessary" using our military might unilaterally and decisively.

The second category includes situations in which "important national interests" are at stake. These interests do not affect our national survival, but they do affect our national wellbeing and the character of the world in which we live. In such cases, we will use our resources to advance these interests insofar as the costs and risks are commensurate with the interests at stake. Our efforts to halt the flow of refugees from Haiti and restore democracy in that state, our participation in NATO operations in Bosnia and our efforts to protect the global environment are relevant examples.

The third category is "humanitarian and other interests". In some circumstances our nation may act because our values demand it. Examples include responding to natural and manmade disasters or violations of human rights, supporting democratization and civil control of the military, assisting humanitarian demining, and promoting sustainable development. Often in such cases, the force of our example bolsters support for our leadership in the world. Whenever possible, we seek to avert humanitarian disasters and conflict through diplomacy and cooperation with a wide range of partners, including other governments, international institutions and nongovernmental organizations. This may not only save lives, but also prevent the drain on resources caused by intervention in crises.

Our strategy is based on three national objectives: enhancing our security, bolstering our economic prosperity and promoting democracy abroad.

#### □Enhancing Security at Home and Abroad□

Our strategy for enhancing U.S. security recognizes that we face diverse threats requiring integrated approaches to defend the nation, shape the international environment, respond to crises and prepare for an uncertain future.

#### □Threats to U.S. Interests□

The current international security environment presents a diverse set of threats to our enduring goals and hence to our security:

□Regional or StateCentered Threats:□ A number of states still have the capabilities and the desire to threaten our vital interests through coercion or aggression. They continue to threaten the sovereignty of their neighbors and international access to resources. In many cases, these states are also actively improving their offensive capabilities, including efforts to obtain or retain nuclear, biological or chemical weapons and, in some cases, longrange delivery systems. In Southwest Asia, both Iraq and Iran have the potential to threaten their neighbors and the free flow of oil from the region. In East Asia, North Korea maintains its forward positioning of offensive military capabilities on its border with South Korea.

□Transnational threats:□ Terrorism, international crime, drug trafficking, illicit arms trafficking, uncontrolled refugee migrations and environmental damage threaten U.S. interests, citizens and the U.S. homeland itself. The possibility of terrorists and other criminals using WMD"nuclear, biological and chemical weapons" is of special concern. Threats to the national information infrastructure, ranging from cybercrime to a strategic information attack on the United States via the global information network, present a dangerous new threat to our national security. We must also guard against threats to our other critical national infrastructures"such as electrical power and transportation"which increasingly could take the form of a cyberattack in addition to physical attack or sabotage, and could originate from terrorist or criminal groups as well as hostile states. International drug trafficking organizations have become the most powerful and dangerous organized crime groups the United States has ever confronted due to their sophisticated production, shipment, distribution and financial systems, and the violence and corruption they promote everywhere they operate.

□Spread of dangerous technologies:□ Weapons of mass destruction pose the greatest potential threat to global stability and security. Proliferation of advanced weapons and technologies threatens to provide rogue states, terrorists and international crime organizations the means to inflict terrible damage on the United States, its allies and U.S. citizens and troops abroad. We must continue to deter and be prepared to counter the use or threatened use of WMD, reduce the threat posed by existing arsenals of such weaponry and halt the smuggling of nuclear materials. We must identify the technical information, technologies and materials that cannot be allowed to fall into the hands of those seeking to develop and produce WMD. And we must stop the proliferation of nonsafeguarded dual use technologies that place these destructive capabilities in the hands of parties hostile to U.S. and global security interests.

□Foreign intelligence collection□: The threat from foreign intelligence services is more diverse, complex and difficult to counter than ever before. This threat is a mix of traditional and nontraditional intelligence adversaries that have targeted American military, diplomatic, technological and commercial secret

s. Some foreign intelligence services are rapidly adopting new technologies and innovative methods to obtain such secrets, including attempts to use the global information infrastructure to gain access to sensitive information via penetration of computer systems and networks. These new methods compound the already serious threat posed by traditional human, technical and signals intelligence activities.

Failed states: We can expect that, despite international prevention efforts, some states will be unable to provide basic governance, services and opportunities for their populations, potentially generating internal conflict, humanitarian crises or regional instability. As governments lose their ability to provide for the welfare of their citizens, mass migration, civil unrest, famine, mass killings, environmental disasters and aggression against neighboring states or ethnic groups can threaten U.S. interests and citizens.

#### The Need for Integrated Approaches

Success in countering these varied threats requires an integrated approach that brings to bear all the capabilities and assets needed to achieve our security objectives"particularly in this era when domestic and foreign policies are increasingly blurred.

To effectively shape the international environment and respond to the full spectrum of potential threats and crises, diplomacy, military force, our other foreign policy tools and our domestic preparedness efforts must be closely coordinated. We must retain a strong foreign assistance program and an effective diplomatic corps if we are to maintain American leadership. We must maintain superior military forces at the level of readiness necessary to effectively deter aggression, conduct a wide range of peacetime activities and smaller scale contingencies, and, preferably in concert with regional friends and allies, win two overlapping major theater wars. The success of all our foreign policy tools is critically dependent on timely and effective intelligence collection and analysis capabilities.

International cooperation will be vital for building security in the next century because many of the threats we face cannot be addressed by a single nation.

Globalization of transportation and communications has allowed international terrorists and criminals to operate without geographic constraints, while individual governments and their law enforcement agencies remain limited by national boundaries. Unlike terrorists and criminals, governments must respect the sovereignty of other nations. Accordingly, a central thrust of our strategy is to enhance relationships with key nations around the world to combat transnational threats to common interests. We seek to address these threats by increasing intelligence and law enforcement cooperation, denying terrorists safe havens, preventing arms traders from fueling regional conflicts and subverting international embargoes, and cracking down on drug trafficking, money laundering and international crime.

Building effective coalitions of like-minded nations is not enough. We are continuing to strengthen and integrate our own diplomatic, military, intelligence and law enforcement capabilities so we can act on our own when we must as well as more effectively lead the international community in responding to these threats.

Potential enemies, whether nations, terrorist groups or criminal organizations, are increasingly likely to attack U.S. territory and the American people in unconventional ways. Adversaries will be tempted to disrupt our critical infrastructures, impede continuity of government operations, use weapons of mass destruction against civilians in our cities, attack us when we gather at special events and prey on our citizens overseas. The United States must act to deter or

prevent such attacks and, if attacks occurs despite those efforts, must be prepared to limit the damage they cause and respond decisively against the perpetrators. We will spare no effort to bring attackers to justice, ever adhering to our policy toward terrorists that "You can run, but you cannot hide," and where appropriate to defend ourselves by striking at terrorist bases and states that support terrorist acts.

At home, we must have effective capabilities for thwarting and responding to terrorist acts, countering international crime and foreign intelligence collection, and protecting critical national infrastructures. Our efforts to counter these threats cannot be limited exclusively to any one agency within the U.S. Government. The threats and their consequences cross agency lines, requiring close cooperation among Federal agencies, state and local governments, the industries that own and operate critical national infrastructures, nongovernmental organizations and others in the private sector.

□

#### Shaping the International Environment□

The United States has a range of tools at its disposal with which to shape the international environment in ways favorable to U.S. interests and global security. Shaping activities enhance U.S. security by promoting regional security and preventing or reducing the wide range of diverse threats outlined above. These measures adapt and strengthen alliances and friendships, maintain U.S. influence in key regions and encourage adherence to international norms. When signs of potential conflict emerge, or potential threats appear, we undertake initiatives to prevent or reduce these threats. Our shaping efforts also aim to discourage arms races, halt the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, reduce tensions in critical regions and combat the spread of international criminal organizations.

Many of our international shaping activities, often undertaken with the cooperation of our allies and friends, also help to prevent threats from arising that place at risk American lives and property at home. Examples include countering terrorism, drug and firearms trafficking, illegal immigration, the spread of WMD and other threats. Increasingly, shaping the security environment involves a wide range of Federal agencies, some of which in the past have not been thought of as having such an international role.

#### □Diplomacy□

Diplomacy is a vital tool for countering threats to our national security. The daily business of diplomacy conducted through our missions and representatives around the world is an irreplaceable shaping activity. These efforts are essential to sustaining our alliances, forcefully articulating U.S. interests, resolving regional disputes peacefully, averting humanitarian catastrophe, deterring aggression against the United States and our friends and allies, creating trade and investment opportunities for U.S. companies, and projecting U.S. influence worldwide.

One of the lessons that has been repeatedly driven home is the importance of preventive diplomacy in dealing with conflict and complex emergencies. Helping prevent nations from failing is far more effective than rebuilding them after an internal crisis. Helping people stay in their homes is far more beneficial than feeding and housing them in refugee camps. Helping relief agencies and international organizations strengthen the institutions of conflict resolution is far less taxing than healing ethnic and social divisions that have already exploded into bloodshed. In short, while crisis management and crisis resolution are necessary tasks for our foreign policy, preventive diplomacy is obviously far preferable.

Credible military force and the demonstrated will to use it are essential to defend our vital interests and keep America safe. But force alone cannot solve all our problems. To be most effective, force, diplomacy and our other policy tools must complement and reinforce each other"for there will be many occasions and many places where we must rely on diplomatic shaping activities to protect and advance our interests.

#### □International Assistance□

From the U.S.-led mobilization to rebuild postwar Europe to the more recent creation of export opportunities across Asia, Latin America and Africa, U.S. foreign assistance has assisted emerging democracies, helped expand free markets, slowed the growth of international crime, contained major health threats, improved protection of the environment and natural resources, slowed population growth and defused humanitarian crises. Crises are averted"and U.S. preventive diplomacy actively reinforced"through U.S. sustainable development programs that promote voluntary family planning, basic education, environmental protection, democratic governance and rule of law, and the economic empowerment of private citizens.

When combined effectively with other bilateral and multilateral activities, such as through our cooperative scientific and technological programs, U.S. initiatives reduce the need for costly military and humanitarian interventions. Where foreign aid succeeds in consolidating free market policies, substantial growth of American exports has frequently followed. Where crises have occurred, actions such as the Greater Horn of Africa Initiative have helped stanch mass human suffering and created a path out of conflict and dislocation through targeted relief. Other foreign aid programs have worked to help restore elementary security and civic institutions.

#### □Arms Control□

Arms control efforts are an essential element of our national security strategy. Effective arms control is really defense by other means. We pursue verifiable arms control agreements that support our efforts to prevent the spread and use of weapons of mass destruction, halt the use of conventional weapons that cause unnecessary suffering, and contribute to regional stability at lower levels of armaments. By increasing transparency in the size, structure and operations of military forces, arms control agreements and confidencebuilding measures reduce incentives and opportunities to initiate an attack, and reduce the mutual suspicions that arise from and spur on armaments competition. They help provide the assurance of security necessary to strengthen cooperative relationships and direct resources to safer, more productive endeavors. Agreements that preserve our crisis response capability shape the global and regional security environments, and simultaneously reinforce our commitment to allies and partners. Our arms control initiatives are an essential prevention measure for enhancing U.S. and allied security.

Verifiable reductions in strategic offensive arms and the steady shift toward less destabilizing systems remain essential to our strategy. Entry into force of the START I Treaty in December 1994 charted the course for reductions in the deployed strategic nuclear forces of the United States and the Former Soviet Union (FSU). START I has accomplished much to reduce the risk of nuclear war and strengthen international security. On the third anniversary of START I entry into force, the United States and Russia announced that both were two years ahead of schedule in meeting the treaty's mandated reductions.

Once the START II Treaty enters into force, the United States and Russia will each be limited to between 3,000-3,500 total deployed strategic nuclear warheads.

START II also will eliminate destabilizing land-based multiple warhead missile

s, a truly historic achievement. Russian ratification of START II will open the door to the next round of strategic arms control.

At the Helsinki Summit in March 1997, Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin agreed that once START II enters into force, our two nations would immediately begin negotiations on a START III agreement. They agreed to START III guidelines that, if adopted, will cap the number of strategic nuclear warheads deployed in each country at 2,000,250 by the end of 2007, reducing both our arsenals by 80 percent from Cold War heights. They also agreed that START III will, for the first time, require the U.S. and Russia to destroy nuclear warheads, not just the missiles, aircraft and submarines that carry them, and opened the door to possible reductions in nonstrategic nuclear weapons. On September 26, 1997, the U.S. and Russia signed a START II Protocol codifying the agreement at Helsinki to extend the end date for reductions to 2007 and exchanged letters on early deactivation by 2003 of those strategic nuclear delivery systems to be eliminated by 2007.

At Helsinki, the two Presidents recognized the NunnLugar Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) Program as the vehicle through which the United States would facilitate the deactivation of strategic nuclear delivery systems in the FSU nations. The CTR Program has assisted Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus in becoming non-nuclear weapons states and will continue to assist Russia in meeting its START obligations. The program has effectively supported enhanced safety, security, accounting and centralized control measures for nuclear weapons and fissile materials in the FSU. CTR is also assisting FSU nations in measures to eliminate and prevent the proliferation of chemical weapons and biological weapon-related capabilities. It has supported many ongoing military reductions and reform measures in the FSU, and has contributed to a climate conducive for further progress on nonproliferation.

Also at Helsinki, the Presidents reaffirmed their commitment to the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty and recognized the need for effective theater missile defenses in an agreement in principle on demarcation between systems to counter strategic ballistic missiles and those to counter theater ballistic missiles. On September 26, 1997, the U.S. Secretary of State and Russian Foreign Minister, along with their counterparts from Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine, signed or initialed five agreements relating to the ABM Treaty. The agreements on demarcation and succession will be provided to the Senate for its advice and consent following Russian ratification of START II.

By banning all nuclear test explosions for all time, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) constrains the development of dangerous nuclear weapons, contributes to preventing nuclear proliferation and to the process of nuclear disarmament, and enhances the ability of the United States to monitor suspicious nuclear activities in other countries through a worldwide sensor network and onsite inspections. Nuclear tests in India and Pakistan in May 1998 make it more important than ever to move quickly to bring the CTBT into force and continue establishment of the substantial verification mechanisms called for in the treaty. The President has submitted the treaty, which 150 nations have signed, to the Senate and has urged the Senate to provide its advice and consent this year. Prompt U.S. ratification will encourage other states to ratify, enable the United States to lead the international effort to gain CTBT entry into force and strengthen international norms against nuclear testing. Multilateral and regional arms control efforts also increase U.S. and global security. We seek to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) with a new international regime to ensure compliance. At present, we are negotiating with other BWC member states in an effort to reach consensus on a protocol to the BWC that would implement an inspection system to deter and detect cheating. We are also working hard to implement and enforce the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC). The United States Senate underscored the importance of these efforts with its April 24, 1997 de

cision, by a vote of 7426, to give its advice and consent to ratification of the CWC. The next key step is legislation to implement full compliance with the commercial declarations and inspections that are required by the CWC.

In Europe, we are pursuing the adaptation of the 1990 Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty, consistent with the Decision on Certain Basic Elements adopted in Vienna on July 23, 1997 by all 30 CFE states. Success in this negotiation will ensure that this landmark agreement remains a cornerstone of European security into the 21st century and beyond. We continue to seek Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian ratification of the 1992 Open Skies Treaty to increase transparency of military forces in Eurasia and North America. We also promote, through international organizations such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), implementation of confidence and securitybuilding measures, including the 1994 Vienna Document, throughout Europe and in specific regions of tension and instability"even where we are not formal parties to such agreements. The agreements mandated by the Dayton Accords demonstrate how innovative regional efforts can strengthen stability and reduce conflicts that could adversely affect U.S. interests abroad.

President Clinton is committed to ending the tragic damage to innocent civilians due to antipersonnel landmines (APLs). The United States has already taken major steps in the spirit that motivated the Ottawa Convention, while ensuring our ability to meet international obligations and provide for the safety and security of our men and women in uniform. On June 30, 1998, we met "one year ahead of schedule" the President's May 1996 commitment to destroy all of our nonself destructing APLs by 1999, except those we need for Korea and demining training.

To expand and strengthen the Administration policy on APLs that he announced on September 17, 1997, President Clinton signed Presidential Decision Directive 64 in June 1998. It directs the Defense Department to end the use of all APLs, even of selfdestructing APLs, outside Korea by 2003 and to pursue aggressively the objective of having APL alternatives ready for Korea by 2006. We will also aggressively pursue alternatives to our mixed antitank systems that contain antipersonnel submunitions. We have made clear that the United States will sign the Ottawa Convention by 2006 if we succeed in identifying and fielding suitable alternatives to our selfdestructing APLs and mixed antitank systems by then.

Furthermore, in 1997 the Administration submitted for Senate advice and consent the Amended Landmine Protocol to the Convention on Conventional Weapons, which bans the unmarked, longduration APLs that caused the worldwide humanitarian problem. We have established a permanent ban on APL exports and are seeking to universalize an export ban through the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. In 1998 we are spending \$80 million on humanitarian demining programs, more than double that of the previous year, and through our "Demining 2010" initiative have challenged the world to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of removing landmines that threaten civilians.

#### □Nonproliferation Initiatives□

Nonproliferation initiatives enhance global security by preventing the spread of WMD, materials for producing them and means of delivering them. That is why the Administration is promoting universal adherence to the international treaty regimes that prohibit the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction, including the Nuclear NonProliferation Treaty (NPT), the CWC and the BWC. The NPT was an indispensable precondition for the denuclearization of Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus and South Africa. We also seek to strengthen the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards system and achieve a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty to cap the nuclear materials available for weapons. A coordinated effort by the intelligence community and law enforcement agencies to detect, prevent and deter illegal trafficking in fissile materials is also essential to our counterproliferation efforts.

The Administration also seeks to prevent destabilizing buildups of conventional

arms and limit access to sensitive technical information, equipment and technologies by strengthening multilateral regimes, including the Wassenaar Arrangement on Export Controls for Conventional Arms and Dual-Use Goods and Technologies, the Australia Group (for chemical and biological weapons), the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and the Nuclear Suppliers Group. We are working to harmonize national export control policies, increase information sharing, refine control lists and expand cooperation against illicit transfers.

Regional nonproliferation efforts are particularly important in three critical proliferation zones. On the Korean Peninsula, we are implementing the 1994 Agreed Framework, which requires full compliance by North Korea with nonproliferation obligations. In the Middle East and Southwest Asia, we encourage regional arms control agreements that address the legitimate security concerns of all parties and continue efforts to thwart and roll back Iran's development of weapons of mass destruction and Iraq's efforts to reconstitute its programs. In South Asia, we seek to persuade India and Pakistan to bring their nuclear and missile programs into conformity with international nonproliferation standards and to sign and ratify the CTBT.

Through programs such as the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program and other initiatives, we aim to strengthen controls over weapons-usable fissile material and prevent the theft or diversion of WMD and related material and technology. We are working to strengthen the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material to increase accountability and protection, which complements our effort to enhance IAEA safeguards. We are purchasing tons of highly enriched uranium from dismantled Russian nuclear weapons for conversion into commercial reactor fuel, and working with Russia to redirect former Soviet facilities and scientists from military to peaceful purposes.

To expand and improve U.S. efforts aimed at deterring proliferation of WMD by organized crime groups and individuals in the CIS and Eastern Europe, the Defense Department and FBI are implementing a joint counter proliferation assistance program that provides appropriate training, material and services to law enforcement agencies in these areas. The program's objectives are to assist in establishing a professional cadre of law enforcement personnel in these nations trained to prevent, deter and investigate crimes related to the proliferation and diversion of WMD or their delivery systems; to assist these countries in developing laws and regulations designed to prevent the illicit acquisition or trafficking of WMD, and in establishing appropriate enforcement mechanisms; and to build a solid legal and organization framework that will enable these governments to attack the proliferation problem at home and participate effectively in international efforts.

#### □ Military Activities □

The U.S. military plays an essential role in building coalitions and shaping the international environment in ways that protect and promote U.S. interests. Through overseas presence and peacetime engagement activities such as defense cooperation, security assistance, and training and exercises with allies and friends, our armed forces help to deter aggression and coercion, promote regional stability, prevent and reduce conflicts and threats, and serve as role models for militaries in emerging democracies. These important efforts engage every component of the Total Force: Active, Reserve, National Guard and civilian.

Deterrence of aggression and coercion on a daily basis is crucial. Our ability to deter potential adversaries in peacetime rests on several factors, particularly on our demonstrated will and ability to uphold our security commitments when they are challenged. We have earned this reputation through both our declaratory policy, which clearly communicates costs to potential adversaries, and our credible warfighting capability. This capability is embodied in ready forces

and equipment strategically stationed or deployed forward, in forces in the United States at the appropriate level of readiness to deploy and go into action when needed, in our ability to gain timely access to critical regions and infrastructure overseas, and in our demonstrated ability to form and lead effective military coalitions.

Our nuclear deterrent posture is one of the most visible and important examples of how U.S. military capabilities can be used effectively to deter aggression and coercion, as reaffirmed in a Presidential Decision Directive signed by President Clinton in November 1997. Nuclear weapons serve as a hedge against an uncertain future, a guarantee of our security commitments to allies and a disincentive to those who would contemplate developing or otherwise acquiring their own nuclear weapons. Our military planning for the possible employment of U.S. nuclear weapons is focused on deterring a nuclear war rather than attempting to fight and win a protracted nuclear exchange. We continue to emphasize the survivability of the nuclear systems and infrastructure necessary to endure a preemptive attack and still respond at overwhelming levels. The United States must continue to maintain a robust triad of strategic forces sufficient to deter any hostile foreign leadership with access to nuclear forces and to convince it that seeking a nuclear advantage would be futile. We must also ensure the continued viability of the infrastructure that supports U.S. nuclear forces and weapons. The Stockpile Stewardship Program will guarantee the safety and reliability of our nuclear weapons under the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

While our overall deterrence posture "nuclear and conventional" has been effective against most potential adversaries, a range of terrorist and criminal organizations may not be deterred by traditional deterrent threats. For these actors to be deterred, they must believe that any type of attack against the United States or its citizens will be attributed to them and that we will respond effectively and decisively to protect our national interests and ensure that justice is done.

Our military promotes regional stability in numerous ways. In Europe, East Asia and Southwest Asia, where the U.S. has clear, vital interests, the American military helps assure the security of our allies and friends. The reinforcement of U.S. forces in the Gulf from Fall 1997 to Spring 1998 clearly illustrates the importance of military power in achieving U.S. national security objectives and stabilizing a potentially volatile situation. The U.S. buildup made it clear to Saddam Hussein that he must comply with UN sanctions and cease hindering UNSCOM inspections or face dire consequences. It also denied him the option of moving to threaten his neighbors, as he had done in past confrontations with the international community. Saddam's agreement to open the so-called "presidential sites" to UN inspection was a significant step toward ensuring that Iraq's WMD have been eradicated. It would not have been achieved without American diplomacy backed by force. Our decision to maintain a higher continuous force level in the Gulf than we had before this most recent confrontation with Iraq will help deter Saddam from making further provocations and strengthen the resolve of our coalition partners in the Gulf.

We are continuing to adapt and strengthen our alliances and coalitions to meet the challenges of an evolving security environment. U.S. military forces prevent and reduce a wide range of potential conflicts in key regions. An example of such an activity is our deployment to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to help prevent the spread of violence to that country. We assist other countries in improving their pertinent military capabilities, including peacekeeping and humanitarian response. With countries that are neither staunch friends nor known foes, military cooperation often serves as a positive means of engagement, building security relationships today that will contribute to improved relations tomorrow.

Our armed forces also serve as a role model for militaries in emerging democracies around the world. Our 200-year history of strong civilian control of the military serves as an example to those countries with histories of nondemocratic governments. Through military-to-military activities and increasing links between the U.S. military and the military establishments of Partnership for Peace nations, for instance, we are helping to transform military institutions in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as in the Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union.

#### □ International Law Enforcement Cooperation □

As threats to our national security from drug trafficking, terrorism and international crime increase, development of working relations U.S. and foreign law enforcement and judicial agencies will play a vital role in shaping law enforcement priorities in those countries. Law enforcement agencies must continue to find innovative ways to develop a concerted, global attack on the spread of international crime.

Overseas law enforcement presence leverages resources and fosters the establishment of effective working relationships with foreign law enforcement agencies.

U.S. investigators and prosecutors draw upon their experience and background to enlist the cooperation of foreign law enforcement officials, keeping crime away from American shores, enabling the arrest of many U.S. fugitives and solving serious U.S. crimes. This presence develops substantive international links by creating personal networks of law enforcement professionals dedicated to bringing international criminals to justice.

In addition, training foreign law enforcement officers is critical to combating international crime. Such training helps create professional law enforcement organizations and builds citizen confidence in law enforcement officers, who understand and operate under the rule of law. Training also builds a common perspective and understanding of investigative techniques that helps shape international law enforcement priorities. The FBI and other federal law enforcement agencies have provided extensive law enforcement training at the International Law Enforcement Academy in Budapest, Hungary and elsewhere around the world. This training has proved to be enormously effective in developing professional law enforcement and security services in emerging democracies. □

#### Environmental Initiatives □

Decisions today regarding the environment and natural resources can affect our security for generations. Environmental threats do not heed national borders and can pose long-term dangers to our security and wellbeing. Natural resource scarcities can trigger and exacerbate conflict. Environmental threats such as climate change, ozone depletion and the transnational movement of hazardous chemicals and waste directly threaten the health of U.S. citizens.

We have a full diplomatic agenda, working bilaterally and multilaterally to respond aggressively to environmental threats. The Global Environmental Facility (GEF) is an important instrument for this cooperation. With 161 member nations, the GEF is specifically focused on reducing crossborder environmental damage.

Our Environmental Security Initiative joins U.S. agencies with foreign partners to address regional environmental concerns and thereby reduce the risk to U.S. interests abroad. We have also undertaken development of an environmental forecasting system to provide U.S. policymakers advance warning of environmental stress situations which have the potential for significant impact on U.S. interests.

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At Kyoto in December 1997, the industrialized nations of the world agreed for the first time to binding limits on greenhouse gases. The agreement is strong a

and comprehensive, covering the six greenhouse gases whose concentrations are increasing due to human activity. It reflects the commitment of the United States to use the tools of the free market to tackle this problem. It will enhance growth and create new incentives for the rapid development of technologies through a system of joint implementation and emissions trading. The Kyoto agreement was a vital turning point, but we still have a lot of hard work ahead. We must press for meaningful participation by key developing nations. Multilateral negotiations are underway and we will pursue bilateral talks with key developing nations. We will not submit the Kyoto agreement for ratification until key developing nations have agreed to participate meaningfully in efforts to address global warming.

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Additionally, we seek to accomplish the following:

achieve increased compliance with the Montreal Protocol through domestic and multilateral efforts aimed at curbing illegal trade in ozone depleting substances ;

ratify the Law of the Sea Convention, implement the UN Straddling Stocks Agreement and help to promote sustainable management of fisheries worldwide;

implement the Program of Action on population growth developed at the 1994 Cairo Conference, lead a renewed global effort to address population problems and promote international consensus for stabilizing world population growth; expand bilateral forest assistance programs and promote sustainable management of tropical forests;

achieve Senate ratification of the Convention to Combat Desertification;

negotiate an international agreement to ban twelve persistent organic pollutants, including such hazardous chemicals as DDT;

promote environment-related scientific research in other countries so they can better identify environmental problems and develop indigenous solutions for them ;

increase international cooperation in fighting transboundary environmental crime, including trafficking in protected flora and fauna, hazardous waste and ozone-depleting chemicals;

ratify the Biodiversity Convention and take steps to prevent biodiversity loss, including support for agricultural research to relieve pressures on forests, working with multilateral development banks and others to prevent biodiversity loss in key regions, and use of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species to protect threatened species; and

continue to work with the Nordic countries and Russia to mitigate nuclear and non-nuclear pollution in the Arctic, and continue to encourage Russia to develop sound management practices for nuclear materials and radioactive waste.

□Responding to Threats and Crises□

Because our shaping efforts alone cannot guarantee the international security environment we seek, the United States must be able to respond at home and abroad to the full spectrum of threats and crises that may arise. Our resources are finite, so we must be selective in our responses, focusing on challenges that most directly affect our interests and engaging where we can make the most difference. Our response might be diplomatic, economic, law enforcement, or military in nature"or, more likely, some combination of the above. We must use the most appropriate tool or

combination of tools"acting in alliance or partnership when our interests are shared by others, but unilaterally when compelling national interests so demand.

At home, we must forge an effective partnership of Federal, state and local government agencies, industry and other private sector organizations.

When efforts to deter an adversary"be it a rogue nation, terrorist group or criminal organization"occur in the context of a crisis, they become the leading edge of crisis response. In this sense, deterrence straddles the line between shaping the international environment and responding to crises. Deterrence in crisis generally involves signaling the United States commitment to a particular country or interest by enhancing our warfighting capability in the theater. Forces in or near the theater may be moved closer to the crisis and other forces rapidly deployed to the area. The U.S. may also choose to make additional statements to communicate the costs of aggression or coercion to an adversary, and in some cases may choose to employ U.S. forces to underline the message and deter further adventurism.

The American people rightfully play a central role in how the United States wields its power abroad. The United States cannot long sustain a commitment without the support of the public, and close consultations with Congress are important in this effort. When it is judged in Americas interest to intervene, we must remain clear in purpose and resolute in execution.

#### □Transnational Threats □

Today, American diplomats, law enforcement officials, military personnel, members of the intelligence community and others are increasingly called upon to respond to growing transnational threats, particularly terrorism, drug trafficking and international organized crime.

#### □Terrorism□

To meet the growing challenge of terrorism, President Clinton signed Presidential Decision Directive 62 in May 1998. This Directive creates a new and more systematic approach to fighting the terrorist threat of the next century. It reinforces the mission of the many U.S. agencies charged with roles in defeating terrorism; it also codifies and clarifies their activities in the wide range of U.S. counterterrorism programs, including apprehension and prosecution of terrorists, increasing transportation security, and enhancing incident response capabilities. The Directive will help achieve the Presidents goal of ensuring that we meet the threat of terrorism in the 21st century.

Our policy to counter international terrorists rests on the following principles: (1) make no concessions to terrorists; (2) bring all pressure to bear on all state sponsors of terrorism; (3) fully exploit all available legal mechanisms to punish international terrorists; and (4) help other governments improve their capabilities to combat terrorism. Following these principles, we seek to uncover and eliminate foreign terrorists and their support networks in our country; eliminate terrorist sanctuaries; and counter statesupported terrorism and subversion of moderate regimes through a comprehensive program of diplomatic, law enforcement, economic, military and intelligence activities. We are working to improve aviation security at airports in the United States and worldwide, to ensure better security for all U.S. transportation systems, and to improve protection for our personnel assigned overseas.

Countering terrorism effectively requires daytoday coordination within the U.S. Government and close cooperation with other governments and international organizations. Foreign terrorists will not be allowed to enter the United States, and the full force of legal authorities will be used to remove foreign terrorists from the United States and prevent fundraising within the United States to

upport foreign terrorist activity. We have seen positive results from the increasing integration of intelligence, diplomatic, military and law enforcement activities among the Departments of State, Justice, Defense, Treasury, Energy, Transportation, the CIA and other intelligence agencies. The Administration is working with Congress to increase the ability of these agencies to combat terrorism through augmented funding and manpower.

The United States has made concerted efforts to deter and punish terrorists and remains determined to apprehend and bring to justice those who terrorize American citizens. In January 1998, the United States signed the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings. The Convention fills an important gap in international law by expanding the legal framework for international cooperation in the investigation, prosecution and extradition of persons who engage in such bombings. Whenever possible, we use law enforcement and diplomatic tools to wage the fight against terrorism. But there have been, and will be, times when law enforcement and diplomatic tools are simply not enough, when our very national security is challenged, and when we must take extraordinary steps to protect the safety of our citizens. As long as terrorists continue to target American citizens, we reserve the right to act in self defense by striking at their bases and those who sponsor, assist or actively support them. We exercised that right in 1993 with the attack against Iraqi intelligence headquarters in response to Baghdad's assassination attempt against former President Bush. We exercised that right again in August 1998.

On August 7, 1998, 12 Americans and nearly 300 Kenyans and Tanzanians lost their lives, and another 5,000 were wounded when our embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam were bombed. Soon afterward, our intelligence community acquired convincing information from a variety of reliable sources that the network of radical groups affiliated with Osama bin Laden, perhaps the preeminent organizer and financier of international terrorism in the world today, planned, financed and carried out the bombings. The groups associated with bin Laden come from diverse places, but share a hatred for democracy, a fanatical glorification of violence and a horrible distortion of their religion to justify the murder of innocents. They have made the United States their adversary precisely because of what we stand for and what we stand against.

On August 20, 1998, our Armed Forces carried out strikes against terrorist facilities and infrastructure in Afghanistan. Our forces targeted one of the most active terrorist bases in the world. It contained key elements of the bin Laden network's infrastructure and has served as a training camp for literally thousands of terrorists from around the globe. Our forces also attacked a factory in Sudan associated with the bin Laden network that was involved in the production of materials for chemical weapons. The strikes were a necessary and proportionate response to the imminent threat of further terrorist attacks against U.S. personnel and facilities. Afghanistan and Sudan had been warned for years to stop harboring and supporting these terrorist groups. Countries that persistently host terrorists have no right to be safe havens.

Placing terrorism at the top of the diplomatic agenda has increased international information sharing and law enforcement efforts. At the June 1997 Denver Summit of the Eight, the leaders of Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States reaffirmed their determination to combat terrorism in all forms, their opposition to concessions to terrorist demands and their determination to deny hostagetakers any benefits from their acts.

They agreed to intensify diplomatic efforts to ensure that by the year 2000 all States have joined the international counterterrorism conventions specified in the 1996 UN resolution on measures to counter terrorism. The eight leaders also agreed to strengthen the capability of hostage negotiation experts and counterterrorism response units, to exchange information on technologies to detect and deter the use of weapons of mass destruction in terrorist attacks, to devel

op means to deter terrorist attacks on electronic and computer infrastructure, to strengthen maritime security, to exchange information on security practices for international special events, and to strengthen and expand international cooperation and consultation on terrorism.

#### □International Crime□

International crime is a serious and potent threat to the American people at home and abroad. Drug trafficking, illegal trade in firearms, financial crimes such as money laundering, counterfeiting, advanced fee and credit card fraud, and income tax evasion, illegal alien smuggling, trafficking in women and children, economic espionage, intellectual property theft, computer hacking and public corruption are all linked to international criminal activity and all have a direct impact on the security and prosperity of the American people.

Efforts to combat international crime can have a much broader impact than simply halting individual criminal acts. The efficiency of the market place depends on transparency and effective law enforcement, which limit distorting factors such as extortion and corruption. A free and efficient market implies not only the absence of state control but also limits on unlawful activities that impede rational business decisions and fair competition. Additionally, the integrity and reliability of the international financial system will be improved by standardizing laws and regulations governing financial institutions and improving international law enforcement cooperation in the financial sector.

To address the increasing threat from these diverse criminal activities, we have formulated an International Crime Control Strategy that provides a framework for integrating the federal government response to international crime. The strategy's major goals and initiatives are to:

Extend our crime control efforts beyond U.S. borders by intensifying activities of law enforcement and diplomatic personnel abroad to prevent criminal acts and prosecute select criminal acts committed abroad.

Protect U.S. borders by enhancing our inspection, detection, monitoring and interdiction efforts, seeking stiffer criminal penalties for smuggling, and targeting law enforcement resources more effectively against smugglers.

Deny safe haven to international criminals by negotiating new international agreements for evidence sharing and prompt arrest and extradition of fugitives (including nationals of the requested country), implementing strengthened immigration laws to prevent criminals from entering the United States and provide for their prompt expulsion when appropriate, and promoting increased cooperation with foreign law enforcement authorities.

Counter international financial crime by combating money laundering and reducing movement of criminal proceeds, seizing the assets of international criminals, enhancing bilateral and multilateral cooperation against financial crime, and targeting offshore sources of international fraud, counterfeiting, electronic access device schemes, income tax evasion and other financial crimes.

Prevent criminal exploitation of international trade by interdicting illegal technology exports, preventing unfair and predatory trade practices, protecting intellectual property rights, countering industrial theft and economic espionage, and enforcing import restrictions on harmful substances, dangerous organisms and protected species. In fiscal year 1997, the Customs Service seized \$59 million in goods and \$55 million in currency being taken out of the country illegally.

Respond to emerging international crime threats by disrupting new activities of

international organized crime groups, enhancing intelligence efforts, reducing trafficking in human beings (involuntary servitude, alien smuggling, document fraud and denial of human rights), crimes against children, and increasing enforcement efforts against high technology and computer-related crime.

Foster international cooperation and the rule of law by establishing international standards, goals and objectives to combat international crime and by actively encouraging compliance, improving bilateral cooperation with foreign governments and law enforcement authorities, expanding U.S. training and assistance programs in law enforcement and administration of justice, and strengthening the rule of law as the foundation for democratic government and free markets.

The growing threat to our security from transnational crime makes international law enforcement cooperation vital. We are negotiating and implementing updated extradition and mutual legal assistance treaties that reflect the changing nature of international crime and prevent terrorists and criminals from exploiting national borders to escape prosecution. Moreover, since the primary motivation of most international criminals is greed, powerful asset seizure, forfeiture and money laundering laws are key tools for taking action against the financial underpinnings of international crime. Increasing our enforcement powers through bilateral and multilateral agreements and efforts makes it harder for criminals to enjoy their illgotten gains.

At the Birmingham Summit in May 1998, the leaders of the G8 adopted a wide range of measures to strengthen the cooperative efforts against international crime that they launched at their summit in Lyon two years ago. They agreed to increase cooperation on transnational high technology crime, money laundering and financial crime, corruption, environmental crimes, and trafficking in drugs, firearms and women and children. They also agreed to fully support negotiations on a UN Convention on Transnational Organized Crime, which will broaden many of the efforts underway among the G8 to the rest of the international community.

No area of criminal activity has greater international implications than high technology crime because of the global nature of information networks. Computer hackers and other cybercriminals are not hampered by international boundaries, since information and transactions involving funds or property can be transmitted quickly and covertly via telephone and information systems. Law enforcement faces difficult challenges in this area, many of which are impossible to address without international consensus and cooperation. We seek to develop and implement new agreements with other nations to address high technology crime, particularly cybercrime.

We are making a concerted effort at home and abroad to shut down the illicit trade in firearms, ammunition and explosives that fuels the violence associated with terrorism, drug trafficking and international crime. The President has signed legislation amending the Arms Export Control Act to expand our authority to monitor and regulate the activities of arms brokers and we have intensified reviews of applications for licenses to export firearms from the United States to ensure that they are not diverted to illicit purposes. The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) has tightened up proof of residency requirements for aliens purchasing firearms from dealers in the United States, and ATF and the Customs Service have intensified their interdiction and investigative efforts at U.S. borders.

In the international arena, the United States is working with its partners in the G8 and through the UN Crime Commission to expand cooperation on combating illicit arms trafficking. In November 1997, the United States and its partners in the Organization of American States (OAS) signed the InterAmerican Convention Against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms"the first international agreement designed to prevent, combat and eradicate illegal traffick

ing in firearms, ammunition and explosives. We are now negotiating an international agreement that would globalize the OAS convention. Additionally, the ATF and Customs Service have provided training and assistance to other nations on tracing firearms, combating internal smuggling and related law enforcement topics.

#### □Drug Trafficking□

We have shown that with determined and relentless efforts, we can make significant progress against the scourge of drug abuse and drug trafficking. In the United States, drug use has dropped 49 percent since 1979. Recent studies show that drug use by our young people is stabilizing, and in some categories, declining. Overall, cocaine use has dropped 70 percent since 1985 and the crack epidemic has begun to recede. Today, Americans spend 37 percent less on drugs than a decade ago. That means over \$34 billion reinvested in our society, rather than squandered on drugs.

The aim of the U.S. National Drug Control Strategy is to cut drug availability in the United States by half over the next 10 years and reduce the consequences of drug use and trafficking by 25 percent over the same period through expanded prevention efforts, improved treatment programs, strengthened law enforcement and tougher interdiction. Our strategy recognizes that, at home and abroad, prevention, treatment and economic alternatives must be integrated with intelligence collection, law enforcement and interdiction. Its ultimate success will require concerted efforts by the public, all levels of government and the private sector together with other governments, private groups and international organizations.

Domestically, we seek to educate and enable Americas youth to reject illegal drugs, increase the safety of Americas citizens by substantially reducing drug-related crime and violence, reduce health and social costs to the public of illegal drug use, and shield Americas air, land and sea frontiers from the drug threat. Working with Congress and the private sector, the Administration has launched a major antidrug youth media campaign and will seek to extend this program through 2002. With congressional support and matching dollars from the private sector, we will commit to a five-year, \$2 billion public-private partnership to educate our children to reject drugs.

In concert with our allies abroad, we seek to stop drug trafficking by reducing cultivation of drug-producing crops, interdicting the flow of drugs at the source and in transit (particularly in Central and South America, the Caribbean, Mexico and Southeast Asia), and stopping drugs from entering our country. The Strategy includes efforts to strengthen democratic institutions and root out corruption in source nations, prosecute major international drug traffickers and destroy trafficking organizations, prevent money laundering and use of commercial air and maritime transportation for drug smuggling, and eradicate illegal drug crops and encourage alternate crop development or alternative employment in source nations. We seek to achieve a counterdrug alliance in this hemisphere, one that could serve as a model for enhanced cooperation in other regions.

The United States is aggressively engaging international organizations, financial institutions and nongovernmental organizations in counternarcotics cooperation. At the Birmingham Summit in May 1998, the leaders of the G8 endorsed the principle of shared responsibility for combating drugs, including cooperative efforts focused on both eradication and demand reduction. They agreed to reinforce cooperation on reducing demand and curbing trafficking in drugs and chemical precursors. They also agreed on the need for a global strategy to eradicate illicit drugs. The United States supports the UN International Drug Control Program's goal of dramatically reducing coca and opium poppy cultivation by 2008 and the program's efforts to combat drug production, trafficking and abuse in so

me of the most remote regions of the world. At the UN General Assembly Special Session on drug trafficking and abuse in June 1998, President Clinton and other world leaders strengthened existing international counterdrug institutions, reconfirmed the global partnership against drug abuse and stressed the need for a coordinated international approach to combating drug trafficking.

#### □Emerging Threats at Home□

Due to our military superiority, potential enemies, whether nations or terrorist groups, may be more likely in the future to resort to terrorist acts or other attacks against vulnerable civilian targets in the United States instead of conventional military operations. At the same time, easier access to sophisticated technology means that the destructive power available to terrorists is greater than ever. Adversaries may thus be tempted to use unconventional tools, such as WMD or information attacks, to threaten our citizens, and critical national infrastructures.

#### □Managing the Consequences of WMD Incidents□

Presidential Decision Directive 62, signed in May 1998, established an overarching policy and assignment of responsibilities for responding to terrorist acts involving WMD. The Federal Government will respond rapidly and decisively to any terrorist incident in the United States, working with state and local governments to restore order and deliver emergency assistance. The Department of Justice, acting through the FBI, has the overall lead in operational response to a WMD incident. The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) supports the FBI in preparing for and responding to the consequences of a WMD incident.

The Domestic Terrorism Program is integrating the capabilities and assets of a number of Federal agencies to support the FBI, FEMA and state and local governments in consequence management. The program's goal is to build a capability in 120 major U.S. cities for first responders to be able to deal with WMD incidents by 2002. In fiscal year 1997, the Defense Department provided training to nearly 1,500 metropolitan emergency responders"firefighters, law enforcement officials and medical personnel"in four cities. In fiscal year 1998, the program will reach 31 cities. Eventually, this training will reach all cities via the Internet, video and CD ROM.

Under the Domestic Terrorism Program, the Defense Department will maintain military units to serve as augmentation forces for weapons of mass destruction consequence management and to help maintain proficiency of local emergency responders through periodic training and exercises. The National Guard, with its mission and long tradition of responding to national emergencies, has an important role to play in this effort. The President announced in May 1998 that the Defense Department will train Army National Guard and reserve elements to assist state and local authorities to manage the consequences of a WMD attack. This training will be given to units in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Illinois, Texas, Missouri, Colorado, California and Washington.

The Domestic Terrorism Program enlists the support of other agencies as well. The Department of Energy plans for and provides emergency responder training for nuclear and radiological incidents. The Environmental Protection Agency plans for and provides emergency responder training for hazardous materials and environmental incidents. The Department of Health and Human Services, through the Public Health Service and with the support of the Department of Veterans Affairs and other Federal agencies, plans and prepares for a national response to medical emergencies arising from the terrorist use of weapons of mass destruction

The threat of biological weapons is particularly troubling. In his May 1998 co

mmencement speech at Annapolis, the President announced a comprehensive strategy to protect our civilian population from the scourge of biological weapons. There are four critical areas of focus:

First, if a hostile nation or terrorists release bacteria or viruses to harm Americans, we must be able to identify the pathogens with speed and certainty. We will upgrade our public health and medical surveillance systems. These improvements will benefit not only our preparedness for a biological weapons attack they will enhance our ability to respond quickly and effectively to outbreaks of emerging infectious diseases.

Second, our emergency response personnel must have the training and equipment to do their jobs right. As described above, we will help ensure that federal, state and local authorities have the resources and knowledge they need to deal with a crisis.

Third, we must have the medicines and vaccines needed to treat those who fall sick or prevent those at risk from falling ill because of a biological weapons attack. The President will propose the creation of a civilian stockpile of medicines and vaccines to counter the pathogens most likely to be in the hands of terrorists or hostile powers.

Fourth, the revolution in biotechnology offers enormous possibilities for combating biological weapons. We will coordinate research and development efforts to use the advances in genetic engineering and biotechnology to create the next generation of medicines, vaccines and diagnostic tools for use against these weapons. At the same time, we must continue our efforts to prevent biotechnology innovations from being applied to development of ever more difficult to counter biological weapons.

#### □Protecting Critical Infrastructures □

Our military power and national economy are increasingly reliant upon interdependent critical infrastructures—the physical and information systems essential to the operations of the economy and government. They include telecommunications, energy, banking and finance, transportation, water systems and emergency services. It has long been the policy of the United States to assure the continuity and viability of these critical infrastructures. But advances in information technology and competitive pressure to improve efficiency and productivity have created new vulnerabilities to both physical and information attacks as these infrastructures have become increasingly automated and interlinked. If we do not implement adequate protective measures, attacks on our critical infrastructures and information systems by nations, groups or individuals might be capable of significantly harming our military power and economy.

To enhance our ability to protect these critical infrastructures, the President signed Presidential Decision Directive 63 in May 1998. This directive makes it U.S. policy to take all necessary measures to swiftly eliminate any significant vulnerability to physical or information attacks on our critical infrastructures, especially our information systems. We will achieve and maintain the ability to protect them from intentional acts that would significantly diminish the abilities of the Federal Government to perform essential national security missions and to ensure the general public health and safety. We will protect the ability of state and local governments to maintain order and to deliver minimum essential public services. And we will work with the private sector to ensure the orderly functioning of the economy and the delivery of essential telecommunications, energy, financial and transportation services. Any interruption or manipulation of these critical functions must be brief, infrequent, manageable, isolated and minimally detrimental to the welfare of the United States.

The National Infrastructure Protection Center (NIPC) integrates relevant federal, state, and local government entities as well as the private sector, and provides the national focal point for gathering information on threats to the infrastructures. It serves as a national resource for identifying and assessing threats, warning about vulnerabilities, and conducting criminal investigations. The NIPC will also coordinate the federal governments response to an incident, including mitigation, investigation and monitoring reconstruction efforts.

#### □SmallerScale Contingencies□

Smaller scale contingency operations encompass the full range of military operations short of □ major theater warfare, including humanitarian assistance, peace operations, enforcing embargoes and no fly zones, evacuating U.S. citizens, reinforcing key allies, and limited strikes and intervention. These operations will likely pose the most frequent challenge for U.S. forces and cumulatively require significant commitments over time. These operations will also put a premium on the ability of the U.S. military to work closely and effectively with other U.S. Government agencies, nongovernmental organizations, regional and international security organizations and coalition partners.

Under certain circumstances the U.S. military may provide appropriate and necessary humanitarian assistance. Those circumstances are when a natural or manmade disaster dwarfs the ability of the normal relief agencies to respond or the need for relief is urgent, and the military has a unique ability to respond quickly with minimal risk to American lives. In these cases, the United States may intervene when the costs and risks are commensurate with the stakes involved and when there is reason to believe that our action can make a real difference.

Such efforts by the United States and the international community will be limited in duration, have a clearly defined end state and be designed to give the affected country the opportunity to restore its own basic services. This policy recognizes that the U.S. military normally is not the best tool for addressing longterm humanitarian concerns and that, ultimately, responsibility for the fate of a nation rests with its own people.

At times it will be in our national interest to proceed in partnership with others to preserve, maintain and restore peace. American participation in peace operations takes many forms, such as the NATOled coalition in Bosnia, the Americanled UN force in Haiti, the Military Observer Mission Ecuador and Peru (MOMEP), and our participation in the multilateral coalition operation in the Sinai. The question of command and control in multinational contingency operations is particularly critical. Under no circumstances will the President ever relinquish his constitutionally mandated command authority over U.S. forces, but there may be times when it is in our interest to place U.S. forces under the temporary operational control of a competent allied or United Nations commander.

Not only must the U.S. military be prepared to successfully conduct multiple smaller scale contingencies worldwide, it must be prepared to do so in the face of challenges such as terrorism, information operations and the threat or use of weapons of mass destruction. U.S. forces must also remain prepared to withdraw from contingency operations if needed to deploy to a major theater war. Accordingly, appropriate U.S. forces will be kept at a high level of readiness and will be trained, equipped and organized to be multimission capable.

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#### Major Theater Warfare□

Fighting and winning major theater wars is the ultimate test of our Total Force "a test at which it must always succeed. For the foreseeable future, the United States, preferably in concert with allies, must remain able to deter and defeat large scale, crossborder aggression in two distant theaters in overlapping time frames. Maintaining such a capability deters opportunism elsewhere while we

are heavily committed to deterring or defeating aggression in one theater, or while conducting multiple smallerscale contingencies and engagement activities in other theaters. It also provides a hedge against the possibility that we might encounter threats larger or more difficult than we expected. A strategy for deterring and defeating aggression in two theaters ensures we maintain the capability and flexibility to meet unknown future threats, while continued global engagement helps preclude such threats from developing.□□

Fighting and winning major theater wars entails at least three particularly challenging requirements. First, we must maintain the ability to rapidly defeat initial enemy advances short of enemy objectives in two theaters, in close succession. The United States must maintain this ability to ensure that we can seize the initiative, minimize territory lost before an invasion is halted and ensure the integrity of our warfighting coalitions. To meet this challenge, the forces that would be first to respond to an act of aggression are kept at full readiness, and the forces that follow them are kept at a level that supports their being ready to deploy and go into action when called for in the operations plan for the contingency.

Second, the United States must plan and prepare to fight and win under conditions where an adversary may use asymmetric means against us"unconventional approaches that avoid or undermine our strengths while exploiting our vulnerabilities. This is of particular importance and a significant challenge. Because of our dominance in the conventional military arena, adversaries who challenge the United States are likely to use asymmetric means, such as WMD, information operations or terrorism.

The WMD threat to our forces is receiving the special attention it deserves. We are enhancing the preparedness of our Armed Forces to effectively conduct sustained operations despite the presence, threat or use of WMD. Such preparedness requires the capability to deter, detect, protect against and respond to the use of WMD when necessary. The Administration has significantly increased funding to enhance biological and chemical defense capabilities and has begun the vaccination of military personnel against the anthrax bacteria, the most feared biological weapon threat today. These efforts reinforce our deterrent posture and complement our nonproliferation efforts by reducing the political and military value of WMD and their means of delivery.

We are enhancing our ability to defend against hostile information operations, which could in the future take the form of a fullscale, strategic information attack against our critical national infrastructures, government and economy"as well as attacks directed against our military forces. As other countries develop their capability to conduct offensive information operations, we must ensure that our national and defense information infrastructures are well protected and that we can quickly recognize, defend against and respond decisively to an information attack.

Third, our military must also be able to transition to fighting major theater wars from a posture of global engagement"from substantial levels of peacetime engagement overseas as well as multiple concurrent smallerscale contingencies. Withdrawing from such operations would pose significant political and operational challenges. Ultimately, however, the United States must accept a degree of risk associated with withdrawing from contingency operations and engagement activities in order to reduce the greater risk incurred if we failed to respond adequately to major theater wars.

Our priority is to shape effectively the international environment so as to deter the onset of major theater wars. Should deterrence fail, however, the United States will defend itself, its allies and partners with all means necessary.

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Preparing Now for an Uncertain Future□

We must prepare for an uncertain future even as we address today's security problems. This requires that we keep our forces ready for shaping and responding requirements in the near term, while at the same time evolving our unparalleled capabilities to ensure we can effectively shape and respond in the future.

The 1997 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) struck a fine balance between nearer term readiness, longterm modernization and quality of life improvements for our men and women in uniform. A key element of this balance was our decision to increase funding for modernization to protect longterm readiness. In this context we decided to make modest reductions in personnel, primarily in support positions, across the force structure. But in all these decisions we ensured that the high readiness levels of our forwarddeployed and "firsttofight" forces were maintained. While preparing for the challenges of the next century, the readiness of today's force remains one of our highest priorities. That is why the Administration, in partnership with the Congress, will continue to assure we maintain the besttrained, bestequipped and bestled military force in the world for the 21st Century.□□

Governmentwide, we will continue to foster innovative approaches, capabilities, technologies and organizational structures to better protect American lives, property and interests at home and abroad. In our defense efforts, we will continue to explore new approaches for integrating the Active and Reserve components into a Total Force optimum for future missions, modernize our forces, ensure the quality of military personnel, and take prudent steps to position ourselves to effectively counter unlikely but significant future threats. We will also continue our rapidly growing efforts to integrate and improve the capability of "Federal, state and local agencies"and our private sector partners"to protect against and respond to transnational threats at home.

The military challenges of the 21st century, coupled with the aging of key elements of the U.S. force structure, require a fundamental transformation of our military forces. Although future threats are fluid and unpredictable, U.S. forces are likely to confront a variety of challenges across the spectrum of conflict, including efforts to deny our forces access to critical regions, urban warfare, information warfare, and attacks from chemical and biological weapons. To meet these challenges, we must transform our forces by exploiting the Revolution in Military Affairs. Improved intelligence collection and assessment coupled with modern information processing, navigation and command and control capabilities are at the heart of the transformation of our warfighting capabilities.

Through a carefully planned and focused modernization program, we can maintain our technological superiority and replace Cold Warera equipment with new systems capable of taking full advantage of emerging technologies. With these advanced systems, the U.S. military will be able to respond rapidly to any contingency, dominate the battlespace and conduct daytoday operations much more efficiently and effectively.

To support this transformation of our military forces, we will work cooperatively with the Congress to enact legislation to implement the Defense Reform Initiative, which will free up resources through a Revolution in Business Affairs. This revolution includes privatization, acquisition reform and elimination of excess infrastructure through two additional base realignment and closure (BRAC) rounds in 2001 and 2005. The Revolution in Military Affairs and the Revolution in Business Affairs are interlocking revolutions: With both, and only with both, we will ensure that U.S. forces continue to have unchallenged superiority in the 21st century.

It is critical that we renew our commitment to Americas diplomacy"to ensure we have the diplomatic representation required to support our global interests. This is central to our ability to remain an influential voice on international i

issues that affect our wellbeing. We will preserve that influence so long as we retain the diplomatic capabilities, military wherewithal and economic base to underwrite our commitments credibly.

We must continue aggressive efforts to construct appropriate twentyfirst century national security programs and structures. The Defense Department, State Department and other international affairs agencies are similarly reorganizing to confront the pressing challenges of tomorrow as well as those we face today. Federal, state and local law enforcement and emergency response agencies are enhancing their ability to deal with terrorist threats. Government and industry are exploring ways to protect critical national infrastructures. We will continue looking across our government to see if during this time of transition we are adequately preparing to meet the national security challenges of the next century.

Without preparing today to face the pressing challenges of tomorrow, our ability to exert global leadership and to create international conditions conducive to achieving our national goals would be in doubt. Thus, we must strive to strike the right balance between the nearterm readiness requirements of shaping and responding and the longerterm transformation requirements associated with preparing now for national security challenges in the twentyfirst century.

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#### Overarching Capabilities□

Certain capabilities and technologies are critical to protecting the United States itself and to the worldwide application of U.S. national power for shaping the international environment and responding to the full spectrum of threats and crises.

#### □Quality People□

Quality people"military and civilian"are our most critical asset. The quality of our men and women in uniform will be the deciding factor in all future military operations. In order to fully realize the benefits of the transformation of our military forces, we must ensure that we remain the most fully prepared and best trained fighting force in the world. Our people will continue to remain the linchpin to successfully exploiting our military capabilities across the spectrum of conflict. To ensure the quality of our military personnel, we will continue to place the highest priority on initiatives and programs that support recruiting, quality of life, and the training and education of our men and women in uniform.

We must also have quality civilian personnel in the government agencies that support our national security, from our diplomatic corps, to the intelligence community and law enforcement. Effectively countering transnational threats requires personnel with a variety of highly specialized skills that either are not readily available in the private sector, or are in high demand in the private sector. Persons with advanced training in information technology are a prominent example. Recruiting and retaining quality people with requisite skills is a significant challenge, and we are exploring innovative approaches for ensuring that government personnel needs are met.

#### □Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance□

Our intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities are critical instruments for implementing our national security strategy. The U.S. intelligence community provides critical support to the full range of our activities abroad"diplomatic, military, law enforcement, and environmental. Comprehensive collection and analytic capabilities are needed to provide warning of threats to U.S. national security, give analytical support to the policy and military

communities, provide nearreal time intelligence in times of crisis while retaining global perspective, identify opportunities for advancing our national interests, and maintain our information advantage in the international arena.

ISR operations must cover a wider range of threats and policy needs than ever before. We place the highest priority on preserving and enhancing intelligence capabilities that provide information on states and groups that pose the most serious threats to U.S. security. Current intelligence priorities include states whose policies and actions are hostile to the United States; countries or other entities that possess strategic nuclear forces or control nuclear weapons, other WMD or nuclear fissile materials; transnational threats, including terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking; potential regional conflicts that might affect U.S. national security interests; intensified counterintelligence against foreign intelligence collection inimical to U.S. interests, including economic and industrial espionage; information warfare threats; and threats to U.S. forces and citizens abroad. Intelligence support is also required to develop and implement U.S. policies to promote democracy abroad, identify threats to our information and space systems, monitor arms control agreements, support humanitarian efforts and protect the environment.

Our ISR capabilities include worldwide collection of news and media broadcasts, reporting from informants close to important events abroad, spacebased and airborne collection of imagery and signals intelligence, and integrated, in-depth analysis of all these sources by highly skilled analysts. Exploiting our tremendous advantage in continuous, nonintrusive, spacebased imaging and information processing, the ISR system provides the ability to monitor treaty compliance, military movements and the development, testing and deployment of weapons of mass destruction. Using ISR products to support diplomatic and military action contributes to global security by demonstrating that the United States is an invaluable ally, or would be a formidable foe.

U.S. intelligence capabilities were reviewed twice by independent panels in 1998. In the wake of the May 1998 Indian nuclear tests, retired Admiral David E. Jeremiah led a panel that examined the Intelligence Community's ability to detect and monitor foreign nuclear weapons programs. In July 1998, the Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States issued a report on the challenges we face in attempting to monitor the progress of foreign ballistic missile programs. Both reviews identified specific areas of intelligence collection and analysis that need improvement. The Intelligence Community is taking aggressive action to improve its capabilities in those areas and we will work closely with the Congress to address the recommendations in the two reports.

While our ISR capabilities are increasingly enhanced by and dependent upon advanced technologies, there remains no substitute for informed, subjective human judgment. We must continue to attract and retain enough highly qualified people to provide human intelligence collection, translation and analysis in those many emerging areas where there simply is no technological substitute, and we must forge strong links to the private enterprises and public institutions whose expertise is especially critical. Increased cooperation among the agencies in the Intelligence Community and the fusion of all intelligence disciplines provide the most effective collection and analysis of data on high priority intelligence issues.

We must also be mindful of the continuing need for effective security and counterintelligence programs. To protect sensitive national security information, we must be able to effectively counter the collection efforts of foreign intelligence services through vigorous counterintelligence efforts, comprehensive security programs and constant evaluation of the intentions and targets of foreign intelligence services. Counterintelligence remains integral to and underlies t

he entire intelligence mission, whether the threat comes from traditional espionage or the theft of our vital economic information. Countering foreign efforts to gather technological, industrial and commercial information requires close cooperation between government and the private sector. Awareness of the threat and adherence to prescribed personnel, information and physical security standards and procedures, based on risk management principles, are critical.

#### □Space□

We are committed to maintaining our leadership in space. Unimpeded access to and use of space is essential for protecting U.S. national security, promoting our prosperity and ensuring our wellbeing in countless ways.

Space has emerged in this decade as a new global information utility with extensive political, diplomatic, military and economic implications for the United States. We are experiencing an ever-increasing migration of capabilities to space as the world seeks to exploit the explosion in information technology. Telecommunications, telemedicine, international financial transactions and global entertainment, news, education, weather and navigation all contribute directly to the strength of our economy and all are dependent upon space capabilities. Over 500 US companies are directly involved in the space industry, with 1996 revenues of \$77 billion projected to reach \$122 billion by 2000.

Our policy is to promote development of the full range of space-based capabilities in a manner that protects our vital security interests. We will deter threats to our interests in space and, if deterrence fails, defeat hostile efforts against U.S. access to and use of space. We will also maintain the ability to counter space systems and services that could be used for hostile purposes against our ground, air and naval forces, our command and control system, or other capabilities critical to our national security. We are carefully regulating U.S. commercial space-based remote sensing to ensure that space imagery is not used to the detriment of U.S. security interests. At the same time, we will continue efforts to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction to space, and continue to form global partnerships with other spacefaring nations across the spectrum of economic, political, environmental and security issues. These efforts require a balanced approach across all types of U.S. space assets—national security, military, and commercial. We will remain vigilant to ensure that we do not compromise our technological superiority while promoting partnerships in space.

#### □Missile Defense□

We have robust missile defense development and deployment programs focused on systems to protect deployed U.S. forces and our friends and allies against theater ballistic missiles armed with conventional weapons or WMD. These systems will complement and strengthen our deterrence and nonproliferation efforts by reducing incentives to develop or use WMD. Significantly, Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin agreed at the Helsinki Summit to maintain the ABM Treaty as a cornerstone of strategic stability, yet adapt it to meet the threat posed by short-range missiles—a threat we seek to counter with U.S. theater missile defense (TMD) systems. The ABM/TMD demarcation agreement signed in New York on September 26, 1997 helps clarify the distinction between ABM systems, which the ABM Treaty limits, and TMD systems, which the ABM Treaty does not limit. The demarcation agreement does not limit any current U.S. core TMD programs, all of which have been certified by the United States as compliant with the ABM Treaty.

Although it remains the view of the intelligence community that it is unlikely that countries other than Russia, China and perhaps North Korea will deploy an ICBM capable of reaching any part of the U.S. before 2010, we are developing, consistent with our obligations under the ABM Treaty, a limited national missile

defense capability that would position the U.S. to make a decision as early as the year 2000 to deploy within three years a credible national missile defense system.

#### □National Security Emergency Preparedness□

We will do all we can to deter and prevent destructive and threatening forces such as terrorism, WMD use, disruption of our critical infrastructures, natural disasters and regional or statecentered threats from endangering our citizens.

But if an emergency occurs, we must also be prepared to respond effectively at home and abroad to protect lives and property, mobilize the personnel, resources and capabilities necessary to effectively handle the emergency, and ensure the survival of our institutions and national infrastructures. National security emergency preparedness is imperative, and comprehensive, allhazard emergency planning by Federal departments, agencies and the military continues to be a crucial national security requirement.

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#### ??US□Overseas Presence and Power Projection□

Due to our alliance commitments and other vital interests overseas, we must have a force structure and deployment posture that enable us to successfully conduct military operations across the spectrum of conflict, often in theaters distant from the United States. Maintaining a substantial overseas presence promotes regional stability by giving form and substance to our bilateral and multilateral security commitments and helps prevent the development of power vacuums and instability. It contributes to deterrence by demonstrating our determination to defend U.S., allied, and friendly interests in critical regions and better positions the United States to respond rapidly to crises. Equally essential is effective and efficient global power projection, which is the key to the flexibility demanded of our forces and ultimately provides our national leaders with more options in responding to potential crises and conflicts. Being able to project power allows us to shape, deter, and respond even when we have no permanent presence or a limited infrastructure in the region.

Extensive transportation, logistics and command, control, communications and intelligence (C3I) capabilities are unique U.S. strengths that enhance our conventional deterrent and helps to shape the international environment. Strategic mobility allows the United States to be first on the scene with assistance in many national or international crises and is a key to successful American leadership and engagement. The deployment of US and multinational forces requires maintaining and ensuring access to sufficient fleets of aircraft, ships, vehicles and trains, as well as bases, ports, prepositioned equipment and other infrastructure. The United States must have a robust Defense Transportation System, including both military assets and U.S. flag commercial sealift and airlift, to remain actively engaged in world affairs.

Our need for strategic mobility to deploy our forces overseas is one of the primary reasons we are committed to gaining Senate advice and consent to ratification of the Law of the Sea Convention. Need for this treaty arose from the breakdown of customary international law as more and more nations unilaterally declared ever larger territorial seas and other claims over the oceans that threatened the global access and freedom of navigation that the United States must have to protect its vital national interests. In addition to lending the certainty of the rule of law to an area critical to our national security, the treaty protects our economic interests and preserves our leadership in global ocean policy. The Law of the Sea Convention thus buttresses the strategic advantages that the United States gains from being a global power.

#### □Promoting Prosperity□

The second core objective of our national security strategy is to promote American prosperity through efforts at home and abroad. Our economic and security interests are inextricably linked. Prosperity at home depends on stability in key regions with which we trade or from which we import critical commodities, such as oil and natural gas. Prosperity also demands our leadership in international development, financial and trade institutions. In turn, the strength of our diplomacy, our ability to maintain an unrivaled military and the attractiveness of our values abroad depend in large part on the strength of our economy.

#### □Strengthening Macroeconomic Coordination□

As national economies become more integrated internationally, the United States cannot thrive in isolation from developments abroad. Our economic health is vulnerable to disturbances that originate outside our borders. As such, cooperation with other states and international organizations is vital to protecting the health of the global economic system and responding to financial crises.

The recent financial troubles in Asia have demonstrated that global financial markets dominated by private capital flows provide both immense opportunities and great challenges. Developing ways to strengthen the international financial architecture is an urgent and compelling challenge. At the November 1997 Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC) meeting, President Clinton and the other APEC leaders agreed to hold a series of meetings of finance ministers and central bank governors to address the Asian financial crisis and international financial reform. The meetings began in February 1998 with representatives from 22 countries and observers from the major international financial institutions. The ongoing efforts of this group, commonly referred to as the Willard Group or G22, has helped to identify measures to prevent and better manage financial crises and reform the international financial system.

The ultimate objective of our reform efforts is a stable, resilient global financial system that promotes strong global economic growth providing benefits broadly to workers and investors in all countries. International financial institutions, particularly the International Monetary Fund (IMF), have a critical role to play in this effort by promoting greater openness and transparency, by building strong national financial systems, and by creating mechanisms so that the private sector shares more fully in the responsibility for preventing and resolving crises.

□Openness and Transparency□: For capital to flow freely and safely to where it can be used most efficiently to promote growth, high quality information about each economy and investment opportunity must also be freely available. The IMF introduced the Special Data Dissemination Standard (SDDS) in 1996 to improve the information collection and publication practices of countries accessing international capital markets. At present, 45 countries subscribe to the SDDS, but we need to encourage those IMF members who do not subscribe but seek access to international capital markets"particularly emerging market economies"to participate in the SDDS. International financial institutions also have a responsibility to make their activities open and transparent as a means of enhancing their credibility and accountability. The IMF recently has shown leadership in promoting openness and transparency; however, more needs to be done in this area.

□Financial Sector Reform□: The IMF's recent review of the Asian crisis experience highlighted the key role played by the domestic financial sector as the flash point and transmission mechanism for the crisis and contagion. Rapid growth and expanding access to international capital had run ahead of the development in countries in trouble of a genuine credit culture to assess risk and channel investment efficiently and of an effective financial sector regulatory and supervisory mechanism. The situation was further exacerbated by inconsistent macroeconomic policies, generous explicit and implicit government guarantees, signif

icant injections of public funds to provide liquidity support to weak institutions, and to some extent capital controls that distorted the composition of capital flows.

□Crisis Resolution□: Our efforts to reduce the risks of crises caused by poor policy or investor decisions need to be complemented by measures to equip investors, governments and the international financial system with the means to deal with those crises that do occur. The IMF plays the central role in the system by providing conditional international assistance to give countries the breathing room to stabilize their economies and restore market confidence. Two U.S.-inspired initiatives have enhanced the IMF's role: the Emergency Financing Mechanism, which provides for rapid agreement to extraordinary financing requests in return for more intense regular scrutiny, and the Supplemental Reserve Facility, which enables the IMF to lend at premium rates in short-term liquidity crises and improve borrower incentives. To fulfill its crisis resolution responsibility, the IMF must have adequate resources. We are concerned that IMF liquidity has fallen to dangerously low levels that could impair the Fund's capacity to respond to renewed pressures and meet normal demands. The Administration is making an intensive effort to obtain the necessary Congressional approval to meet our obligations to the IMF.

Recent crises have brought home that in a global financial market we need to find more effective mechanisms for sharing with the private sector the burden of managing such problems. In a world in which trillions of dollars flow through international markets every day, there is simply not going to be enough official financing to meet the crises that could take place. Moreover, official financing should not absolve private investors from the consequences of excessive risk-taking and thus create the "moral hazard" that could plant the seeds of future crises.

□Broadening the Financial Reform Agenda□: In recent years, the IMF has broadened its perspective to take account of a wider range of issues necessary for economic growth and financial stability. It is seeking to create a more level playing field in which private sector competition can thrive; reduce unproductive government spending, including excessive military expenditures and subsidies and guarantees to favored sectors and firms; protect the most vulnerable segments of society from bearing the brunt of the burden of adjustment; and encourage more effective participation by labor and the rest of civil society in the formulation and implementation of economic policies, including protection of labor rights.

The United States and the other leading industrialized nations are also promoting a range of World Bank and regional development bank reforms that the United States has been urging for a number of years. Key elements include substantially increasing the share of resources devoted to basic social programs that reduce poverty; safeguarding the environment; supporting development of the private sector and open markets; promotion of good governance, including measures to fight corruption and improve the administration of justice; and internal reforms of the multilateral development banks (MDBs) to make them more efficient. Furthermore, international financial institutions such as the IMF and MDBs have played a strong role in recent years in countries and regions of key interest to the United States, such as Russia, the Middle East, Haiti and Bosnia.

□Enhancing American Competitiveness□

We seek to ensure a business environment in which the innovative and competitive efforts of the private sector can flourish. To this end, we will continue to encourage the development, commercialization and use of civilian technology. We will invest in a world-class infrastructure for the twenty-first century, including the national information and space infrastructure essential for our knowl-

edgebased economy. We will invest in education and training to develop a workforce capable of participating in our rapidly changing economy. And we will continue our efforts to open foreign markets to U.S. goods and services.

#### □Enhancing Access to Foreign Markets□

In a world where over 95 percent of the worlds consumers live outside the United States, we must expand our international trade to sustain economic growth at home. Our prosperity as a nation in the twentyfirst century will depend upon our ability to compete effectively in international markets. The rapidly expanding global economy presents enormous opportunities for American companies and workers. Over the next decade the global economy is expected to grow at three times the rate of the U.S. economy. Growth will be particularly powerful in many emerging markets. If we do not seize these opportunities, our competitors surely will. We must continue working hard to secure and enforce agreements that protect intellectual property rights and enable Americans to compete fairly in foreign markets.

Trade agreement implementing authority is essential for advancing our nations economic interests. Congress has consistently recognized that the President must have the authority to break down foreign trade barriers and create good jobs.

Accordingly, the Administration will work with Congress to fashion an appropriate grant of fast track authority.

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The Administration will continue to press our trading partners"multilaterally, regionally and bilaterally"to expand export opportunities for U.S. workers, farmers and companies. We will position ourselves at the center of a constellation of trade relationships"such as the World Trade Organization, APEC, the Transatlantic Marketplace and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). We will seek to negotiate agreements, especially in sectors where the U.S. is most competitive"as we did in the Information Technology Agreement and the World Trade Organization (WTO) Financial Services and Telecommunications Services Agreements.

As we look ahead to the next WTO Ministerial meeting, to be held in the United States in late 1999, we will aggressively pursue an agenda that addresses U.S. trade objectives. We will also remain vigilant in enforcing the trade agreements reached with our

trading partners. That is why the U.S. Trade Representative and the Department of Commerce created offices in 1996 dedicated to ensuring foreign governments are fully implementing their commitments under these agreements.

#### □Promoting an Open Trading System□

The successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade significantly strengthened the world trading system. The U.S. economy is expected to gain over \$100 billion per year in GDP once the Uruguay Round is fully implemented. The Administration remains committed to carrying forward the success of the Uruguay Round and to the success of the WTO as a forum for openly resolving disputes.

We have completed the Information Technology Agreement (ITA) which goes far toward eliminating tariffs on high technology products and amounts to a global annual tax cut of \$5 billion. We look to complete the first agreement expanding products covered by the ITA in 1998. We also concluded a landmark WTO agreement that will dramatically liberalize world trade in telecommunications services.

Under this agreement, covering over 99 percent of WTO member telecommunications revenues, a decades old tradition of telecommunications monopolies and closed markets will give way to market opening deregulation and competition"principles championed by the United States.

The WTO agenda includes further negotiations to reform agricultural trade, libe

realize service sector markets, and strengthen protection for intellectual property rights. At the May 1998 WTO Ministerial, members agreed to initiate preparations for these negotiations and to consider other possible negotiating topics, including issues not currently covered by WTO rules. These preparatory talks will continue over the course of the next year so that the next round of negotiations can be launched at the 1999 WTO ministerial meeting in the United States.

We also have a full agenda of accession negotiations with countries seeking to join the WTO. As always, the United States is setting high standards for accession in terms of adherence to the rules and market access. Accessions offer an opportunity to help ground new economies in the rules-based trading system and reinforce their own reform programs. This is why we will take an active role in the accession process dealing with the 32 applicants currently seeking WTO membership.

Through Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) negotiations of a Multilateral Agreement on Investment, we are seeking to establish clear legal standards on expropriation, access to binding international arbitration for disputes and unrestricted investment-related transfers across borders. Also in the OECD, the United States is taking on issues such as corruption and labor practices that can distort trade and inhibit U.S. competitiveness. We seek to have OECD members outlaw bribery of foreign officials, eliminate the tax deductibility of foreign bribes, and promote greater transparency in government procurement. To date, our efforts on procurement have been concentrated in the World Bank and the regional development banks, but our initiative to pursue an agreement on transparency in WTO member procurement regimes should make an additional important contribution. We have also made important strides on labor issues. The WTO has endorsed the importance of core labor standards sought by the United States since the Eisenhower Administration: "the right to organize and bargain collectively, and prohibitions against child labor and forced labor. We will continue pressing for better integration of the international core labor standards into the WTO's work, including through closer WTO interaction with the International Labor Organization (ILO).

We continue to ensure that liberalization of trade does not come at the expense of national security or environmental protection. For example, the national security, law enforcement and trade policy communities worked together to make sure that the WTO agreement liberalizing global investment in telecommunications was consistent with U.S. national security interests. Moreover, our leadership in the Uruguay Round negotiations led to the incorporation of environmental provisions into the WTO agreements and creation of the Committee on Trade and Environment, where governments continue to pursue the goal of ensuring that trade and environment policies are mutually supportive. In addition, with U.S. leadership, countries participating in the Summit of the Americas are engaged in sustainable development initiatives to ensure that economic growth does not come at the cost of environmental protection.

In May 1998, President Clinton presented to the WTO a set of proposals to further U.S. international trade objectives:

First, that the WTO make further efforts to eliminate trade barriers and pursue a more open global trading system in order to spur economic growth, better jobs, higher incomes, and the free flow of ideas, information and people.

Second, that the WTO provide a forum where business, labor, environmental and consumer groups can provide regular input to help guide further evolution of the WTO. The trading system we build for the 21st century must ensure that economic competition does not threaten the livelihood, health and safety of ordinary families by eroding environmental and consumer protection or labor standards.

Third, that a highlevel meeting of trade and environmental officials be convened to provide direction for WTO environmental efforts, and that the WTO and the International Labor Organization commit to work together to ensure that open trade raises the standard of living for workers and respects core labor standards

Fourth, that the WTO open its doors to the scrutiny and participation of the public by taking every feasible step to bring openness and accountability to its operations, such as by opening its dispute settlement hearings to the public and making the briefs for those hearings publicly available.

Fifth, that the nations of the world join the United States in not imposing any tariffs on electronic commercial transmissions sent across national borders. The revolution in information technology represented by the Internet is the greatest force for prosperity in our lifetimes; we cannot allow discriminatory barriers to stunt the development of this promising new economic opportunity. An electronic commerce work program was agreed to at the May 1998 WTO Ministerial. It will be reviewed at the 1999 ministerial meeting.

Sixth, that all WTO members make government purchases through open and fair bidding and adopt the OECD antibribery convention. Prosperity depends upon government practices that are based upon the rule of law rather than bureaucratic caprice, cronyism or corruption.

Seventh, that the WTO explore a faster trade negotiating process and develop an open trading system that can change as fast as the global marketplace. Positive steps include annual tariff and subsidy reductions in agriculture, greater openness and competition in the services sector, further tariff reductions in the industrial sector, and stronger intellectual property protection.

#### Export Strategy and Advocacy Program

The Administration created Americas first national export strategy, reforming the way government works with the private sector to expand exports. The new Trade Promotion Coordination Committee (TPCC) has been instrumental in improving export promotion efforts, coordinating our export financing, implementing a governmentwide advocacy initiative and updating market information systems and product standards education.

The export strategy is working, with the United States regaining its position as the worlds largest exporter. While our strong export performance has supported millions of new, exportrelated jobs, we must export more in the years ahead if we are to further strengthen our trade balance position and raise living standards with highwage jobs. Our objective remains to expand U.S. exports to over \$1.2 trillion by the year 2000, which will mean over 2.5 million new American jobs and a total of over 14.6 million jobs supported by exports.

#### Enhanced Export Control

The United States is a world leader in high technology exports, including satellites, cellular phones, computers and commercial aircraft. Some of this technology has direct or indirect military applications. For that reason, the United States government carefully controls high technology exports through a licensing process involving the Department of Defense, the Department of State, the Commerce Department and other agencies. Changes to U.S. export controls over the last decade have allowed America's most important growth industries to compete effectively overseas and create good jobs at home while ensuring that proper safeguards are in place to protect important national security interests.

The cornerstone of our export control policy is protection of our national security; but imposing the tightest possible restrictions on high technology exports is not always the best way to protect our security. In an increasingly competitive global economy, the United States retains a monopoly over very few technologies. As a result, rigid export controls increasingly would not protect our national security because the same products can be obtained readily from foreign sources. Rigid controls would make U.S. high technology companies less competitive globally, thus losing market share and becoming less able to produce the innovative, cuttingedge products for the U.S. military and our allies.

Our current policy"developed in the Reagan and Bush Administrations and continued by President Clinton"recognizes that we must balance a variety of factors. In the wake of the Cold War, the Bush Administration accelerated the process of moving the licensing of essentially commercial items from the State Department's Munitions List to the Commerceadministered Commodity Control List in order to promote high technology exports by making license decisions more predictable and timely. In 1995, by Executive Order, President Clinton expanded the right of the Departments of Defense, State and Energy and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to fully participate in the decisionmaking process. Previously, these agencies reviewed only certain dualuse applications; as a result of the Executive Order, they have the right to review every dualuse application. If any of these agencies disagree with a proposed export, it can block the license and put the issue into a dispute resolution process that can ultimately rise to the President. As a result, reviews of dualuse licenses are today more thorough and broadly based than ever before.

While our export controls and the regulations that implement them have become easier for American exporters to follow, we have also enhanced our ability to identify, stop and prosecute those who attempt to evade them. For example, in fiscal year 1997 efforts of the Commerce Department's criminal investigators led to over \$1 million in criminal fines and over \$16 million in civil penalties. We have significant enforcement weapons to use against those who would evade our export controls, and we are using them vigorously.

Finally, U.S. efforts to stem proliferation cannot be effective without the cooperation of other countries. To that end, we have strengthened multilateral cooperation through the Nuclear Suppliers Group, the Missile Technology Control Regime, the Australia Group (for the control of chemical and biological weaponsrelated related items), the Chemical Weapons Convention, and the Wassenaar Arrangement, which through U.S. leadership is shaping multilateral export controls for the next century. These multilateral efforts enlist the world community in the battle against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, advanced conventional weapons and sensitive technologies, while at the same time producing a level playing field for U.S. business by ensuring that our competitors face corresponding export controls.

#### □Providing for Energy Security□

The United States depends on oil for about 40 percent of its primary energy needs and roughly half of our oil needs are met with imports. Although we import less than 10% of Persian Gulf exports, our allies in Europe and Japan account for about 85% of these exports, thus underscoring the continued strategic importance of the region. We are undergoing a fundamental shift away from reliance on Middle East oil. Venezuela is our number one foreign supplier and Africa supplies 15% of our imported oil. Canada, Mexico and Venezuela combined supply more than twice as much oil to the United States as the Arab OPEC countries.

The Caspian Basin, with potential oil reserves of 160 billion barrels, promises to play an increasingly important role in meeting rising world energy demand in coming decades. We have made it a priority to work with the countries of the

region to develop multiple pipeline ventures that will ensure access to the oil. We are also working on several fronts to enhance the stability and safeguard the independence of these nations. While these developments are significant, we must remember that the vast majority of proven oil reserves lie in the Middle East and that the global oil market is largely interdependent.

Conservation measures and research leading to greater energy efficiency and alternative fuels are a critical element of the U.S. strategy for energy security.

The U.S. economy has grown roughly 75 percent since the first oil shock in 1973. During that time U.S. oil consumption remained virtually stable, reflecting conservation efforts and increased energy efficiency. Our research must continue to focus on developing highly efficient transportation systems and to shift them to alternative fuels, such as hydrogen, ethanol or methanol from biomass, and others. This research will also help address concerns about climate change by providing new approaches for meeting guidelines on emission of greenhouse gases.

Over the longer term, U.S. dependence on access to foreign oil sources may be increasingly important as domestic resources are depleted. Although U.S. oil consumption has been essentially level since 1973, our reliance on imported oil has increased due to a decline in domestic production. Domestic oil production declined during that period because oil prices were not high enough to generate new oil exploration sufficient to sustain production levels from our depleted resource base. Conservation and energy research notwithstanding, the United States will continue to have a vital interest in ensuring access to foreign oil sources. We must continue to be mindful of the need for regional stability and security in key producing areas to ensure our access to and the free flow of these resources.

#### □Promoting Sustainable Development Abroad□

Environmental and natural resource issues can impede sustainable development efforts and promote regional instability. Many nations are struggling to provide jobs, education and other services to their citizens. The continuing poverty of a quarter of the world's people leads to hunger, malnutrition, economic migration and political unrest. Malaria, AIDS and other epidemics, including some that can spread through environmental damage, threaten to overwhelm the health facilities of developing countries, disrupt societies and stop economic growth.

Sustainable development improves the prospects for democracy in developing countries and expands the demand for U.S. exports. It alleviates pressure on the global environment, reduces the attraction of the illegal drug trade and other illicit commerce, and improves health and economic productivity. U.S. foreign assistance focuses on four key elements of sustainable development: broad-based economic growth, environmental security, population and health, and democracy.

We will continue to advocate environmentally sound private investment and responsible approaches by international lenders. The multilateral development banks are now placing increased emphasis upon sustainable development in their funding decisions, including assisting borrowing countries to better manage their economies. The U.S. Initiative on Joint Implementation, part of the Administration's Climate Change Action Plan, encourages U.S. businesses and nongovernmental organizations to apply innovative technologies and practices to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and promote sustainable development abroad. The initiative, which includes 32 projects in 12 countries, has proven effective in transferring technology for environmentally sound, sustainable development. The Global Environmental Facility provides a source of financial assistance to the developing world for climate change, biodiversity and oceans initiatives that will benefit all the world's citizens. Environmental damage in countries of the NIS and Central and Eastern Europe continues to impede their ability to emerge as prosper

rous, independent countries. We are focusing technical assistance and encouraging nongovernmental environmental groups to provide expertise to the NIS and Central and Eastern European nations that have suffered the most acute environmental crises.

#### Promoting Democracy

The third core objective of our national security strategy is to promote democracy and human rights. The number of states moving away from repressive governance toward democratic and publicly accountable institutions is impressive. Since the success of many of those changes is by no means assured, our strategy must focus on strengthening their commitment and institutional capacity to implement democratic reforms.

#### Emerging Democracies

We seek international support in helping strengthen democratic and free market institutions and norms in countries making the transition from closed to open societies. This commitment to see freedom and respect for human rights take hold is not only just, but pragmatic, for strengthened democratic institutions benefit the United States and the world.

The United States is helping consolidate democratic and market reforms in Central and Eastern Europe and the NIS. Integrating the Central and Eastern European nations into European security and economic organizations, such as NATO and the EU, will help lock in and preserve the impressive progress these nations have made in instituting democratic and market economic reforms. Our intensified interaction with Ukraine has helped move that country onto the path of economic reform, which is critical to its longterm stability. In addition, our efforts in Russia, Ukraine and the other NIS facilitate our goal of achieving continued reductions in nuclear arms and compliance with international nonproliferation accords.

Continuing advances in democracy and free markets in our own hemisphere remain a priority, as reflected by the Presidents 1997 trips to Latin America and the Caribbean and the Summit of the Americas in Santiago this year. In the Asia Pacific region, economic dynamism is increasingly associated with political modernization, democratic evolution and the widening of the rule of law and it has global impacts. We are particularly attentive to states whose entry into the camp of market democracies may influence the future direction of an entire region; South Africa now holds that potential with regard to sub-Saharan Africa.

The methods for assisting emerging democracies are as varied as the nations involved. We must continue leading efforts to mobilize international economic and political resources, as we have with Russia, Ukraine and the other NIS. We must take firm action to help counter attempts to reverse democracy, as we have in Haiti and Paraguay. We must give democratic nations the fullest benefits of integration into foreign markets, which is part of the reason NAFTA and the Uruguay Round of GATT ranked so high on our agenda and why we are now working to forge the FTAA. We must help these nations strengthen the pillars of civil society, supporting administration of justice and rule of law programs, assisting the development of democratic civilmilitary relations, and training foreign police and security forces to solve crimes and maintain order without violating the basic rights of their citizens. And we must seek to improve their market institutions and fight corruption and political discontent by encouraging good governance practices.

#### Adherence to Universal Human Rights and Democratic Principles

We must sustain our efforts to press for political liberalization and respect f

or basic human rights worldwide, including in countries that continue to defy democratic advances. Working bilaterally and through multilateral institutions, the United States promotes universal adherence to international human rights and democratic principles. Our efforts in the United Nations and other organizations are helping to make these principles the governing standards for acceptable international behavior.

We will also continue to work "bilaterally and with multilateral institutions" to ensure that international human rights principles protect the most vulnerable or traditionally oppressed groups in the world—women, children, workers, refugees and persons persecuted on the basis of their religious beliefs or ethnic descent. To this end, we will seek to strengthen and improve the UN Human Rights Commission and other international mechanisms that promote human rights and address violations of international humanitarian law, such as the international war crimes tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

To focus additional attention on the more vulnerable or traditionally oppressed people, we seek to spearhead new international initiatives to combat the sexual exploitation of minors, child labor, homelessness among children, violence against women and children, and female genital mutilation. We will continue to work with individual nations, such as Russia and China, and with international institutions to combat religious persecution. We are encouraging governments to not return people to countries where they face persecution. We ask that they provide asylum or offer temporary protection to persons fleeing situations of conflict or generalized human rights abuses. We seek to ensure that such persons are not returned without due consideration of their need for permanent protection.

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Violence against women and trafficking in women and girls is an international problem with national implications. We have seen cases of trafficking in the United States for purposes of forced prostitution, sweatshop labor and domestic servitude. The United States is committed to combating trafficking in women and girls with a focus on the areas of prevention, victim assistance and protection, and enforcement. On March 11, 1998, President Clinton directed a wide range of expanded efforts to combat violence against women in the United States and around the world, including efforts to increase national and international awareness of trafficking in women and girls. The President called for continued efforts to fully implement the 1994 Violence Against Women Act and restore its protection for immigrant victims of domestic violence in the United States so that they will not be forced to choose between deportation and abuse. He also called upon the Senate to give its advice and consent to ratification to the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which will enhance our efforts to combat violence against women, reform unfair inheritance and property rights, and strengthen women's access to fair employment and economic opportunity.

The United States will continue to speak out against human rights abuses and carry on human rights dialogues with countries willing to engage us constructively. Because police and internal security services can be a source of human rights violations, we use training and contacts between U.S. law enforcement and their foreign counterparts to help address these problems. Federal law enforcement agents can serve as role models for investigators in countries where the police have been instruments of oppression and at the same time reduce international crime and terrorism that affects U.S. interests. In appropriate circumstances, we must be prepared to take strong measures against human rights violators.

These include economic sanctions, as have been maintained against Nigeria, Iraq, Burma, North Korea and Cuba, visa restrictions and restricting sales of arms and police equipment that may be used to commit human rights abuses.

□Humanitarian Activities□

Our efforts to promote democracy and human rights are complemented by our humanitarian programs, which are designed to alleviate human suffering, help establish democratic regimes that respect human rights and pursue appropriate strategies for economic development. These efforts also enable the United States to help prevent humanitarian disasters with far more significant resource implications.

We also must seek to promote reconciliation in states experiencing civil conflict and to address migration and refugee crises. To this end, the United States will provide appropriate financial support and work with other nations and international bodies, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. We also will assist efforts to protect the rights of refugees and displaced persons and to address the economic and social root causes of internal displacement and international flight. Finally, we will cooperate with other states to curb illegal immigration into this country.

Private firms and associations are natural allies in activities and efforts intended to bolster market economies. We have natural partners in labor unions, human rights groups, environmental advocates, chambers of commerce and election monitors in promoting democracy and respect for human rights and in providing international humanitarian assistance; thus, we should promote democratization efforts through private and nongovernmental groups as well as foreign governments.

Supporting the global movement toward democracy requires a pragmatic, long-term effort focused on both values and institutions. Our goal is a broadening of the community of freemarket democracies and stronger international nongovernmental movements committed to human rights and democratization.

### □III. Integrated Regional Approaches□

Our policies toward different regions reflect our overall strategy tailored to unique challenges and opportunities.

#### □ Europe and Eurasia□

European stability is vital to our own security. The United States has two strategic goals in Europe. The first is to build a Europe that is truly integrated, democratic, prosperous and at peace. This would complete the mission the United States launched 50 years ago with the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Our second goal is to work with our allies and partners across the Atlantic to meet the global challenges no nation can meet alone. This means working together to support peace efforts in troubled regions, to counter global threats such as the spread of weapons of mass destruction and dualuse technology, and to build a more open world economy and without barriers to transatlantic trade and investment. We will continue to strengthen the OSCEs role in conflict prevention and crisis management and seek closer cooperation with our European partners in dealing with nonmilitary security threats through our New Transatlantic Agenda with the European Union (EU).

#### □Enhancing Security□

NATO remains the anchor of American engagement in Europe and the linchpin of transatlantic security. As a guarantor of European security and a force for European stability, NATO must play a leading role in promoting a more integrated and secure Europe, prepared to respond to new challenges. We will maintain approximately 100,000 military personnel in Europe to fulfill our commitments to NAT

O, provide a visible deterrent against aggression and coercion, contribute to regional stability, respond to crises, sustain our vital transatlantic ties and preserve U.S. leadership in NATO.

NATO enlargement is a crucial element of the U.S. and Allied strategy to build an undivided, peaceful Europe. The end of the Cold War changed the nature of the threats to this region, but not the fact that Europe's stability is vital to our own national security. The addition of wellqualified democracies, which have demonstrated their commitment to the values of freedom and the security of the broader region, will help deter potential threats to Europe, deepen the continent's stability, bolster its democratic advances, erase its artificial divisions, and strengthen an Alliance that has proven its effectiveness both during and since the Cold War.

In December 1997, the NATO foreign ministers signed the three protocols of accession for Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, making them full members of the Alliance subject to ratification by all current and incoming NATO members.

On May 21, 1998, the President signed the instruments of ratification for the three protocols following a strong, bipartisan 8019 vote of approval in the U.S. Senate. Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic will make the Alliance stronger while helping to enlarge Europe's zone of democratic stability. They have been leaders in Central Europe's dramatic transformation over the past decade and have helped make Central Europe the continent's most robust zone of economic growth. They will strengthen NATO through the addition of military resources, strategic depth and the prospect of greater stability in Europe's central region. Our Alliance with them will improve our ability to protect and advance our interests in the transatlantic area and contribute to our security in the years to come.

At the same time, we have vigorously pursued efforts to help other countries that aspire to membership become the best possible candidates. Together with our Allies we are enhancing the Partnership for Peace and continuing political contacts with aspiring states. We are also continuing bilateral programs to advance this agenda, such as the Presidents Warsaw Initiative, which is playing a critical role in helping the militaries of Central and Eastern Europe and Eurasia become more interoperable with NATO. Building on the increasing links between NATO and the Partnership for Peace nations, Partners will increasingly contribute to realworld NATO missions, as many are doing in the NATOled operation in Bosnia.

Some European nations do not desire NATO membership, but do desire strengthened ties with the Alliance. The Partnership for Peace provides an ideal venue for such relationships. It formalizes relations, provides a mechanism for mutual beneficial interaction and establishes a sound basis for combined action should that be desired. For all these reasons, Partnership for Peace will remain a central and permanent part of the European security architecture.

NATO also is pursuing several other initiatives to enhance its ability to respond to new challenges and deepen ties between the Alliance and Partner countries. NATO has launched the EuroAtlantic Partnership Council to strengthen political dialogue and practical cooperation with all Partners, and established a NATO Ukraine Charter, which provides a framework for enhanced relations. As a result of the 1997 NATORussia Founding Act, NATO and Russia developed the Permanent Joint Council to enhance political consultation and practical cooperation, while retaining NATO's decisionmaking authority. Our shared goal remains constructive Russian participation in the European security system.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization will hold its Fiftieth Anniversary summit meeting in Washington on April 24-25, 1999. This summit will mark NATO's extraordinary record of success over the past fifty years in protecting the security

y of the United States and our European allies. As agreed at the 1997 Madrid summit, we hope to use the upcoming summit meeting in Washington to welcome the entry of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic as new members of the alliance. Looking to the future, the summit will advance the common work of NATO allies and partners to build an undivided Europe that is peaceful, prosperous, and democratic.

As we help build a comprehensive European security architecture, we must continue to focus on regional security challenges.

□Southeastern Europe and the Balkans:□ There are significant security challenges in Southeastern Europe. Instability in this region could threaten the consolidation of reforms, disrupt commerce and undermine our efforts to bring peace to Bosnia and other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

The United States has an abiding interest in peace and stability in Bosnia because continued war in that region threatens all of Europe's stability. Implementation of the Dayton Accords is the best hope for creating a self-sustaining peace in Bosnia. NATO-led forces are contributing to a secure environment in Bosnia and providing essential support for the broader progress we are making in implementing the Dayton Accords. Further progress is necessary, however, to create conditions that will allow implementation to continue without a large military presence. We are committed to full implementation of the Dayton Accords and success in Bosnia. We support the efforts of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and broader efforts to promote justice and reconciliation in Bosnia.

We are deeply concerned about the ongoing bloodshed in Kosovo, which threatens security and stability throughout the Balkan region. We are firmly convinced that the problems in Kosovo can best be resolved through a process of open and unconditional dialogue between authorities in Belgrade and the Kosovar Albanian leadership. We seek a peaceful resolution of the crisis that guarantees restoration of human and political rights which have been systematically denied the Kosovar Albanian population since Belgrade withdrew autonomy in 1989. In support of that objective, NATO is reviewing options for deterring further violence against the civilian population in Kosovo and stabilizing the military situation in the region.

We are redoubling our efforts to advance the integration of several new democracies in Southeastern Europe (Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) into the European mainstream. More specifically, the President's Action Plan for Southeast Europe seeks to promote further democratic, economic, and military reforms in these countries, to encourage greater regional cooperation, and to advance common interests, such as closer contact with NATO, and increased law enforcement training and exchanges to assist in the fight against organized crime.□

□  
Tensions on Cyprus, Greek-Turkish disagreements in the Aegean and Turkey's relationship with the EU have serious implications for regional stability and the evolution of European political and security structures. Our goals are to stabilize the region by reducing longstanding Greek-Turkish tensions and pursuing a comprehensive settlement on Cyprus. A democratic, secular, stable and Western-oriented Turkey is critical to these efforts and has supported broader U.S. efforts to enhance stability in Bosnia, the CIS and the Middle East, as well as to contain Iran and Iraq.

□  
The Baltic States: □For over fifty years, the United States has recognized the sovereignty and independence of the republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. During this period, we never acknowledged their forced incorporation into the Soviet Union. The special nature of our relationship with the Baltic States is

s recognized in the Charter of Partnership signed on January 16, 1998, which clarifies the principles upon which U.S. relations with the Baltic states are based and provides a framework for strengthening ties and pursuing common goals. These goals include integration of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia into the transatlantic community and development of close, cooperative relationships among all the states in Northeastern Europe. The Charter also establishes mechanisms for highlevel review and adjustment of this cooperation. □

Northern Ireland:□ After a 30year winter of sectarian violence, Northern Ireland has the promise of a springtime of peace. The agreement that emerged from the Northern Ireland peace talks on April 10, 1998 opened the way to build a society based on enduring peace, justice and equality. On May 22, 1998, the people of Ireland and Northern Ireland seized this opportunity to turn the common tragedy of Northern Ireland's past into a shared triumph for the future by strongly endorsing the peace accord. In so doing, they have written a new chapter in the rich history of their island by creating the best chance for peace in a generation.

The United States actively promoted this peace process and will continue to stand with those who seek to build lasting peace and enduring prosperity in Ireland and Northern Ireland. They can count on the continuing aid, support and encouragement of the United States. The task of making the peace endure will be difficult. Some may seek to undermine this agreement by returning to violence. Anyone who does so, from whatever side and whatever faction, will have no friends in America. We will work closely with British and Irish law enforcement and intelligence officials to prevent outrages before they happen by identifying terrorists and their sources of financial and material support.

We will continue to work with Northern Ireland's leaders as they seek to transform the promise of the Accord into a reality"with new democratic institutions and new economic opportunities for all of Northern Ireland's people. Working through the International Fund for Ireland and the private sector, we will help the people seize the opportunities that peace will bring to attract new investment to create new factories, workplaces and jobs, and establish new centers of learning to prepare for the 21st Century.

□Newly Independent States (NIS):□ The United States is pursuing a wide range of security objectives in the NIS. We seek to bring Russia, Ukraine and the other NIS into a new, cooperative European security order, which includes strengthening their participation in NATO Partnership for Peace activities and building effective NATORussia and NATOUkraine partnerships. We seek to reduce the threat of nuclear war and the spread of nuclear weapons and materials, as well as other weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems, especially to outlaw states.

The United States has vital security interests in the evolution of Russia, Ukraine and the other NIS into democratic market economies, peacefully and prosperously integrated into the world community. The governmental and financial sectors in this region appear especially susceptible to penetration by organized criminal groups, who have the ability to subvert and destroy these nascent institutions. Further democratic and economic reforms and integration into the WTO and other international economic institutions will strengthen the rule of law and respect for human rights, foster growth by expanding private sector activity, and encourage open and cooperative policies toward the global community.

□  
Promoting Prosperity□

Europe is a key element in America's global commercial engagement. Europe and the United States produce over half of all global goods and services. More than 60% of total U.S. investment abroad is in Europe and fourteen million workers

on both sides of the Atlantic earn their livelihoods directly from transatlantic commerce. As part of the New Transatlantic Agenda launched at the 1995 U.S. EU Summit in Madrid, the United States and the EU agreed to take concrete steps to reduce barriers to trade and investment through the creation of an open New Transatlantic Marketplace. We have concluded Mutual Recognition Agreements eliminating redundant testing and certification requirements covering \$50 billion in twoway trade. Our governments are also cooperating closely with the Transatlantic Business Dialogue, a U.S.European business partnership, to address a wide range of trade barriers.

Building on the New Transatlantic Agenda, the United States and the EU launched the Transatlantic Economic Partnership on May 18, 1998. This is a major new initiative to deepen our economic relations, reinforce our political ties and reduce trade frictions that have plagued our bilateral relationship. The first element of the initiative is reducing barriers that affect manufacturing, agriculture and services. In the manufacturing area we will focus on standards and technical barriers that American businesses have identified as the most significant obstacle to expanding trade. In the agricultural area we will focus on regulatory barriers that have inhibited the expansion of agriculture trade, particularly in the biotechnology area. In the area of services we will seek to open our markets further and to create new opportunities for the number of service industries that are so active in the European market.

The second element of the Transatlantic Economic Partnership is a broader, cooperative approach to addressing a wide range of trade issues. We agreed to maintain current practices, and will continue not imposing duties on electronic transmissions and develop a work program in the WTO for electronic commerce. We will seek to adopt common positions and effective strategies for accelerating compliance with WTO commitments on intellectual property. We will seek to promote government procurement opportunities, including promoting compatibility of electronic procurement information and government contracting systems. We will seek innovative ways to promote our shared labor and environmental values around the world. To promote fair competition, we will seek to enhance the compatibility of our procedures with potentially significant reductions in cost for American companies.

The United States strongly supports the process of European integration embodied in the EU. We are also encouraging bilateral trade and investment in nonEU countries and supporting enlargement of the EU. We recognize that EU nations face significant economic challenges with nearly 20 million people unemployed, and that economic stagnation has eroded public support for funding outward-looking foreign policies and greater integration. We are working closely with our European partners to expand employment, promote longterm growth and support the New Transatlantic Agenda.

By supporting historic market reforms in Central and Eastern Europe and in the NIS, we both strengthen our own economy and help new democracies take root. Poland, economically troubled as recently as 1989, now symbolizes the new dynamism and rapid growth that extensive, freemarket reforms make possible. Recent economic turbulence in Russia demonstrates that the transition to a more prosperous, marketbased economy will be a longterm process characterized by promise and disappointment. In Ukraine, reinvigorating economic reform remains a key challenge to strengthening national security and independence. Much remains to be done throughout the region to assure sustainable economic recoveries and adequate social protection.

The United States will continue helping the NIS economies integrate into international economic and other institutions and develop healthy business climates. We will continue to mobilize the international community to provide assistance to support reform. The United States is working closely with Russia and Ukrai

ne in priority areas, including defense conversion, the environment, trade and investment, and scientific and technological cooperation. We are also encouraging investment, especially by U.S. companies, in NIS energy resources and their export to world markets, thereby expanding and diversifying world energy supplies and promoting prosperity in the NIS.

Ultimately, the success of economic and financial reforms in the countries recently emerged from communism will depend more on private investment than official aid. One of our priorities, therefore, is to help countries stimulate foreign and domestic investment. At the Helsinki Summit, Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin defined an ambitious reform agenda covering key tax, energy and commercial laws crucial for Russia to realize its potential for attracting foreign investment. Further, the Presidents outlined steps to accelerate Russian membership on commercial terms in key economic organizations such as the WTO. It is in both Russias interest and ours that we work with Russian leaders on passage of key economic and commercial legislation. We are cooperating with Russia to facilitate oil and gas exports to and through Russia from neighboring Caspian countries. We also support development of new EastWest oil and gas export routes across the Caspian Sea and through the Transcaucasus and Turkey.

Ukraine is at an important point in its economic transition"one that will affect its integration with Europe and domestic prosperity. The United States has mobilized the international communitys support for Ukrainian economic reform, pushed to improve Ukraines investment climate, and championed its integration into key European, transatlantic and global economic institutions. Two other challenges stand out: first, to instill respect for the rule of law so that a more transparent, level economic playing field is established and democratic governance prevails; and, second, to gain international support as it seeks to close down Chernobyl and reform its energy sector. The U.S.Ukraine Binational Commission, chaired by Vice President Gore and President Kuchma, serves as a focal point to coordinate bilateral relations and to invigorate Ukrainian reform efforts

A stable and prosperous Caucasus and Central Asia will help promote stability and security from the Mediterranean to China and facilitate rapid development and transport to international markets of the large Caspian oil and gas resources, with substantial U.S. commercial participation. While the new states in the region have made progress in their quest for sovereignty and a secure place in the international arena, much remains to be done in democratic and economic reform and in settling regional conflicts, such as NagornoKarabakh and Abkhazia.

Promoting Democracy

Thoroughgoing democratic and economic reforms in the NIS and Europes former communist states are the best measures to avert conditions which could foster aggressive nationalism and ethnic hatreds. Already, the prospect of joining or rejoining the Western democratic family has dampened the forces of nationalism and strengthened the forces of democracy and reform in many countries of the region.

The independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and democratic and economic reform of the NIS are important to American interests. To advance these goals, we are utilizing our bilateral relationships, our leadership of international institutions, and billions of dollars in private and multilateral resources.

But the circumstances affecting the smaller countries depend in significant measure on the fate of reform in the largest and most powerful"Russia. The United States will continue vigorously to promote Russian reform and international integration, and discourage any reversal in the progress that has been made. Our economic and political support for the Russian government depends on its commitment to internal reform and a responsible foreign policy.

## East Asia and the Pacific□

President Clinton's vision of a new Pacific community links security interests with economic growth and our commitment to democracy and human rights. We continue to build on that vision, cementing America's role as a stabilizing force in a more integrated Asia Pacific region.

## □Enhancing Security□

Our military presence has been essential to maintaining the stability that has enabled most nations in the Asia Pacific region to build thriving economies for the benefit of all. To deter aggression and secure our own interests, we will maintain approximately 100,000 U.S. military personnel in the region. Our commitment to maintaining an active military presence in the region and our treaty alliances with Japan, South Korea, Australia, Thailand and the Philippines serve as the foundation for America's continuing security role.

We are maintaining healthy relations with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which now includes Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, Brunei, Vietnam, Laos and Burma. We are also supporting regional dialogue such as in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) on the full range of common security challenges. By meeting on confidencebuilding measures such as search and rescue cooperation and peacekeeping, the ARF can help enhance regional security and understanding.

## □Japan□

The United States and Japan reaffirmed our bilateral security relationship in the April 1996 Joint Security Declaration. The alliance continues to be the cornerstone for achieving common security objectives and for maintaining a stable and prosperous environment for the Asia Pacific region as we enter the twenty-first century. In September 1997, both Governments issued the revised Guidelines for U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation which will result in greater bilateral cooperation in peacekeeping and humanitarian relief operations, in situations in areas surrounding Japan, and in the defense of Japan itself. The revised Guidelines, like the U.S.-Japan security relationship itself, are not directed against any other country.

In April 1998, in order to support the new Guidelines, both governments agreed to a revised Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA) which expands the exchange of provision of supplies and services to include reciprocal provision of logistics support during situations surrounding Japan that have an important influence on Japan's peace and security. While the guidelines and its related efforts have specifically focused on regional security, both countries have continued to cooperate in the implementation of the Special Action Committee on Okinawa (SACO) Final report. This effort initiated plans and measures to realign, consolidate, and reduce U.S. facilities and areas in Okinawa in order to ease the impact of U.S. Forces presence on the people of Okinawa. Implementation of SACO will ultimately aid in ensuring the maintenance of U.S. operational capabilities and force presence in the Asia Pacific region.

U.S.-Japan security cooperation extends to promoting regional peace and stability, seeking universal adherence to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and addressing the dangers posed by transfers of destabilizing conventional arms and sensitive dual-use goods and technologies. Our continued progress in assisting open trade between our countries and our broad-ranging international cooperation, exemplified by the Common Agenda, provide a sound basis for our relations into the next century.

## □Korean Peninsula□

Tensions on the Korean Peninsula remain the principal threat to peace and stability in East Asia. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) has publicly stated a preference for peaceful reunification, but continues to dedicate a large portion of dwindling resources to enhance the combat capability of its huge military forces. Renewed conflict has been prevented since 1953 by a combination of the Armistice Agreement, which brought an end to open hostilities; the United Nations Command, which has visibly represented the will of the UN Security Council to secure peace; and the physical presence of U.S. and ROK troops in the Combined Forces Command, which has demonstrated the alliances resolve.

The inauguration of Kim Daejung as President of the Republic of Korea on February 25, 1998 marked an important turning point on the Korean Peninsula. It marked the triumph of democracy in South Korea and the first peaceful transition of power from the ruling party to an opposition party. It was also a remarkable triumph for President Kim, who had been denied the Presidency in 1971 by voter intimidation and fraud, kidnapped and almost murdered by government agents, sentenced to death in 1991, imprisoned for six years and in exile or under house arrest for over ten years. President Kim personifies the victory of democracy over dictatorship in South Korea.

President Kim has set a new course toward peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula by opening new channels for dialogue and seeking areas for cooperation between North and South. During their summit meeting in June 1998, President Clinton and President Kim discussed the situation on the Korean Peninsula, reaffirming South Korea's role as lead interlocutor with the North Koreans and the importance of our strong defense alliance. President Clinton expressed strong support for President Kim's vision of engagement and efforts toward reconciliation with the North. The United States is working to create conditions of stability by maintaining solidarity with our South Korean ally, emphasizing America's commitment to shaping a peaceful and prosperous Korean Peninsula and ensuring that an isolated and struggling North Korea does not opt for a military solution to its political and economic problems.

Peaceful resolution of the Korean conflict with a nonnuclear, reunified peninsula will enhance stability in the East Asian region and is clearly in our strategic interest. We are willing to improve bilateral political and economic ties with North Korea consistent with the objectives of our alliance with the ROK to draw the North into more normal relations with the region and the rest of the world. Our willingness to improve bilateral relations will continue to be commensurate with the North's cooperation in efforts to reduce tensions on the peninsula. South Korea has set a shining example for nonproliferation by forswearing nuclear weapons, accepting safeguards, and developing a peaceful nuclear program that brings benefits to the region. We are firm that North Korea must freeze and dismantle its graphite-moderated reactors and related facilities and fully comply with its NPT obligations under the Agreed Framework. We also seek to cease North Korea's chemical and biological weapon programs and ballistic missile proliferation activities. The United States, too, must fulfill its obligations under the Agreed Framework and the Administration will work with the Congress to ensure the success of our efforts to address the North Korean nuclear threat. The North must also engage in a productive dialogue with South Korea; continue the recently revived United Nations Command-Korean People's Army General Officer Dialogue talks at Panmunjon; participate constructively in the Four Party Talks among the United States, China, and North and South Korea to reduce tensions and negotiate a peace agreement; and support our efforts to recover the remains of American servicemen missing since the Korean War.

China

A stable, open, prosperous People's Republic of China (PRC) that assumes its re

sponsibilities for building a more peaceful world is clearly and profoundly in our interests. The prospects for peace and prosperity in Asia depend heavily on China's role as a responsible member of the international community. China's integration into the international system of rules and norms will influence its own political and economic development, as well as its relations with the rest of the world. Our relationship with China will in large measure help to determine whether the 21st century is one of security, peace, and prosperity for the American people. Our success in working with China as a partner in building a stable international order depends on establishing a productive relationship that will build sustained domestic support.

Our policy toward China is both principled and pragmatic: expanding our areas of cooperation while dealing forthrightly with our differences. Seeking to isolate China is clearly unworkable. Even our friends and allies around the world would not support us; we would succeed only in isolating ourselves and our own policy. More importantly, choosing isolation over engagement would not make the world safer. It would make it more dangerous. It would undermine rather than strengthen our efforts to foster stability in Asia and halt the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It would hinder the cause of democracy and human rights in China, set back worldwide efforts to protect the environment, and cut off one of the world's most important markets.

President Jiang Zemin's visit to the United States in October 1997—the first state visit by the President of China to the United States in twelve years—marked significant progress in the development of U.S.-PRC relations. President Clinton's reciprocal visit to Beijing in June 1998—the first state visit by an American president to China in this decade—further expanded and strengthened our relations. The two summits were important milestones toward building a constructive U.S.-China strategic partnership.

In their 1997 summit, the two Presidents agreed on a number of steps to strengthen cooperation in international affairs: establishing a Washington-Beijing presidential communications link to facilitate direct contact, regular presidential visits to each other's capitals, and regular exchanges of visits by cabinet and sub-cabinet officials to consult on political, military, security and arms control issues. They agreed to establish a consultation mechanism to strengthen military maritime safety—which will enable their maritime and air forces to avoid accidents, misunderstandings or miscalculations—and to hold discussions on humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. In their June 1998 meeting, they agreed to continue their regular summit meetings and to intensify the bilateral dialogue on security issues.

Arms control and nonproliferation issues were high on the agenda for 1998 summit, which expanded and strengthened the series of agreements that were reached at the 1997 summit. In Beijing, Presidents Clinton and Jiang announced that the United States and China will not target their strategic nuclear weapons at each other. They confirmed their common goal to halt the spread of weapons of mass destruction. We welcomed China's statement that it attaches importance to issues related to the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and missile nonproliferation and that it has begun to actively study joining the MTCR. Our two nations will continue consultations on MTCR issues in 1998. Both sides agreed to further strengthen controls on the export of dual-use chemicals and related production equipment and technology to assure they are not used for production of chemical weapons, and China announced that it has expanded the list of chemical precursors which it controls. The two Presidents issued a joint statement calling for strengthening of the Biological Weapons Convention and early conclusion of a protocol establishing a practical and effective compliance mechanism and improving transparency. They issued a joint statement affirming their commitment to ending the export and indiscriminate use of antipersonnel landmines and to accelerating global humanitarian demining. We also reached agreement with

China on practices for enduse visits on U.S. high technology exports to China, which will establish a framework for such exports to China.

China is working with the United States on important regional security issues.

In June 1998, China chaired a meeting of the permanent members of the UN Security Council to forge a common strategy for moving India and Pakistan away from a nuclear arms race. China condemned both countries for conducting nuclear tests and joined us in urging them to conduct no more tests, to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, to avoid deploying or testing missiles, and to work to resolve their differences through dialogue. At the 1998 summit, Presidents Clinton and Jiang issued a joint statement on their shared interest in a peaceful and stable South Asia and agreed to continue to coordinate their efforts to strengthen peace and stability in that region. On the Korean Peninsula, China has become a force for peace and stability, helping us to convince North Korea to freeze its dangerous nuclear program, playing a constructive role in the fourparty peace talks.

The United States and China are working to strengthen cooperation in the field of law enforcement and mutual legal assistance, including efforts to combat international organized crime, narcotics trafficking, alien smuggling, illegal immigration, counterfeiting and money laundering. We have established a joint liaison group for law enforcement cooperation and assigned counternarcotics officers to each other's embassies in 1998.

Our key security objectives for the future include:

sustaining the strategic dialogue begun by the recent summits and other highlevel exchanges;

enhancing stability in the Taiwan Strait through peaceful approaches to crossStrait issues and encouraging dialogue between Beijing and Taipei;

strengthening China's adherence to international nonproliferation norms, particularly in its export controls on ballistic missile and dual use technologies;

achieving greater openness and transparency in China's military;

encouraging a constructive PRC role in international affairs through active cooperation in ARF, the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC) and the Northeast Asia Security Dialogue; and

improving law enforcement cooperation with PRC officials through increased liaison and training.

#### Southeast Asia

Our strategic interest in Southeast Asia centers on developing regional and bilateral security and economic relationships that assist in conflict prevention and resolution and expand U.S. participation in the regions economies. U.S. security objectives in the region are to maintain our security alliances with Australia, Thailand and the Philippines, to sustain security access arrangements with Singapore and other ASEAN countries, and to encourage the emergence of a strong, cohesive ASEAN capable of enhancing regional stability and prosperity.

Our policy combines two approaches: First, maintaining our increasingly productive relationship with ASEAN"especially our security dialogue under the ARF. Second, pursuing bilateral initiatives with individual Southeast Asian nations to promote political stability, foster marketoriented economic reforms, and reduce or contain the effects of Asian organized crime, particularly the flow of heroin from Burma and other countries in the region.

### Promoting Prosperity

A prosperous and open Asia Pacific is key to the economic health of the United States. On the eve of the recent financial problems in Asia, the 18 members of APEC contributed about onehalf of total global gross domestic product and exports. Thirty percent of U.S. exports go to Asia, supporting millions of U.S. jobs, and we export more to Asia than Europe. In states like California, Oregon and Washington, exports to Asia account for more than half of each state's total exports. U.S. direct investments in Asia represent about one-fifth of total U.S. direct foreign investment.

Our economic objectives in East Asia include recovery from the recent financial crisis, continued progress within APEC toward liberalizing trade and investment, increased U.S. exports to Asian countries through market-opening measures and leveling the playing field for U.S. business, and WTO accession for China and Taiwan on satisfactory commercial terms. Opportunities for economic growth abound in Asia and underlie our strong commitment to multilateral economic cooperation, such as via the annual APEC leaders meetings.

Promoting sustainable development, protecting the environment and coping with the global problem of climate change are important for ensuring long-term prosperity in the Asia Pacific region. The Kyoto Agreement was a major step forward in controlling the greenhouse gases that are causing climate change, but its success depends on meaningful participation by key developing nations as well as the industrialized nations of the world. Rapid economic growth in China and India make their participation essential to the global effort to control greenhouse gases.

### The Asian Financial Crisis

Over the last decade, the global economy has entered a new era—an era of interdependence and opportunity. Americans have benefited greatly from the worldwide increase of trade and capital flows. This development has contributed to steady GNP growth, improvements in standards of living, more high-paying jobs (particularly in export-oriented industries), and low inflation.

The United States has enormously important economic and national security interests at stake in East Asia. Prolonged economic distress and financial instability will have an adverse effect on U.S. exports to the region, the competitiveness of American companies, and the well-being of American workers. There also is a risk that if the current crisis is left unchecked its effects could spread beyond East Asia. Simply put, we cannot afford to stand back in hopes that the crisis will resolve itself. When we act to help resolve the Asian financial crisis, we act to protect the well-being of the American people.

In the face of this challenge, our primary objective is to help stabilize the current financial situation. Our strategy has four key elements: support for economic reforms; working with international financial institutions to provide structural and humanitarian assistance; providing bilateral humanitarian aid and contingency bilateral financial assistance if needed; and urging strong policy actions by Japan and the other major economic powers to promote global growth.

We will continue to support South Korea, Thailand and Indonesia as they implement economic reforms designed to foster financial stability and investor confidence in order to attract the capital flows required to restore economic growth.

These reform programs have at their core restructuring the financial sector, promoting greater transparency in trade and investment laws and regulations, and ending policy-directed lending practices. All three nations face a difficult r

oad ahead that will test their political will. The international community can continue to help ameliorate adverse consequences of the crisis, but only resolute action to keep to the agreed policy course will bring a resumption of sustained growth.

Although the Asian financial crisis is having a crippling effect, we believe the underlying fundamentals for economic recovery are good and are confident that full and vigorous implementation of economic reforms combined with the efforts of the international community will lead to the restoration of economic growth to the countries of the region. U.S. initiatives in APEC will open new opportunities for economic cooperation and permit U.S. companies to expand their involvement in substantial infrastructure planning and construction throughout the region. While our progress in APEC has been gratifying, we will explore options to encourage all Asia Pacific nations to pursue open markets.

The United States will continue to work with the IMF, the World Bank, other international financial institutions, the governments in East Asia and the private sector to help stabilize financial markets, restore investor confidence and achieve much-needed reforms in the troubled East Asian economies. Our goal is to help the region recover quickly and to build a solid, resilient foundation for future economic growth in the region.

#### □China□

Bringing the PRC more fully into the global trading system is manifestly in our national interest. China is one of the fastest growing markets for our goods and services. As we look into the next century, our exports to China will support hundreds of thousands of jobs across our country. For this reason, we must continue our normal trade treatment for China, as every President has done since 1980, strengthening instead of undermining our economic relationship.

An important part of integrating China into the market-based world economic system is opening China's highly protected market through lower border barriers and removal of distorting restraints on economic activity. We have negotiated landmark agreements to combat piracy of intellectual property and advance the interests of our creative industries. We have also negotiated and vigorously enforced agreements on textile trade. At their 1997 and 1998 summits, President Clinton and President Jiang agreed to take a number of positive measures to expand U.S.-China trade and economic ties. We will continue to press China to open its markets (in goods, services and agriculture) as it engages in sweeping economic reform.

It is in our interest that China become a member of the WTO; however, we have been steadfast in leading the effort to ensure that China's accession to the WTO occurs on a commercial basis. China maintains many barriers that must be eliminated, and we need to ensure that necessary reforms are agreed to before accession occurs. At the 1997 summit, the two leaders agreed that China's full participation in the multilateral trading system is in their mutual interest. They agreed to intensify negotiations on market access, including tariffs, nontariff measures, services, standards and agriculture, and on implementation of WTO principles so that China can accede to the WTO on a commercial basis at the earliest possible date. They reiterated their commitment to this process in their 1998 summit.

China has been a helpful partner in international efforts to stabilize the Asian financial crisis. In resisting the temptation to devalue its currency, China has seen that its own interests lie in preventing another round of competitive devaluations that would have severely damaged prospects for regional recovery. It has also contributed to the rescue packages for affected economies.

Japan

The Administration continues to make progress on increasing market access in Asia's largest economy. Since the beginning of the first Clinton Administration, the United States and Japan have reached 35 trade agreements designed to open Japanese markets in key sectors, including autos and auto parts, telecommunications, civil aviation, insurance and glass. The Administration also has intensified efforts to monitor and enforce trade agreements with Japan to ensure that they are fully implemented. The United States also uses multilateral venues, such as WTO dispute settlement and negotiation of new multilateral agreements, to further open markets and accomplish our trade objectives with Japan.

During the period from 1993 to 1996, U.S. exports to Japan increased from \$47.9 billion to \$67.6 billion, and the bilateral trade deficit fell from \$59.4 billion to \$47.6 billion. The recent economic downturn in Japan, however, has reversed this positive trend with the bilateral trade deficit for the first four months 1998 already at \$20.8 billion, up 32 percent from the same period in 1996.

Sustained global expansion and recovery in Asia cannot be achieved when the second largest economy in the world, accounting for more than half of Asian output, is in recession and has a weakened financial system.

Japan has a crucial role to play in Asia's economic recovery. Japan must generate substantial growth to help maintain a growing world economy and absorb a growing share of imports from emerging markets. To do this Japan must reform its financial sector, stimulate domestic demand, deregulate its economy, and further open its markets to foreign goods and services. We look forward to substantial and effective actions to achieve a domestic demand-led recovery, to restore health to the financial sector and to make progress on deregulation and opening markets. Strong, immediate, tangible actions by the Japanese Government are vital to make Japan again an engine of growth and to help spur a broader economic recovery in Asia, as well as reinvigorate a critical market for U.S. goods and services.

South Korea

At their summit meeting in June 1998, President Clinton reaffirmed to President Kim that the United States will continue its strong support for his efforts to reform the Korean economy, liberalize trade and investment, strengthen the banking system and implement the IMF program. President Clinton reiterated our commitment to provide bilateral finance if needed under appropriate conditions. The two presidents discussed a number of concrete steps to promote growth in both our countries and explored ways to more fully open our markets and to further integrate the Republic of Korea into the global economy, including new discussions on a bilateral investment treaty. They also signed an Open Skies agreement which permits unrestricted air service between our two countries.

Thailand

Thailand, a key U.S. security partner in the region, also faces serious economic difficulties. The U.S. government continues to work with Thailand to ease the strain of the financial crisis. We are taking concrete steps to lessen the financial burden of military programs, including decreasing the scope of military contacts such as visits and exercises, and looking for ways to reduce the impact of the crisis on security assistance programs. The Royal Thai armed forces have earned high marks for their stabilizing influence.

Promoting Democracy

Some have argued that democracy is unsuited for Asia or at least for some Asian nations "that human rights are relative and that Western support for internatio

nal human rights standards simply mask a form of cultural imperialism. The democratic aspirations and achievements of the Asian peoples prove these arguments incorrect. We will continue to support those aspirations and to promote respect for human rights in all nations. Each nation must find its own form of democracy, and we respect the variety of democratic institutions that have emerged in Asia. But there is no cultural justification for tyranny, torture or denial of fundamental freedoms. Our strategy includes efforts to:

pursue a constructive, goal-oriented approach to achieving progress on human rights and rule of law issues with China;

foster a meaningful political dialogue between the ruling authorities in Burma and the democratic opposition;

work with the new government of Indonesia to promote improved respect for human rights, strengthened democratic processes and an internationally acceptable political solution in East Timor;

work with ASEAN to restore democracy to Cambodia and encourage greater respect for human rights; and

achieve the fullest possible accounting of missing U.S. service members, promote greater respect for human rights in Vietnam, and press for full Vietnamese implementation of the Resettlement Opportunity for Vietnamese Returnees (ROVR) program.

□

The Western Hemisphere □

Our hemisphere enters the twenty-first century with an unprecedented opportunity to secure a future of stability and prosperity"building on the fact that every nation in the hemisphere except Cuba is democratic and committed to free market economies. The end of armed conflict in Central America and other improvements in regional security have coincided with remarkable political and economic progress throughout the Americas. The people of the Americas are already taking advantage of the vast opportunities being created as emerging markets are connected through electronic commerce and as robust democracies allow individuals to more fully express their preferences. Subregional political, economic and security cooperation in North America, the Caribbean, Central America, the Andean region and the Southern Cone have contributed positively to peace and prosperity throughout the hemisphere. Equally important, the people of the Americas have reaffirmed their commitment to combat together the difficult new threats of narcotics and corruption. U.S. strategy is to secure the benefits of the new climate in the hemisphere while safeguarding the United States and our friends against these threats.

The 1994 Summit of the Americas in Miami produced hemispheric agreement to negotiate the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and agreements on measures that included continued economic reform and enhanced cooperation on issues such as the environment, counternarcotics, money laundering and corruption. Celebrating the regions embrace of democracy and free markets, that historic meeting committed the United States to a more cooperative relationship with the hemisphere. U.S. agencies have used the Miami Summit Action Plan to establish productive relationships and strengthen cooperation with their Latin American and Caribbean counterparts in a host of areas.

Our engagement with the hemisphere reached unprecedented levels in 1997 and 1998. In May 1997, President Clinton traveled to Mexico for a summit meeting with President Zedillo, then held summits with Central American leaders in Costa Rica and Caribbean leaders in Barbados, highlighting the importance of working with our neighbors to solve problems of great concern to Americans such as drugs,

immigration and transnational crime. In October 1997, in Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina, the President underscored opportunities for cooperation with vibrant democracies and their fast growing markets.

This substantial engagement with the hemisphere at the beginning of the Presidents second term continued at the Second Summit of the Americas in Santiago, Chile in April 1998. At the Summit, the leaders of the hemisphere focused on the areas needed to prepare our citizens for the 21st century: education, democracy, economic integration and poverty relief.

#### □Enhancing Security□

The principal security concerns in the hemisphere are transnational in nature, such as drug trafficking, organized crime, money laundering, illegal immigration, and terrorism. In addition, our hemisphere is leading the way in recognizing the dangers to democracy produced by corruption and rule of law issues. These threats, especially narcotics, produce adverse social effects that undermine the sovereignty, democracy and national security of nations in the hemisphere.

We are striving to eliminate the scourge of drug trafficking in our hemisphere.

At the Santiago Summit, the assembled leaders launched a Multilateral Counterdrug Alliance to better organize and coordinate efforts in the hemisphere to stem the production and distribution of drugs. The centerpiece of this alliance will be a mechanism to evaluate each member countrys progress in achieving their agreed counternarcotics goals. Summit leaders also agreed to improve cooperation on extraditing and prosecuting individuals charged with narcotics trafficking and related crimes; strengthen efforts against money laundering and forfeiture of assets used in criminal activity; reinforce international and national mechanisms to halt illicit traffic and diversion of chemical precursors; enhance national programs for fostering greater awareness of the dangers of drug abuse, preventing illicit drug consumption and providing treatment, rehabilitation and reintegration; and eliminate illicit crops through national alternative development programs, eradication and interdiction.

We are also pursuing a number of bilateral and regional counternarcotics initiatives. As part of our partnership with Mexico, we are striving to increase counterdrug and law enforcement cooperation, while in the Caribbean we are intensifying a coordinated effort on counternarcotics and law enforcement. The reduction in trade barriers resulting from the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) allows more inspection resources to be directed to thwarting attempts by organized crime to exploit the expanding volume of trade for increased drug smuggling.

The Santiago Summit addressed other transnational security concerns as well. Summit leaders called for the rapid ratification and entry into force of the 1977 InterAmerican Convention to Combat the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Ammunition Explosives and Related Material. They also agreed to encourage states to accede to the international conventions related to terrorism and convene, under the auspices of the OAS, the Second Specialized InterAmerican Conference to evaluate the progress attained and to define future courses of action for the prevention, combat and elimination of terrorism.

body2

□□

We are advancing regional security cooperation through bilateral security dialogues, multilateral efforts in the Organization of American States (OAS) and Summit of the Americas on transparency and regional confidence and security building measures, exercises and exchanges with key militaries (principally focused on peacekeeping), and regular Defense Ministerials. Working with Argentina, Bra

zil and Chile, the other three guarantor nations of the PeruEcuador peace process, the United States has brought the parties closer to a permanent solution to this decadesold border dispute, the resolution of which is important to regional stability. The Military Observer Mission, EcuadorPeru (MOMEPE), composed of the four guarantor nations, successfully separated the warring factions, created the mutual confidence and security among the guarantor nations. The U.S. sponsored multilateral military exercise focused on combating drug trafficking, supporting disaster relief (particularly important because of the El Nino phenomenon) and participation in international peacekeeping. It has spurred unprecedented exercises among neighboring countries in Central America and the Southern Cone. Additionally, the Southern Cone has increasingly shared the burden of international peacekeeping operations. The Santiago Summit tasked the OAS to expand topics relating to confidence and security building measures with the goal of convening a Special Conference on Security by the beginning of the next decade. Several countries in the region have joined our call to promote transparency by publishing white papers on defense. Our efforts to encourage multilateral cooperation are enhancing confidence and security within the region and will help expand our cooperative efforts to combat the transnational threats to the Western Hemisphere, particularly in Columbia where social, political and criminal violence is spilling across borders. We are also working to ensure successful transfer of stewardship of the Panama Canal to the Panamanian people.

In light of the advances in democratic stability throughout Latin America and mindful of the need for restraint, the Administration has moved to casebycase consideration of requests for advanced conventional arms transfers, on par with other areas of the world. Such requests will be reviewed in a way that will serve our objectives of promoting defense cooperation, restraint in arms acquisition and military budgets, and an increased focus on peacekeeping, counternarcotics efforts and disaster relief.

#### □Promoting Prosperity□

Economic growth and integration in the Americas will profoundly affect the prosperity of the United States in the 21st century. Latin America has become the fastest growing economic region in the world and our fastest growing export market. In 1998, our exports to Latin America and the Caribbean are expected to exceed those to the EU.

Building on the vision articulated at Miami in 1994 and the groundwork laid by trade ministers over the last four years, the Santiago Summit launched formal negotiations to initiate the FTAA by 2005. The negotiations will cover a broad range of important issues, including market access, investment, services, government procurement, dispute settlement, agriculture, intellectual property rights, competition policy, subsidies, antidumping and countervailing duties. A Committee on Electronic Commerce will explore the implications of electronic commerce for the design of the FTAA, and a Committee on Civil Society will provide a formal mechanism for labor, business, consumer, environmental and other nongovernment organizations to make recommendations on the negotiations so that all citizens can benefit from trade. Governments also will cooperate on promoting core labor standards recognized by the International Labor Organization.

We seek to advance the goal of an integrated hemisphere of free market democracies by consolidating NAFTA's gains and obtaining Congressional Fast Track trade agreement implementing authority. Since the creation of NAFTA, our exports to Mexico have risen significantly while the Agreement helped stabilize Mexico through its worst financial crisis in modern history. Considering that Mexico has now become our secondlargest export market, it is imperative that its economy remain open to the United States and NAFTA helps to ensure that. We will continue working with Mexico and interested private parties to continue the mutually beneficial trade with our largest trading partner and neighbor to the north, C

anada. We are also committed to delivering on the Presidents promise to negotiate a comprehensive free trade agreement with Chile because of its extraordinary economic performance and its active role in promoting hemispheric economic integration.

□□

While we support the freer flow of goods and investment, there is also reason to be sensitive to the concerns of smaller economies during the period of transition to the global economy of the 21st century. To address this problem, and in light of the increased competition NAFTA presents to Caribbean trade, we will seek Congressional approval to provide enhanced trade benefits under the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) to help prepare that region for participation in the FTAA. With the assistance of institutions such as OPIC, we will encourage the private sector to take the lead in developing small and medium-sized businesses in the Caribbean through the increased flow of investment capital. We must also encourage Caribbean countries and territories to implement programs to attract foreign and domestic investment.

At the Santiago Summit, the hemisphere's leaders reaffirmed that all citizens must participate in the opportunities and prosperity created by free market democracy. They pledged to ensure access to financial services for a significant number of the 50 million micro, small and medium size enterprises in the hemisphere by the year 2000, to work with multilateral institutions and regional organizations to invest about \$400500 million over the next three years, and to streamline and decentralize property registration and titling procedures and assure access to justice for the poor. Governments will enhance participation by promoting core labor standards recognized by the ILO, strengthening gender equity, working to eliminate exploitative child labor, negotiating a new Declaration of Principles on Fundamental Rights of Workers, and promoting education and training for indigenous populations. To improve quality of life, Summit leaders pledged to pursue elimination of measles by the year 2000 and reduce the incidence of diseases such as pneumonia and mumps by the year 2002, to strengthen regional networks of health information such as through telemedicine, to give highest priority to reducing infant malnutrition, and to strengthen cooperation to implement Santa Cruz Sustainable Development Plan of Action.

□Promoting Democracy□

Many Latin American nations have made tremendous advances in democracy and economic progress over the last several years. But our ability to sustain the hemispheric agenda depends in part on meeting the challenges posed by weak democratic institutions, persistently high unemployment and crime rates, and serious income disparities. In some Latin American countries, citizens will not fully realize the benefits of political liberalization and economic growth without regulatory, judicial, law enforcement and educational reforms, as well as increased efforts to integrate all members of society into the formal economy.

At the Santiago Summit, the hemisphere's leaders reaffirmed their commitment to strengthening democracy, justice and human rights. They agreed to intensify efforts to promote democratic reforms at the regional and local level, protect the rights of migrant workers and their families, improve the capabilities and competence of civil and criminal justice systems, and encourage a strong and active civil society. They pledged to promptly ratify the InterAmerican Convention Against Corruption to strengthen the integrity of governmental institutions. They supported the creation of a Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression as part of the InterAmerican Commission for Human Rights. The Rapporteur will help resolve human rights cases involving the press and focus international attention on attacks against the hemisphere's emerging Fourth Estate, as their investigative reporting provokes increasing threats from drug traffickers and other criminal elements. Summit leaders also agreed to establish an InterAmerican Justice Studies Center to facilitate training of personnel, to exchange of infor

mation and other forms of technical cooperation to improve judicial systems, to end impunity, combat corruption and provide protection from rising domestic and international crime, and to create a secure legal environment for trade and investment.

The hemisphere's leaders agreed at the Santia

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Kris M Balderston ( CN=Kris M Balderston/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 1-NOV-1998 14:29:26.00

SUBJECT: Bills Signed

TO: David S. Beaubaire ( CN=David S. Beaubaire/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jon P. Jennings ( CN=Jon P. Jennings/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elisabeth Steele ( CN=Elisabeth Steele/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Maya Seiden ( CN=Maya Seiden/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Lisa J. Levin ( CN=Lisa J. Levin/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Thurgood Marshall Jr ( CN=Thurgood Marshall Jr/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Anne E. McGuire ( CN=Anne E. McGuire/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

You may want to notify your agencies that the following bills were signed  
by POTUS

----- Forwarded by Kris M Balderston/WHO/EOP on 11/01/98  
02:28 PM -----

Sherman A. Williams  
10/30/98 08:42:47 PM  
Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message  
cc:  
Subject: Bills Signed

On Friday, October 30, 1998, the President signed into law:

H.R. 700 - Cahuilla Indians Mineral Springs Parcel Distribution  
H.R. 1274 - Technology Administration Act of 1998  
H.R. 1756 - Money Laundering and Financial Crimes Strategy Act of 1998  
H.R. 2675 - Federal Employees Life Insurance Improvement Act  
H.R. 2807 - Migratory Bird Treaty Reform act of 1998  
H.R. 3055 - Miccosukee Reserved Area Act  
H.R. 3494 - Protection of Children From Sexual Predators Act of 1998  
H.R. 3528 - Alternative Dispute Resolution Act of 1998  
H.R. 3687 - Canadian River Project Prepayment Act  
H.R. 3903 - Glacier Bay National Park Boundary Adjustment Act of 1998  
H.R. 4151 - Identity Theft and Assumption Deterrence Act of 1998  
H.R. 4293 - Irish Peace Process Cultural and Training Program Act of 1998

H.R. 4309 - Torture Victims Relief Act of 1998  
H.R. 4326 - Oregon Public Lands Transfer and Protection Act of 1998  
H.R. 4337 - To Authorize the Secretary of the Interior to Provide  
Financial Assistant to the State of Maryland Program to Restore Marshlands  
H.R. 4660 - Rewards for Information  
H.R. 4679 - Antimicrobial Regulation Technical Corrections Act of 1998  
S. 231- National Cave and Karst Research Institute Act of 1998  
S. 890 - Dutch John Federal Property Disposition and Assistance Act of 1998  
S. 1333 - National Park Fees  
S. 2094 - Fish and Wildlife Revenue Enhancement Act of 1998  
S. 2106 - Arches National Park Expansion Act of 1998  
S. 2193 - Trademark Law Treaty Implementation Act

## Message Sent

To:

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Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP  
Elisa Millsap/WHO/EOP  
Jeffrey A. Forbes/WHO/EOP  
Tracey E. Thornton/WHO/EOP  
Jessica L. Gibson/WHO/EOP  
Barry J. Toiv/WHO/EOP  
Elizabeth R. Newman/WHO/EOP  
Dianne M. Wells/OMB/EOP  
Julia E. Yuille/OMB/EOP  
Charles E. Kieffer/OMB/EOP  
Robert E. Barker/OMB/EOP  
Phillip Caplan/WHO/EOP  
Sean P. Maloney/WHO/EOP  
David E. Kalbaugh/WHO/EOP  
G. Timothy Saunders/WHO/EOP  
William W. McCathran/WHO/EOP  
Edwin R. Thomas III/WHO/EOP  
Rhodia D. Ewell/OMB/EOP  
Mindy E. Myers/WHO/EOP  
Roger S. Ballentine/WHO/EOP  
Broderick Johnson/WHO/EOP  
Janelle E. Erickson/WHO/EOP  
Nanda Chitre/WHO/EOP  
James J. Jukes/OMB/EOP  
Marty J. Hoffmann/WHO/EOP  
Jason H. Schechter/WHO/EOP  
E. Holly Fitter/OMB/EOP  
Michael V. Terrell/CEQ/EOP  
Jade L Riley/WHO/EOP  
Eli P. Joseph/WHO/EOP  
Elizabeth Gore/OMB/EOP  
Brian S. Mason/OMB/EOP  
Matthew J. Bianco/WHO/EOP  
Nancy J. Duykers/OMB/EOP  
Caroline R. Fredrickson/WHO/EOP  
David R. Goodfriend/WHO/EOP  
Kris M Balderston/WHO/EOP  
Elisabeth Steele/WHO/EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Clara J. Shin ( CN=Clara J. Shin/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:19-NOV-1998 18:33:32.00

SUBJECT: Re: Irish deportees

TO: Karen Tramontano ( CN=Karen Tramontano/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Maria Echaveste ( CN=Maria Echaveste/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I agree that the presidential authority was to be tied to the peace processes but it was my understanding that this authority would apply to individuals/groups of people (a small number). I'm sorry if I misspoke.

----- Forwarded by Clara J. Shin/WHO/EOP on 11/19/98

06:31 PM -----

Karen Tramontano

11/19/98 06:24:03 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP

cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

Subject: Re: Irish deportees

maria --

there is a bit of a different edge on the possible resolution than what clara wrote in her e-mail -- the thinking is to tie any presidential authority in this regard not to "individuals" but to a broader interest in an on-going peace process. minyon/larry were putting together a "next steps" meeting -- that i hope you will join -- i agree with you that this is different than other issues and should be handled separately.

Message Copied

To:

Clara J. Shin/WHO/EOP

Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP

Maureen T. Shea/WHO/EOP

Lawrence J. Stein/WHO/EOP

Julie A. Fernandes/OPD/EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Julie A. Fernandes ( CN=Julie A. Fernandes/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:19-NOV-1998 18:22:31.00

SUBJECT: Irish Deportees

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I attended a meeting this afternoon in Minyon's office re: the immigration status of Irish nationals who have been convicted and served sentences in Ireland and/or Northern Ireland for terrorism. As you may know, under the INA, a person who has been convicted of an 'aggravated felony' is deportable and is not eligible to become a legal permanent resident in the U.S. The 1996 Immigration Act significantly broadened this category to include, among other offenses, crimes of violence, theft or burglary for which the term of imprisonment is at least 1 year. In addition, the 1996 Act eliminated the provision of the INA that had existed pre-1996 that gave the AG some discretion in this area. Under current law, the AG does not have discretion to allow someone with a conviction as a aggravated felon to avoid deportation or become a legal permanent resident.

There are currently nine Irish nationals (that the NSC knows of) living in the U.S. who are facing deportation. All of them have been convicted of terrorist acts and have served time in Northern Irish prisons. They have since moved to the U.S. and lived as illegal aliens. Last fall, at the recommendation of the Secretary of State, the AG ordered a temporary stay of deportation for six of these Irish nationals. NSC and State advocated this as a step to build confidence in and support for the peace process among Irish-Americans.

The chief concerns about doing anything for this group is that we have been very tough with illegal aliens in general and criminal aliens in particular; any deviation from that for the Irish (and not, say, for the Palestinians, Salvadorans, Liberians, etc.) would likely engender cries of our being soft on criminal aliens or -- more likely -- showing favoritism to White immigrants. However, NSC maintains that doing something to help these nine would be very important to the Irish-American community.

Minyon is going to convene a meeting (perhaps, next week) to determine whether we want to try to do anything that could provide relief for this group. NSC is preparing a short paper discussing the issue and possible options.

julie

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Minyon Moore ( CN=Minyon Moore/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:19-NOV-1998 18:32:40.00

SUBJECT: Re: Irish deportees

TO: Karen Tramontano ( CN=Karen Tramontano/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Julie A. Fernandes ( CN=Julie A. Fernandes/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Maria Echaveste ( CN=Maria Echaveste/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Maureen T. Shea ( CN=Maureen T. Shea/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Lawrence J. Stein ( CN=Lawrence J. Stein/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Clara J. Shin ( CN=Clara J. Shin/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I agree 100% with Karen's e-mail. I think Clara might have in her haste to down load, used language that alter the context of Larry's intentions.

----- Forwarded by Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP on 11/19/98 06:28 PM -----

Karen Tramontano

11/19/98 06:24:03 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP

cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

Subject: Re: Irish deportees

maria --

there is a bit of a different edge on the possible resolution than what clara wrote in her e-mail -- the thinking is to tie any presidential authority in this regard not to "individuals" but to a broader interest in an on-going peace process. minyon/larry were putting together a "next steps" meeting -- that i hope you will join -- i agree with you that this is different than other issues and should be handled separately.

Message Copied

To:

Clara J. Shin/WHO/EOP

Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP

Maureen T. Shea/WHO/EOP

Lawrence J. Stein/WHO/EOP

Julie A. Fernandes/OPD/EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Maureen T. Shea ( CN=Maureen T. Shea/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:20-NOV-1998 17:35:22.00

SUBJECT: Re: Irish deportees

TO: Clara J. Shin ( CN=Clara J. Shin/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Could you please e-mail me whatever you sent to Maria so I can get caught up - thanks - I drafted the memo which was signed off of by Larry Butler at NSC - I've been filling in for Christine Stanek who will be back after Thanksgiving - thanks.

----- Forwarded by Maureen T. Shea/WHO/EOP on 11/20/98  
05:26 PM -----

Minyon Moore  
11/19/98 06:28:29 PM  
Record Type: Record

To: Karen Tramontano/WHO/EOP  
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message  
Subject:Re: Irish deportees

I agree 100% with Karen's e-mail. I think Clara might have in her haste to down load, used language that alter the context of Larry's intentions.

----- Forwarded by Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP on 11/19/98 06:28  
PM -----

Karen Tramontano  
11/19/98 06:24:03 PM  
Record Type: Record

To: Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP  
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message  
Subject: Re: Irish deportees

maria --

there is a bit of a different edge on the possible resolution than what clara wrote in her e-mail -- the thinking is to tie any presidential authority in this regard not to "individuals" but to a broader interest in an on-going peace process. minyon/larry where putting together a "next steps" meeting -- that i hope you will join -- i agree with you that this is different than other issues and should be handled separately.

Message Copied

To: \_\_\_\_\_  
Clara J. Shin/WHO/EOP  
Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP  
Maureen T. Shea/WHO/EOP

Lawrence J. Stein/WHO/EOP  
Julie A. Fernandes/OPD/EOP

Message Copied

To: \_\_\_\_\_

Clara J. Shin/WHO/EOP  
Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP  
Lawrence J. Stein/WHO/EOP  
Julie A. Fernandes/OPD/EOP  
Maureen T. Shea/WHO/EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Lisa A. Berg ( CN=Lisa A. Berg/O=OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-NOV-1998 13:11:58.00

SUBJECT: Re: Swearing-in Ceremony for Ambassador to Ireland

TO: Minyon Moore ( CN=Minyon Moore/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Wendy Hartman ( CN=Wendy Hartman/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Ansley Jones ( CN=Ansley Jones/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Ron Klain ( CN=Ron Klain/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Heather M. Marabeti ( CN=Heather M. Marabeti/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Marsha Scott ( CN=Marsha Scott/OU=Who/O=Eop @ Eop [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Monica M. Dixon ( CN=Monica M. Dixon/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

This request was regretted. We apologize if not everyone has been informed. We will make sure that everyone receives the regret. Thank you.

Minyon Moore @ EOP

11/24/98 12:55 PM

To: Lisa A. Berg/OVP, Monica M. Dixon/OVP, Ron Klain/OVP

cc: Marsha Scott/WHO/EOP @ EOP, Ansley Jones/OVP

Subject:Swearing-in Ceremony for Ambassador to Ireland

I understand there is a request in your office for the VP to do the swearing-in ceremony for Mike Sullivan. I further understand it is due more to scheduling conflicts and less to do with the unwillingness of the office to participate in this event. I would like to add my voice to echoing everyone's sentiment about having the VP due this event. (1) we get him better connected to Irish Americans and we can release the photo's in Irish newspapers and (2) we give the VP some identity to the Peace Process if scripted in his remarks.

The sooner this can be done, obviously the better! Thanks  
my thoughts...

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Ansley Jones ( CN=Ansley Jones/O=OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-NOV-1998 13:46:07.00

SUBJECT: Swearing-in Ceremony for Ambassador to Ireland

TO: Kris M Balderston ( CN=Kris M Balderston/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Lisa A. Berg ( CN=Lisa A. Berg/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Monica M. Dixon ( CN=Monica M. Dixon/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Kris, as you know, the VP's schedule is packed and it does not look like the VP is going to be able do to the swearin for Mike. Can your office coordinate a surrogate person??

----- Forwarded by Ansley Jones/OVP on 11/24/98 01:43 AM  
-----

Minyon Moore @ EOP

11/24/98 12:55 PM

To: Lisa A. Berg/OVP, Monica M. Dixon/OVP, Ron Klain/OVP

cc: Marsha Scott/WHO/EOP @ EOP, Ansley Jones/OVP

Subject:Swearing-in Ceremony for Ambassador to Ireland

I understand there is a request in your office for the VP to do the swearing-in ceremony for Mike Sullivan. I further understand it is due more to scheduling conflicts and less to do with the unwillingness of the office to participate in this event. I would like to add my voice to echoing everyone's sentiment about having the VP due this event. (1) we get him better connected to Irish Americans and we can release the photo's in Irish newspapers and (2) we give the VP some identity to the Peace Process if scripted in his remarks.

The sooner this can be done, obviously the better! Thanks  
my thoughts...

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Lisa A. Berg ( CN=Lisa A. Berg/O=OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-NOV-1998 13:26:02.00

SUBJECT: Re: Swearing-in Ceremony for Ambassador to Ireland

TO: Minyon Moore ( CN=Minyon Moore/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Marsha Scott ( CN=Marsha Scott/OU=Who/O=Eop @ Eop [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Monica M. Dixon ( CN=Monica M. Dixon/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Ansley Jones ( CN=Ansley Jones/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

It is due to time constraints and not being able to fit all of the good things on the table in.

We do appreciate the opportunity, but since time is limited, it cannot be scheduled. Thank you -

Minyon Moore @ EOP

11/24/98 01:11 PM

To: Lisa A. Berg/OVP

cc: Ansley Jones/OVP, Marsha Scott/WHO/EOP @ EOP, Monica M. Dixon/OVP

Subject:Re: Swearing-in Ceremony for Ambassador to Ireland

was it due to scheduling conflict or a political conflict...please advise  
----- Forwarded by Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP on 11/24/98 01:12  
PM -----

From: Lisa A. Berg @ OVP on 11/24/98 01:12:12 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP

cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

Subject: Re: Swearing-in Ceremony for Ambassador to Ireland

This request was regretted. We apologize if not everyone has been informed. We will make sure that everyone receives the regret. Thank you.

Minyon Moore @ EOP

11/24/98 12:55 PM

To: Lisa A. Berg/OVP, Monica M. Dixon/OVP, Ron Klain/OVP

cc: Marsha Scott/WHO/EOP @ EOP, Ansley Jones/OVP

Subject:Swearing-in Ceremony for Ambassador to Ireland

I understand there is a request in your office for the VP to do the swearing-in ceremony for Mike Sullivan. I further understand it is due more to scheduling conflicts and less to do with the unwillingness of the office to participate in this event. I would like to add my voice to echoing everyone's sentiment about having the VP due this event. (1) we get him better connected to Irish Americans and we can release the photo's in Irish newspapers and (2) we give the VP some identity to the Peace Process if scripted in his remarks.

The sooner this can be done, obviously the better! Thanks  
my thoughts...

Message Copied

To: \_\_\_\_\_

Monica M. Dixon/OVP @ OVP

Ron Klain/OVP @ OVP

Marsha Scott/Who/Eop

Ansley Jones/OVP @ OVP

Heather M. Marabeti/WHO/EOP

Wendy Hartman/OVP @ OVP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Kris M Balderston ( CN=Kris M Balderston/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:30-NOV-1998 12:29:43.00

SUBJECT: Swearing-in Ceremony for Ambassador to Ireland

TO: Lisa J. Levin ( CN=Lisa J. Levin/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Anne E. McGuire ( CN=Anne E. McGuire/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

ideas for Amb Sullivan

----- Forwarded by Kris M Balderston/WHO/EOP on 11/30/98  
12:29 PM -----

Ansley Jones @ OVP

11/24/98 01:44:36 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Kris M Balderston/WHO/EOP

cc: Monica M. Dixon/OVP @ OVP, Lisa A. Berg/OVP @ OVP

Subject:Swearing-in Ceremony for Ambassador to Ireland

Kris, as you know, the VP's schedule is packed and it does not look like the VP is going to be able to do to the swearin for Mike. Can your office coordinate a surrogate person??

----- Forwarded by Ansley Jones/OVP on 11/24/98 01:43 AM  
-----

Minyon Moore @ EOP

11/24/98 12:55 PM

To: Lisa A. Berg/OVP, Monica M. Dixon/OVP, Ron Klain/OVP

cc: Marsha Scott/WHO/EOP @ EOP, Ansley Jones/OVP

Subject:Swearing-in Ceremony for Ambassador to Ireland

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The sooner this can be done, obviously the better! Thanks  
my thoughts...

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Wendy E. Gray ( CN=Wendy E. Gray/OU=NSC/O=EOP [ NSC ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 3-DEC-1998 08:57:43.00

SUBJECT: First Draft - SOTU Foreign Policy Section

TO: Michael Waldman ( CN=Michael Waldman/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Joshua S. Gottheimer ( CN=Joshua S. Gottheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Antony J. Blinken ( CN=Antony J. Blinken/OU=NSC/O=EOP @ EOP [ NSC ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Jordan Tamagni ( CN=Jordan Tamagni/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

As promised. Sorry for the delay. The systems did not to cooperate earlier.

- - - - -

5

12/2/98 8 p.m.

Foreign Policy Section -- State of the Union

Over the next year, America must remain a leader for peace, freedom and security -- and a bulwark against the forces that would undermine them. We cannot be everywhere, we should not take on everything. But where our interests are clear and our values at stake -- and where we can make a difference -- we must press ahead for peace and progress.

First, we must continue to promote peace and stand with those working to build it. Conflict in the Balkans threatened stability in Europe and the safety of hundreds of thousands of people. NATO ,s resolve and America ,s leadership have put Bosnia on the path to peace and prevented a humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo. Over the next year, we will continue our work to make Bosnia ,s peace self-sustaining -- and begin to bring our remaining troops back home to America [TK]. And we will press for a long term settlement in Kosovo that gives back to its people the self-government they once enjoyed and so strongly deserve.

The American people can be justly proud that we have helped Northern Ireland move from the deep freeze of despair to the warm sunlight of peace. The Good Friday Accord and its ratification by the people of Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic were remarkable achievements, putting an end to 30 years of violence and heartbreak, placing the destiny of Northern Ireland where it belongs -- in the hands of its people and their elected representatives. Over the next year, America will continue to walk the road of renewal with the people of Northern Ireland as they put down the weapons of war, bring the institutions of democratic government to life and find in peace a new prosperity. The people of Northern Ireland have chosen a future different from the past. America will help them build it.

More than any place in the world, developments in the Middle East will decide the struggle between extremism and moderation, terror and

tolerance, chaos and community. At the Wye Talks, we restored real momentum to the Middle East Peace Process. Last month, I was proud to address the Palestinian National Committee on the day it finally and irrevocably erased from the Palestinian Charter references to the destruction of Israel. There is a hard road still to travel. But we have mapped out a clear course to realize the promise of peace -- a peace that is good for Israelis, for Palestinians and for the world.

Second, as we work for peace, freedom and security, we must continue to combat their enemies. In the next century, the gravest danger to America will come from rogue states and international outlaws that disrupt the peace, seek to develop weapons of mass destruction -- and use them. We must keep rogue states contained, keep terrorists on the run, and keep to our determination to stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

Saddam Hussein has spent the better part of a decade defying Iraq's obligation to destroy its nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the missiles to deliver them. This fall, the United States, together with Great Britain -- and with the support of friends around the world -- was poised to act militarily if Iraq continued to block the work of the international weapons inspectors. As a result, Iraq backed down and the weapons inspectors are back on the job. Over the next year, we will continue to contain Iraq, preventing it from rebuilding its arsenal or threatening its neighbors. And we will work toward the day when Iraq has a government worthy of its people.

On the Korean Peninsula, 37,000 American troops and our South Korean allies stand sentry over the last heavily militarized fault line of the Cold War -- determined to defend freedom, but also committed to secure a permanent peace on the peninsula. The best approach to that challenge is the one we are pursuing -- a clear eyed combination of deterring North Korean aggression through our strong military presence; non-proliferation through our program to freeze and dismantle North Korea's dangerous nuclear program; and diplomacy through gradual engagement with the North. Over the next year, we will insist that North Korea satisfy our concerns about its recent missile launch and the construction of a suspect underground facility. And we will not relax our vigilance until lasting peace finally comes to Korea.

For most of the twentieth century, it took a large army or a huge arsenal to threaten America's interests and security. In the Information Age, small groups of individuals can exploit the free flow of information, ideas and people or the awful power of modern weapons to wreak havoc -- as we have seen from the subways of Tokyo to the streets of the Middle East.

In August, a network of radical groups masterminded by Osama bin Laden bombed our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania -- killing XX Americans and hundreds of Africans. That network was planning more attacks on Americans. I ordered our Armed Forces to strike at its training facilities in Afghanistan and a chemical weapons factory in Sudan. Over the next year, we will pursue our battle against terrorism. Wherever possible, we will use the long arm of American law, the determination of our diplomacy and the resources of our intelligence. Wherever necessary, we will act militarily to defend our people, our interests and our values. [TK: critical infrastructure? arms control? CTBT/STARTII/BWC?]

Third, we must continue to strengthen our alliances and partnerships in Europe and Asia -- a foundation for America's security. For fifty years, NATO preserved the peace and defended democracy in Europe. It helped freedom triumph over tyranny in the Cold War. At the start of my

first administration, America took the lead in opening NATO to new missions, members and partners -- including Russia and Ukraine. This April, we will host NATO ,s 50th anniversary summit in Washington. There, we will celebrate the success of NATO ,s first fifty years. More important, we will work to shape its next fifty years -- welcoming Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic as new allies... adapting NATO to the challenges of defending its members , borders and acting as a force for peace and security beyond them.

In the 21st century, America ,s future will not be secure if Asia ,s is in doubt. Last year, I made my third trip as President to Japan and Korea, our treaty allies and economic partners. And I traveled to China -- home to one in five people on this planet -- because it has a key role to play in preserving stability in Asia, slowing the spread of weapons of mass destruction, combating international crime and drug trafficking, preserving the environment and expanding open markets. Engaging with China is the best way to encourage it to play an ever more productive role. It ,s also the best way to make clear our differences over human rights and democracy, as I was able to do on national television. Over the next year, we will work to expand our cooperation with China where we can and narrow our differences where we must.

Fourth and finally, we must work to deepen democracy around the world -- the best long term investment we can make in peace and stability. Over the past decade, from Eastern Europe to Latin America and from Asia to Africa, people have made a historic choice for democracy and free markets. Now, in many countries, we must contend with a crisis in confidence in democracy and free markets, fueled by the international financial crisis, exacerbated by the failure of some new democracies to build strong institutions or to give their citizens a real say in governance. We must help meet these challenges -- and help make sure that democracy delivers for people around the world.

One of the most heartening developments in our own hemisphere is that today, 34 of 35 countries are democracies -- and we are determined that the people of Cuba, too, will soon know the blessings of freedom. Over the next year, we will continue to strengthen our political and economic ties to Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile and our other regional partners. [TK: more specific? how will we work to deepen democracy?] And we will make good on our commitment to put the countries of Central America devastated by Hurricane Mitch back on the road to recovery. These are our neighbors, our friends and our families -- the American people should feel very good about all they have done and all they will do to help.

We should also feel good about the promise of Africa -- and we should redouble our efforts to make that promise a reality. Last year, I made the most extensive trip ever to Africa by an American president. I saw a continent where democracy is advancing, where economic reform is bringing new opportunities to more people, where countries are improving nutrition and health care, combating crime and drugs and empowering women. I also saw first hand how ethnic and political violence continue to plague the people of Africa and threaten their progress. Over the next year, we must seize the opportunity to help Africa ,s most populous nation -- Nigeria -- complete its transition to democracy. We must intensify our efforts to end armed conflict. And we must -- finally -- pass the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act.

[transition to next section]

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Wendy E. Gray ( CN=Wendy E. Gray/OU=NSC/O=EOP [ NSC ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 4-DEC-1998 12:06:08.00

SUBJECT: Revised SOU from Tony

TO: Michael Waldman ( CN=Michael Waldman/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Joshua S. Gottheimer ( CN=Joshua S. Gottheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Antony J. Blinken ( CN=Antony J. Blinken/OU=NSC/O=EOP @ EOP [ NSC ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Michael -- Revised since first draft I sent you and blessed -- for now -- by Berger. I know, I know -- too long. But wanted to get you something Sand was okay with. Let me know how you want to proceed. If helpful, I can turn this into an outline if that is what you want to give to POTUS. Thanks. Tony

- - - - -

6

12/4/98 Noon

Foreign Policy Section -- State of the Union

Over the next year, America must remain a leader for peace, freedom and security -- and a bulwark against the forces that would undermine them. We cannot be everywhere, we should not take on everything. But where our interests are clear, where our values are at stake -- and where we can make a difference -- we must press ahead for peace and progress.

First, we must continue to promote peace and stand with those working to build it. Conflict in the Balkans threatened stability in Europe and the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. America's leadership and NATO's resolve have put Bosnia on the path to peace and prevented a humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo. Over the next year, we will continue our work to make Bosnia's peace self-sustaining -- and continue to bring our troops back home to America [TK]. And we will press for a long term settlement in Kosovo that gives back to its people the self-government they once enjoyed and so strongly deserve.

The American people can be justly proud that we have helped Northern Ireland move from the deep freeze of despair to the warm sunlight of peace. The Good Friday Accord and its ratification by the people of Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic were remarkable achievements, putting an end to 30 years of heartbreak, placing the destiny of Northern Ireland in the hands of its people and their elected representatives. Over the next year, America will continue to walk the road of renewal with the people of Northern Ireland as they put down the weapons of war, learn to govern together and find in peace a new prosperity. The people of Northern Ireland have chosen a future different from the past. America will help them build it.

More than any place in the world, developments in the Middle East will decide the struggle between terror and tolerance, chaos and community. At the Wye Talks, we restored momentum to the Middle East Peace Process.

Last month, I was proud to address the Palestinian National Council on the day it finally and irrevocably erased from the Palestinian Charter references to the destruction of Israel. There is a hard road still to travel. But we have mapped out a clear course toward a secure and just peace that is good for Israelis, for Palestinians and for the world.

Second, as we work for peace, freedom and security, we must continue to combat their enemies. In the next century, the gravest danger to America will come from international outlaws who disrupt the peace, seek to develop weapons of mass destruction -- and use them.

Saddam Hussein has spent the better part of a decade defying Iraq's obligation to destroy its nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the missiles to deliver them. Because we were poised to act military if Iraq continued to block the work of the international weapons inspectors, Iraq backed down and the weapons inspectors are back on the job. We will continue to contain Iraq, preventing it from rebuilding its arsenal or threatening its neighbors. And as we do that, we will work for the day when Iraq has a new government worthy of its people.

On the Korean Peninsula, 37,000 American troops and our South Korean allies stand sentry over the last heavily militarized fault line of the Cold War -- determined to defend freedom, but also committed to secure a permanent peace. The best approach to that challenge is the one we are pursuing -- a clear eyed combination of deterrence against North Korean aggression through our strong military presence; non-proliferation through our program to freeze and dismantle North Korea's program to develop material for nuclear weapons; and diplomacy through engagement with the North. Over the next year, we will insist that North Korea satisfy our concerns about its recent missile launch and the construction of a suspect underground facility. We will not relax our vigilance until lasting peace finally comes to Korea.

For most of the twentieth century, it took a large army or arsenal to threaten America. Today, there is no single, existential challenge to our security. But in the Information Age, small groups of individuals can exploit the free flow of information, ideas and people or the awful power of modern weapons to wreak havoc -- as we have seen from the subways of Tokyo to the streets of the Middle East.

In August, a terrorist network masterminded by Osama bin Laden bombed our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania -- killing 12 American public servants and more than two hundred Africans. That network was planning more attacks on Americans. I ordered our Armed Forces to strike at its training facilities in Afghanistan and a factory in Sudan where we had found evidence of chemical weapons. Over the next year, we will pursue our battle against terrorism -- strengthening the security of our critical infrastructure such as computer and transportation networks ( putting terrorists on the defensive. Wherever possible, we will use the long arm of American law, the determination of our diplomacy and the resources of our intelligence. Wherever necessary, we will act military to defend our people, our interests and our values.

In all of these efforts, we are succeeding and America is secure because we have the finest military in the world. Working with Congress and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, we will continue to ensure the readiness of our armed forces -- from cutting edge technology to the most basic spare parts ( from the best training in the world to a good quality of life. Our men and women in uniform always deliver for America. We must deliver for them.

As we work to contain rogue regimes and combat terrorists, we must pursue our commitment to stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction. To that end, the Senate should ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Just two months elapsed between the time President Kennedy signed the Limited Test Ban Treaty and its ratification by the Senate. It ,s been more than two years since I became the first world leader to sign the CTBT. By ending all nuclear testing, we can help prevent a new arms race and make it more difficult for non-nuclear states to develop these devices of destruction. I ask the Senate to act -- without delay.

Third, we must continue to strengthen our alliances and partnerships in Europe and Asia -- a foundation for America ,s security. For fifty years, NATO has preserved the peace and defended democracy in Europe. It helped freedom triumph over tyranny in the Cold War. At the start of my first administration, America took the lead in opening NATO to new missions, new members and new partners -- including Russia and Ukraine. This April, at NATO ,s 50th anniversary summit in Washington, we will celebrate the success of NATO ,s first fifty years. More important, we will work to shape its next fifty years -- welcoming Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic as new allies... adapting NATO to the challenge of defending its members , borders and promoting peace and security beyond them.

In the 21st century, America ,s future will not be secure if Asia ,s is in doubt. As President, I have worked hard to strengthen America ,s relationships with Japan and Korea, our treaty allies and economic partners. And I convinced that working with China -- and not isolating ourselves from a country that is home to one in five people on this planet -- is the best way to advance America ,s interests. China has a key role to play in preserving stability in Asia, slowing the spread of weapons of mass destruction, combating international crime and drug trafficking, preserving the environment and expanding open markets. Engaging with China is also the best way to make clear our differences over human rights and democracy, as I was able to do for a nationwide Chinese television audience. Over the next year, we will work to expand our cooperation with China where we can and address our differences where we must.

Fourth and finally, we must work to deepen democracy around the world -- the best long term investment we can make in peace and stability. Over the past decade, from Eastern Europe to Latin America and from Asia to Africa, people have made a historic choice for democracy and free markets. Now, in some countries, there is a crisis in confidence in democracy, fueled by the international financial crisis, exacerbated by the failure of institutions to keep pace with aspirations. It is in our interest to help these nations deepen their democracies, because a world with strong democracies will be more peaceful, more prosperous and more secure.

In our own hemisphere today, 34 of 35 countries are democracies -- and we are determined that the people of Cuba, too, will soon know the blessings of freedom. Over the next year, we will continue to strengthen our political and economic ties to Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile and our other regional partners -- promoting the rule of law, freedom of expression, access to education, and more open markets. And we will make good on our commitment to put the countries of Central America devastated by Hurricane Mitch back on the road to recovery. These are our neighbors, our friends and our families -- the American people should feel very good about all they have done and all they will do to help.

We should also pursue the promise of Africa -- and redouble our efforts to make that promise a reality. Last year, I made the most extensive trip ever to Africa by an American president. I saw a continent where democracy is advancing, economic reform is bringing new opportunities to more people, and countries are improving nutrition and health care, combating crime and drugs and empowering women. I also saw how ethnic and political violence continue to plague the people of Africa and threaten their progress. Over the next year, we must seize the opportunity to help Africa ,s most populous nation -- Nigeria -- complete the transition to democracy. We must intensify our efforts to end armed conflict. And -- because Africans and Americans can benefit from more trade and investment -- we must finally pass the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act.

[resources -- transition to next section]

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Julie B. Goldberg ( CN=Julie B. Goldberg/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-DEC-1998 15:43:22.00

SUBJECT: for your approval: Press paper for NDI event

TO: Beverly J. Barnes ( CN=Beverly J. Barnes/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

PRESIDENT CLINTON RECEIVES W. AVERELL HARRIMAN AWARD  
The Omni Shoreham Ballroom, Tuesday, December 8, 1998

President Clinton, along with eight other political leaders who negotiated the Northern Ireland peace agreement, will receive the 1998 W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award at the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) dinner. NDI is honoring the President for his efforts to promote democracy and human rights around the world, including his role in advancing the peace process in Northern Ireland.

The W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award was established in 1986 by NDI to honor the late diplomat and politician Averell Harriman. The award recognizes individuals who exemplify NDI's commitment to human rights and democracy around the world. NDI is a nonprofit organization working to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide.

Order of Participants

Paul Kirk, Honorary Chairman, National Democratic Institute  
President Clinton

###

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Wendy E. Gray ( CN=Wendy E. Gray/OU=NSC/O=EOP [ NSC ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-DEC-1998 10:49:50.00

SUBJECT: Latest Foreign Policy Section of SOU from Blinken

TO: Michael Waldman ( CN=Michael Waldman/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Antony J. Blinken ( CN=Antony J. Blinken/OU=NSC/O=EOP @ EOP [ NSC ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Joshua S. Gottheimer ( CN=Joshua S. Gottheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Michael -- Attached, latest version of our proposed SOU section, which I have edited down a bit. Tony

- - - - -

5

12/7/98 10 a.m.

Foreign Policy Section -- State of the Union

Over the next year, America must remain a leader for peace, freedom and security -- and a bulwark against the forces that would undermine them. We cannot be everywhere, we should not take on everything. But where our interests are clear, where our values are at stake -- and where we can make a difference -- we must press ahead for peace and progress.

First, we must continue to promote peace and stand with those working to build it. Conflict in the Balkans threatened stability in Europe and the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. America's leadership and NATO's resolve have put Bosnia on the path to peace and prevented a humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo. Over the next year, we will continue our work to make Bosnia's peace self-sustaining -- and continue to bring our troops back home to America [TK]. And we will press for a long term settlement in Kosovo that gives back to its people the self-government they once enjoyed and so strongly deserve.

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More than any place in the world, developments in the Middle East will decide the struggle between terror and tolerance, chaos and community. At the Wye Talks, we restored momentum to the Middle East Peace Process. Last month, I was proud to address the Palestinian National Council on the day it finally and irrevocably erased from the Palestinian Charter references to the destruction of Israel. There is a hard road still to travel. But we have mapped out a clear course toward a secure and just peace that is good for Israelis, for Palestinians and for the world.

Second, as we work for peace, freedom and security, we must continue to

combat their enemies. In the next century, the gravest danger to America will come from international outlaws who disrupt the peace, seek to develop weapons of mass destruction -- and use them.

Saddam Hussein has spent the better part of a decade defying Iraq's obligation to destroy its nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the missiles to deliver them. American resolve, leading the international community, has held Saddam in check. We will continue to stand firm against the threat he poses. As we do that, we will work for the day when Iraq has a new government worthy of its people.

On the Korean Peninsula, 37,000 American troops and our South Korean allies stand sentry over the last heavily militarized fault line of the Cold War -- determined to defend freedom, but also committed to secure a permanent peace. The best approach to that challenge is the one we are pursuing -- a clear eyed combination of deterrence against North Korean aggression through our strong military presence; non-proliferation through our program to freeze and dismantle North Korea's program to develop material for nuclear weapons; and diplomacy through engagement with the North. We will insist that North Korea satisfy our concerns about its recent missile launch and the construction of a suspect underground facility. We will not relax our vigilance until lasting peace finally comes to Korea.

For most of the 20th century, the greatest threats to America were posed by hostile ideologies backed by strong military arsenals. Today, there is no single, existential challenge to our security. But in the Information Age, small groups of individuals can exploit the free flow of information, ideas and people or the awful power of modern weapons to wreak havoc -- as we have seen from the subways of Tokyo to the streets of the Middle East to our own embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salem.

We must step up the struggle against terrorism -- strengthening the security of our critical infrastructure such as computer and transportation networks ( putting terrorists on the defensive. Wherever possible, we will use the long arm of American law, the determination of our diplomacy and the resources of our intelligence. Wherever necessary, we will act military to defend our people, our interests and our values.

In all of these efforts, we are succeeding and America is secure because we have the finest military in the world. Working with Congress and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, we will continue to ensure the readiness of our armed forces -- from cutting edge technology to the most basic spare parts ( from the best training in the world to a good quality of life. Our men and women in uniform always deliver for America. We must deliver for them.

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Third, we must continue to strengthen our alliances and partnerships in Europe and Asia -- a foundation for America's security. For fifty years, NATO has preserved the peace and defended democracy in Europe.

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In the 21st century, America ,s future will not be secure if Asia ,s is in doubt. As President, I have worked hard to strengthen America ,s relationships with Japan and Korea, our treaty allies and economic partners. And I convinced that working with China -- and not isolating ourselves from a country that is home to one in five people on this planet -- is the best way to advance America ,s interests. China has a key role to play in preserving stability in Asia, slowing the spread of weapons of mass destruction, combating international crime and drug trafficking, preserving the environment and expanding open markets. Engaging with China is also the best way to make clear our differences over human rights and democracy, as I was able to do for a nationwide Chinese television audience. Over the next year, we will work to expand our cooperation with China where we can and address our differences where we must.

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In our own hemisphere today, 34 of 35 countries are democracies -- and we believe that the people of Cuba, too, should know the blessings of freedom. Over the next year, we will continue to strengthen our political and economic ties to Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile and our other regional partners -- promoting the rule of law, freedom of expression, access to education, and more open markets. And we will make good on our commitment to put the countries of Central America devastated by Hurricane Mitch back on the road to recovery. These are our neighbors, our friends and our families -- the American people should feel very good about all they have done and all they will do to help.

We should also pursue the promise of Africa. Last year, I made the most extensive trip ever to Africa by an American president. I saw a continent where democracy is advancing, economic reform is bringing new opportunities to more people, and countries are improving nutrition and health care, combating crime and drugs and empowering women. I also saw how ethnic and political violence continue to plague the people of Africa and threaten their progress. Over the next year, we must seize the opportunity to help Africa ,s most populous nation -- Nigeria -- complete the transition to democracy. We must intensify our efforts to end armed conflict. And -- because Africans and Americans can benefit from more trade and investment -- we must finally pass the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act.

[resources -- transition to next section]

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Joshua S. Gottheimer ( CN=Joshua S. Gottheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:30-DEC-1998 10:57:22.00

SUBJECT: First Draft - SOTU Foreign Policy Section

TO: Matt Gobush ( CN=Matt Gobush/OU=NSC/O=EOP @ EOP [ NSC ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP on  
12/30/98 10:57 AM -----

Wendy E. Gray  
12/03/98 08:58:16 AM  
Record Type: Record

To: Michael Waldman/WHO/EOP  
cc: Jordan Tamagni/WHO/EOP, Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP, Antony J. Blinken/NSC/EOP  
Subject:First Draft - SOTU Foreign Policy Section

As promised. Sorry for the delay. The systems did not to cooperate earlier.

- - - - -  
5

12/2/98 8 p.m.  
Foreign Policy Section -- State of the Union

Over the next year, America must remain a leader for peace, freedom and security -- and a bulwark against the forces that would undermine them. We cannot be everywhere, we should not take on everything. But where our interests are clear and our values at stake -- and where we can make a difference -- we must press ahead for peace and progress.

First, we must continue to promote peace and stand with those working to build it. Conflict in the Balkans threatened stability in Europe and the safety of hundreds of thousands of people. NATO ,s resolve and America ,s leadership have put Bosnia on the path to peace and prevented a humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo. Over the next year, we will continue our work to make Bosnia ,s peace self-sustaining -- and begin to bring our remaining troops back home to America [TK]. And we will press for a long term settlement in Kosovo that gives back to its people the self-government they once enjoyed and so strongly deserve.

The American people can be justly proud that we have helped Northern Ireland move from the deep freeze of despair to the warm sunlight of peace. The Good Friday Accord and its ratification by the people of Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic were remarkable achievements, putting an end to 30 years of violence and heartbreak, placing the destiny of Northern Ireland where it belongs -- in the hands of its people and their elected representatives. Over the next year, America will continue to walk the road of renewal with the people of Northern Ireland as they put down the weapons of war, bring the institutions of democratic

government to life and find in peace a new prosperity. The people of Northern Ireland have chosen a future different from the past. America will help them build it.

More than any place in the world, developments in the Middle East will decide the struggle between extremism and moderation, terror and tolerance, chaos and community. At the Wye Talks, we restored real momentum to the Middle East Peace Process. Last month, I was proud to address the Palestinian National Committee on the day it finally and irrevocably erased from the Palestinian Charter references to the destruction of Israel. There is a hard road still to travel. But we have mapped out a clear course to realize the promise of peace -- a peace that is good for Israelis, for Palestinians and for the world.

Second, as we work for peace, freedom and security, we must continue to combat their enemies. In the next century, the gravest danger to America will come from rogue states and international outlaws that disrupt the peace, seek to develop weapons of mass destruction -- and use them. We must keep rogue states contained, keep terrorists on the run, and keep to our determination to stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

Saddam Hussein has spent the better part of a decade defying Iraq's obligation to destroy its nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the missiles to deliver them. This fall, the United States, together with Great Britain -- and with the support of friends around the world -- was poised to act militarily if Iraq continued to block the work of the international weapons inspectors. As a result, Iraq backed down and the weapons inspectors are back on the job. Over the next year, we will continue to contain Iraq, preventing it from rebuilding its arsenal or threatening its neighbors. And we will work toward the day when Iraq has a government worthy of its people.

On the Korean Peninsula, 37,000 American troops and our South Korean allies stand sentry over the last heavily militarized fault line of the Cold War -- determined to defend freedom, but also committed to secure a permanent peace on the peninsula. The best approach to that challenge is the one we are pursuing -- a clear eyed combination of deterring North Korean aggression through our strong military presence; non-proliferation through our program to freeze and dismantle North Korea's dangerous nuclear program; and diplomacy through gradual engagement with the North. Over the next year, we will insist that North Korea satisfy our concerns about its recent missile launch and the construction of a suspect underground facility. And we will not relax our vigilance until lasting peace finally comes to Korea.

For most of the twentieth century, it took a large army or a huge arsenal to threaten America's interests and security. In the Information Age, small groups of individuals can exploit the free flow of information, ideas and people or the awful power of modern weapons to wreak havoc -- as we have seen from the subways of Tokyo to the streets of the Middle East.

In August, a network of radical groups masterminded by Osama bin Laden bombed our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania -- killing XX Americans and hundreds of Africans. That network was planning more attacks on Americans. I ordered our Armed Forces to strike at its training facilities in Afghanistan and a chemical weapons factory in Sudan. Over the next year, we will pursue our battle against terrorism. Wherever possible, we will use the long arm of American law, the determination of our diplomacy and the resources of our intelligence. Wherever necessary, we will act militarily to defend our people, our interests and our values. [

TK: critical infrastructure? arms control? CTBT/STARTII/BWC?]

Third, we must continue to strengthen our alliances and partnerships in Europe and Asia -- a foundation for America ,s security. For fifty years, NATO preserved the peace and defended democracy in Europe. It helped freedom triumph over tyranny in the Cold War. At the start of my first administration, America took the lead in opening NATO to new missions, members and partners -- including Russia and Ukraine. This April, we will host NATO ,s 50th anniversary summit in Washington. There, we will celebrate the success of NATO ,s first fifty years. More important, we will work to shape its next fifty years -- welcoming Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic as new allies... adapting NATO to the challenges of defending its members , borders and acting as a force for peace and security beyond them.

In the 21st century, America ,s future will not be secure if Asia ,s is in doubt. Last year, I made my third trip as President to Japan and Korea, our treaty allies and economic partners. And I traveled to China -- home to one in five people on this planet -- because it has a key role to play in preserving stability in Asia, slowing the spread of weapons of mass destruction, combating international crime and drug trafficking, preserving the environment and expanding open markets. Engaging with China is the best way to encourage it to play an ever more productive role. It ,s also the best way to make clear our differences over human rights and democracy, as I was able to do on national television. Over the next year, we will work to expand our cooperation with China where we can and narrow our differences where we must.

Fourth and finally, we must work to deepen democracy around the world -- the best long term investment we can make in peace and stability. Over the past decade, from Eastern Europe to Latin America and from Asia to Africa, people have made a historic choice for democracy and free markets. Now, in many countries, we must contend with a crisis in confidence in democracy and free markets, fueled by the international financial crisis, exacerbated by the failure of some new democracies to build strong institutions or to give their citizens a real say in governance. We must help meet these challenges -- and help make sure that democracy delivers for people around the world.

One of the most heartening developments in our own hemisphere is that today, 34 of 35 countries are democracies -- and we are determined that the people of Cuba, too, will soon know the blessings of freedom. Over the next year, we will continue to strengthen our political and economic ties to Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile and our other regional partners. [TK: more specific? how will we work to deepen democracy?] And we will make good on our commitment to put the countries of Central America devastated by Hurricane Mitch back on the road to recovery. These are our neighbors, our friends and our families -- the American people should feel very good about all they have done and all they will do to help.

We should also feel good about the promise of Africa -- and we should redouble our efforts to make that promise a reality. Last year, I made the most extensive trip ever to Africa by an American president. I saw a continent where democracy is advancing, where economic reform is bringing new opportunities to more people, where countries are improving nutrition and health care, combating crime and drugs and empowering women. I also saw first hand how ethnic and political violence continue to plague the people of Africa and threaten their progress. Over the next year, we must seize the opportunity to help Africa ,s most populous nation -- Nigeria -- complete its transition to democracy. We must intensify our efforts to

end armed conflict. And we must -- finally -- pass the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act.

[transition to next section]

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Matt Gobush ( CN=Matt Gobush/OU=NSC/O=EOP [ NSC ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:30-DEC-1998 11:34:00.00

SUBJECT: SOU Foreign Policy 12-7-98

TO: Joshua S. Gottheimer ( CN=Joshua S. Gottheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

12/7/98 10 a.m.

Foreign Policy Section -- State of the Union

Over the next year, America must remain a leader for peace, freedom and security -- and a bulwark against the forces that would undermine them. We cannot be everywhere, we should not take on everything. But where our interests are clear, where our values are at stake -- and where we can make a difference -- we must press ahead for peace and progress.

First, we must continue to promote peace and stand with those working to build it. Conflict in the Balkans threatened stability in Europe and the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. America ,s leadership and NATO ,s resolve have put Bosnia on the path to peace and prevented a humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo. Over the next year, we will continue our work to make Bosnia ,s peace self-sustaining -- and continue to bring our troops back home to America [TK]. And we will press for a long term settlement in Kosovo that gives back to its people the self-government they once enjoyed and so strongly deserve.

The American people can be justly proud that we have helped Northern Ireland move from the deep freeze of despair to the warm sunlight of peace. The Good Friday Accord and its ratification put an end to 30 years of heartbreak and placed the destiny of Northern Ireland in the hands of its people and their elected representatives. The people of Northern Ireland have chosen a future different from the past. America will help them build it.

More than any place in the world, developments in the Middle East will decide the struggle between terror and tolerance, chaos and community. At the Wye Talks, we restored momentum to the Middle East Peace Process. Last month, I was proud to address the Palestinian National Council on the day it finally and irrevocably erased from the Palestinian Charter references to the destruction of Israel. There is a hard road still to travel. But we have mapped out a clear course toward a secure and just peace that is good for Israelis, for Palestinians and for the world.

Second, as we work for peace, freedom and security, we must continue to combat their enemies. In the next century, the gravest danger to America will come from international outlaws who disrupt the peace, seek to develop weapons of mass destruction -- and use them.

Saddam Hussein has spent the better part of a decade defying Iraq ,s obligation to destroy its nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the missiles to deliver them. American resolve, leading the international community, has held Saddam in check. We will continue to stand firm

against the threat he poses. As we do that, we will work for the day when Iraq has a new government worthy of its people.

On the Korean Peninsula, 37,000 American troops and our South Korean allies stand sentry over the last heavily militarized fault line of the Cold War -- determined to defend freedom, but also committed to secure a permanent peace. The best approach to that challenge is the one we are pursuing -- a clear eyed combination of deterrence against North Korean aggression through our strong military presence; non-proliferation through our program to freeze and dismantle North Korea's program to develop material for nuclear weapons; and diplomacy through engagement with the North. We will insist that North Korea satisfy our concerns about its recent missile launch and the construction of a suspect underground facility. We will not relax our vigilance until lasting peace finally comes to Korea.

For most of the 20th century, the greatest threats to America were posed by hostile ideologies backed by strong military arsenals. Today, there is no single, existential challenge to our security. But in the Information Age, small groups of individuals can exploit the free flow of information, ideas and people or the awful power of modern weapons to wreak havoc -- as we have seen from the subways of Tokyo to the streets of the Middle East to our own embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam.

We must step up the struggle against terrorism -- strengthening the security of our critical infrastructure such as computer and transportation networks putting terrorists on the defensive. Wherever possible, we will use the long arm of American law, the determination of our diplomacy and the resources of our intelligence. Wherever necessary, we will act militarily to defend our people, our interests and our values.

In all of these efforts, we are succeeding and America is secure because we have the finest military in the world. Working with Congress and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, we will continue to ensure the readiness of our armed forces -- from cutting edge technology to the most basic spare parts from the best training in the world to a good quality of life. Our men and women in uniform always deliver for America. We must deliver for them.

As we work to contain rogue regimes and combat terrorists, we must pursue our commitment to stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction. To that end, the Senate should ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. By ending all nuclear testing, we can help prevent a new arms race and make it more difficult for non-nuclear states to develop these devices of destruction. Just two months elapsed between the time President Kennedy signed the Limited Test Ban Treaty and its ratification by the Senate. It's been more than two years since I became the first world leader to sign the CTBT. I ask the Senate to act -- without delay.

Third, we must continue to strengthen our alliances and partnerships in Europe and Asia -- a foundation for America's security. For fifty years, NATO has preserved the peace and defended democracy in Europe. America has taken the lead in opening NATO to new missions, new members and new partners -- including Russia and Ukraine. This April, at NATO's 50th anniversary summit in Washington, we will celebrate the success of NATO's first fifty years. More important, we will work to shape its next fifty years -- welcoming Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic as new allies... adapting NATO to the new challenges of defending its members, borders and promoting peace and security beyond them.

In the 21st century, America's future will not be secure if Asia's is in

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In our own hemisphere today, 34 of 35 countries are democracies -- and we believe that the people of Cuba, too, should know the blessings of freedom. Over the next year, we will continue to strengthen our political and economic ties to Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile and our other regional partners -- promoting the rule of law, freedom of expression, access to education, and more open markets. And we will make good on our commitment to put the countries of Central America devastated by Hurricane Mitch back on the road to recovery. These are our neighbors, our friends and our families -- the American people should feel very good about all they have done and all they will do to help.

We should also pursue the promise of Africa. Last year, I made the most extensive trip ever to Africa by an American president. I saw a continent where democracy is advancing, economic reform is bringing new opportunities to more people, and countries are improving nutrition and health care, combating crime and drugs and empowering women. I also saw how ethnic and political violence continue to plague the people of Africa and threaten their progress. Over the next year, we must seize the opportunity to help Africa ,s most populous nation -- Nigeria -- complete the transition to democracy. We must intensify our efforts to end armed conflict. And -- because Africans and Americans can benefit from more trade and investment -- we must finally pass the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act.

[resources -- transition to next section]===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====  
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

WPC

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Anthony J. BlinkenMatth

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header (# ` hp x (##XP\ P6QXP#12/7/98 10 a.m.  
[X][Foreign Policy Section State of the Union]

[Over the next year, America must remain a leader for peace, freedom and security and a bulwark against the forces that would undermine them. We cannot be everywhere, we should not take on everything. But where our interests are clear, where our values are at stake and where we can make a difference we must press ahead for peace and progress. ]

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[resources transition to next section]

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Michael Waldman ( CN=Michael Waldman/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:10-JAN-1999 13:38:47.00

SUBJECT:

TO: June Shih ( CN=June Shih/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

1/6/99 6 p.m.

Foreign Policy Section -- State of the Union

We end this century as the world ,s indispensable nation ) the world ,s leading force for peace and freedom, security and stability. The people of the United States benefit greatly from our strong ties to the other nations of the world. In security and economic strength, we earn rich dividends from our commitment to lead. But we have a responsibility, as well ) as the only nation strong enough and confident enough to act when necessary.

As we enter the new century, the world needs American leadership more than ever before. New opportunities for peace and democracy arise and must be seized. And new threats to our security and the world demand eternal vigilance.

Over the past year, the United States has helped bring the calm hand of reconciliation to lands torn by ancient and bloody hatreds.

At the center of Europe, where just a few years ago tens of thousands of people lost their lives to a brutal civil war, American leadership and NATO ,s resolve have put Bosnia on the path to peace. Over the next year, we will continue our work to make Bosnia ,s peace self-sustaining -- and continue to bring our troops back home to America [TK: announce new level?]. Now, in Kosovo, we seek to prevent a humanitarian catastrophe, pressing for a solution that gives to its people the self-government they once enjoyed and so strongly deserve.

In Northern Ireland, we were proud to stand with the Protestants and Catholics who signed the historic Good Friday agreement to bring peace and justice to that troubled land. For thirty years, the Troubles brought xx to that land. All Americans should be proud that we were able to stand with xx as Northern Ireland moved from the deep freeze of despair to the warm sunlight of peace. The people of Northern Ireland have chosen a future of peace. Now, America will help them build it.

And in the Middle East -- birthplace of three great religions, source of so much instability in the world -- we have helped bring the parties closer to peace. Two months ago, in a long week of meetings on the Maryland shore, the Prime Minister of Israel, the Chairman of the Palestinian Authority, the King of Jordan and I put the peace process back on track. Last month, in Israel, we kept it moving forward. I was proud to address the Palestinian National Council on the day it renounced its call for the destruction of Israel. In the months to come, the road to peace will be difficult. But we are moving forward. And we can see our way toward a just and secure peace that is good for Israelis, for Palestinians and for the world.

As we seize the opportunities to make peace, we must also stand ready to meet the new threats to our nation and the security of the world. No longer are longer is the United States threatened by aggressive totalitarianism armed with nuclear weapons. But today, a decade after the end of the Cold War, outlaw nations and even small groups of individuals can disrupt the peace acquire poison gas, biological weapons and even nuclear arms and wreak their havoc by terror. The battlefields of this conflict are the subways of Tokyo. The streets of the Middle East. And our embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam.

We will stand ready to defend our security wherever it is threatened.

We stand ready on the Korean Peninsula, where 37,000 American troops and our South Korean allies stand sentry over the last heavily militarized fault line of the Cold War. We must deter North Korean aggression; prevent North Korea from developing nuclear materials; and [diplomacy]. 48 years after the end of the Korean War, it is time for a secure peace to come to Korea.

We stand ready to defend our nation against terrorist strikes here at home. We must strengthen the security of our critical infrastructure such as computer and transportation networks putting terrorists on the defensive. [TK: Insert on Chem/Bio budget increase]

We stand ready to work against the spread of nuclear weapons around the world. To end all nuclear testing, to prevent a new nuclear arms race, and to make it harder for nations without nuclear weapons to develop them, I call on Congress to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. In 1963, just two months elapsed between the time President Kennedy signed the Limited Test Ban Treaty and its ratification by the Senate. It ,s been more than two years since I became the first world leader to sign the CTBT. I ask the Senate to act -- without delay.

There is one new step we can take to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. Russia, the Ukraine, and the other nations of the former Soviet Union continue to make the difficult transition to democracy and free markets. Now, as we work to support the transformation to democracy and free markets underway in Russia, Ukraine and other countries of the former Soviet Union, we should act boldly to keep xxx. In my balanced budget, I will ask Congress for over \$4 billion over the next five years to help these countries prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction to use their remarkable scientific potential for peaceful purposes to implement sweeping arms control agreements and to accelerate the destruction of thousands of nuclear weapons and fissile material. For half a century, our nation spent trillions of dollars in the nuclear standoff with Russia. It would be a greivous error, at this moment of hope, to let these weapons

And we stand ready -- and stand firm -- against the threat posed by Saddam Hussein. For nearly a decade, Saddam Hussein has defied Iraq ,s obligation to destroy its nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the missiles to deliver them. Is that the term of art - refused to destroy? - or continued to build? Saddam has used such weapons before -- against soldiers and civilians against his neighbors and his own people. I have no doubt that, left unchecked, he would use them again.

American resolve, leading the international community, has held Saddam in check -- with diplomacy and sanctions whenever possible with force whenever necessary. And we will work for the day when Iraq has a government worthy of its people.

Every American should be proud of the men and women of our military who last month struck at the weapons of terror in Iraq. Our troops were superb; their weapons precise and powerful. Their mission was successful ) so flawlessly executed that we risk taking for granted the bravery and skill they brought to the job. [x] flew [x] missions, destroying [x] that made [chemical weapons][or whatever]. He is here with us tonight. Let us all honor him and the 10,000 other men and women of Desert Fox.

In all of these efforts, we rely on our Armed Forces to defend America ,s interests in a dangerous world. We are proud of them because they are the best in the world. When I took office, this Administration continued to further streamline the military, to take advantage of the opportunities created by the end of the Cold War. However, as Commander-in-Chief, my highest obligation is to give our troops the tools they need to succeed. Last year, I asked Congress to add \$1.1 billion to the budget to keep our readiness razor-sharp and to improve recruitment. And Congress did. The budget I will submit to Congress for next year asks you to approve an increase of over \$12 billion for defense readiness and modernization -- the start of a sustained, six-year increase in defense spending for the first time in a decade. My budget will ensure that our Armed Forces remain ready to deploy rapidly in any crisis that they continue to be the best equipped fighting force in the world and that their service is not only rewarding, but well-rewarded, with a pay raise of 4.4 percent. Our men and women in uniform always deliver for America. We must deliver for them.

Finally, as we enter the 21st Century, we must build strong new alliances ) and modernize those already in place ) to preserve peace and security.

For half a century, NATO has kept the peace and defended democracy in Europe. NATO was the most successful military alliance in history ) achieving its great objectives without a shot fired in anger. Now, we are modernizing NATO for the challenges of the 21st Century. This April, at NATO ,s 50th anniversary summit in Washington, we will work to shape its next fifty years -- welcoming Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic as our first new allies from Central Europe ... adapting NATO to the new challenges of defending its members , borders and promoting peace and security beyond them ... and strengthen its new partnership with Russia and Ukraine.

And we recognize that more than ever, our future will depend upon a strong partnership with the nations of Asia. As President, I have worked hard to strengthen America ,s relationships with Japan and Korea, our allies and economic partners. I am convinced that working with China -- a country that is home to one in five people on Earth -- is the best way to advance America ,s interests and ideals. China must play a key role to play in preserving stability in Asia, slowing the spread of weapons of mass destruction, combating international crime and drug trafficking, preserving the environment and expanding trade. At the same time, we have fundamental differences with the Chinese government, including its failure to respect the human rights of its people. China cannot achieve its full potential as a nation until its people are allowed to reach theirs. It is far better to engage with China, speaking frankly as I did to the Chinese people last year -- not to isolate China from the forces that have already changed its people ,s lives. Over the next year,

we will expand our cooperation with China where we can and address our differences where we must.

And we must do more to hasten the spread of democracy. From our earliest days, when Thomas Paine said &The cause of America is the cause of mankind, 8 we have been devoted, above all, to the spread to every continent of our values of human rights, individual freedom, and democracy. The spread of democracy at century ,s end was so sudden, and so complete, that we risk seeing it as permanent -- or inevitable. If the ordinary people of the world do not feel the benefits of democracy, they will reject it.

So in Africa, where I saw [good stuff -- see below], we will  
xxxxxxx.

In Latin America, where now every government but one is freely chosen by the people, xx. [1 or 2 sentences, max!]

And we are determined that the poeple of Cuba, too, should know the blessings of freedom.

Fourth, we must work to deepen democracy around the world -- the best long term investment we can make in peace and security. Over the past decade, from Eastern Europe to Latin America and from Asia to Africa, people have made a historic choice for democracy and free markets. Now, in some countries, people question whether democracy can deliver for them in their daily lives. Their fears are fueled by the international financial crisis, and by the failure of institutions to keep pace with aspirations. We should help people deepen their democracies, because a world with strong democracies will be more peaceful, prosperous and secure. In our own hemisphere today, 34 of 35 countries are democracies -- and we are determined that the people of Cuba, too, should know the blessings of freedom. Over the next year, we will continue to strengthen our political and economic ties to our regional partners -- promoting the rule of law, freedom of expression, access to education, and more open markets. And we will make good on our commitment to put the countries of Central America devastated by Hurricane Mitch back on the road to recovery. These are our neighbors, our friends and our families -- the American people should feel good about all they have done and all they will do to help.

We should also pursue the promise of Africa. Last year, I made the most extensive trip ever to Africa by an American president. I saw a continent where democracy is advancing, economic reform is bringing new opportunities to more people, and countries are improving health care, combating crime and drugs and empowering women. I also saw how ethnic and political violence continue to plague the people of Africa and threaten their progress. Over the next year, we must seize the opportunity to help Africa ,s most populous nation -- Nigeria -- complete the transition to democracy. We must intensify our efforts to end armed conflict. And -- because Africans and Americans can benefit from more trade and investment -- we must finally pass the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act.

[resources/UN funding -- transition to next section]

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Wendy E. Gray ( CN=Wendy E. Gray/OU=NSC/O=EOP [ NSC ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:11-JAN-1999 19:48:28.00

SUBJECT: Forn Policy Section SOU

TO: Jordan Tamagni ( CN=Jordan Tamagni/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Michael Waldman ( CN=Michael Waldman/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Antony J. Blinken ( CN=Antony J. Blinken/OU=NSC/O=EOP @ EOP [ NSC ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Joshua S. Gottheimer ( CN=Joshua S. Gottheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

The following is from Tony: "Gang -- new version of our section incorporating most of Michael's changes, some NSC staff changes for accuracy, and some cuts of my own. Please feel free to send forward to POTUS. Thanks for your patience. Tony"

- - - - -

6

1/11/98 6:30 p.m.

State of the Union -- Foreign Policy Section

We end this century as the world ,s indispensable nation. The power of our ideals, the strength of our economy, and the might of our military have given us a unique opportunity to shape a more democratic, peaceful and prosperous world. But we bear a responsibility, as well, to act when our interests are clear, our values are at stake and where we can make a difference. In the new century, new opportunities for peace and democracy must be seized. And new threats to our security and the world demand eternal vigilance.

Over the next year, the United States must continue to bring the calm hand of reconciliation to lands torn by war and violence.

At the center of Europe, where just a few years ago tens of thousands of people lost their lives to the bloodiest war since World War II, American leadership and NATO ,s resolve have put Bosnia on the path to peace and prevented a humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo. Over the next year, we will continue to make Bosnia ,s peace self-sustaining -- and continue to drawdown our forces. In Kosovo, we will work to sustain a fragile cease-fire and press for a settlement that gives its people the self-government they once enjoyed and so strongly deserve.

All Americans should be proud that we stood with Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland as they moved from the deep freeze of despair to the warm sunlight of peace. Through the Good Friday Accord, the people of Northern Ireland have put an end to 30 years of heartbreak and chosen a future of peace. Now, America will help them build it.

And in the Middle East -- birthplace of three great religions, source of

so much instability in the world -- we have helped bring the parties closer to a lasting peace. Two months ago, in a long week of meetings on the Maryland shore, we helped put the peace process back on track. Last month, in Israel, we kept it moving forward. I was proud to address the Palestinian National Council on the day it renounced its call for the destruction of Israel. The road to ahead will be difficult. But we can see our way toward a just and secure peace that is good for Israelis, for Palestinians and for the world.

As we seize the opportunities to make peace, we must also stand ready to meet the new threats to our nation and the security of the world. With the end of the Cold War, there is no longer a single, existential threat to our survival. But today, outlaw nations and bands of terrorists can disrupt the peace ( acquire poison gas, biological weapons and even nuclear arms ( and wreak havoc through fear. The battlefields of this conflict are the subways of Tokyo. The streets of the Middle East. Our embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. We will stand ready to defend our security wherever it is threatened.

We stand ready on the Korean Peninsula, where 37,000 American troops and our South Korean allies guard the last militarized fault line of the Cold War. We must continue to deter aggression and prevent North Korea from developing nuclear materials. Forty-five years after the end of the Korean War, it is time for a secure peace to come to Korea.

We stand ready to defend our nation against emerging threats here at home. My balanced budget includes a fifty percent increase in funding to protect from hackers and terrorists the computers that keep our armed forces, communications, transportation, electrical networks and financial markets running strong. It will help train and equip fire departments, police departments, hospitals and local communities to deal with chemical and biological emergencies. And it will support significant new research into vaccines, treatments and monitoring programs to keep our people healthy and secure from these new and deadly threats.

We stand ready to restrain the spread of nuclear weapons. To end all nuclear testing, to prevent a new arms race, and to make it harder for nations without nuclear weapons to develop them, I call on Congress to give its advice and consent to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. In 1963, just two months elapsed between the time President Kennedy signed the Limited Test Ban Treaty and its approval by the Senate. It ,s been more than two years since I became the first world leader to sign the CTBT. I ask the Senate to act -- without delay.

We must also help Russia, Ukraine, and the other nations of the former Soviet Union keep a tight grip on their nuclear arsenals as they continue to make the difficult transition to democracy and free markets. My balanced budget would help these countries prevent weapons of mass destruction from falling into the hands of terrorists and outlaw nations ( use their remarkable scientific potential for peaceful purposes ( implement sweeping arms control agreements ( and accelerate the destruction of thousands of nuclear weapons and fissile material. For half a century, our nation spent trillions of dollars in the nuclear standoff with the Soviet Union. This would be one of the best investments for peace that we could make today.

And we stand ready -- and stand firm -- against the threat posed by Saddam Hussein. For nearly a decade, Iraq has defied its obligation to destroy its nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the missiles to deliver them. Saddam has used such weapons before -- against soldiers and

civilians against his neighbors and his own people. I have no doubt that, left unchecked, he would use them again. American resolve, leading the international community, has held Saddam in check -- with diplomacy and sanctions whenever possible, with force whenever necessary. And we will work for the day when Iraq has a government worthy of its people.

In all of these efforts, we rely on our Armed Forces to defend America's interests in a dangerous world. We are proud of them because they are the best in the world. Every American should be proud of the men and women of our military who last month struck at the weapons of terror in Iraq. Our troops were superb; their weapons precise and powerful. Their mission was successful ) so flawlessly executed that we risk taking for granted the bravery and skill they brought to the job. [x] flew [x] missions, destroying [x] that made [chemical weapons][or whatever]. He is here with us tonight. Let us all honor him and the 10,000 other men and women of Desert Fox.

When I took office, this Administration continued to streamline our military, to take advantage of the end of the Cold War and to make America stronger by putting our economic house in order. But as Commander-in-Chief, I have no higher obligation than to give our troops the tools, training and equipment they need to succeed. Four times over the past nine months, I asked Congress for a total of \$6 billion in emergency funds and reprogrammed money to keep our readiness razor-sharp. Each time, Congress said yes. The budget I will submit for next year asks you to approve an increase of over \$12 billion for defense readiness and modernization -- the start of a sustained, six-year real effort that will reverse a decline in defense spending that began in 1985. My budget will ensure that our Armed Forces remain ready to deploy rapidly in any crisis ( that they remain the best equipped fighting force in the world ( and that their service is not only rewarding, but well-rewarded, with a pay raise of 4.4 percent. [TK: BRAC insert?] Our men and women in uniform always deliver for America. We must deliver for them.

As we enter the 21st Century, we must strengthen and extend our alliances and partnerships to preserve peace and security.

For half a century, NATO has kept the peace and defended democracy in Europe. Now, we are modernizing NATO for the challenges of the 21st Century. This spring in Washington, we will mark NATO's 50th anniversary by welcoming Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic as our first new allies from Central Europe. And we will continue to give NATO new capabilities to combat the more diverse, but no less dangerous threats of the future: ethnic, racial and religious conflict ( the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

And we recognize that more than ever, America's future will not be secure if Asia's is in doubt. As President, I have worked hard to strengthen America's relationships with Japan and Korea, our allies and economic partners. And I am convinced that engaging with China -- home to one in five of the world's people -- is the best way to advance America's interests in this region and to deal directly with our differences. I told the Chinese people on TV this past summer that free markets, political pluralism, the rule of law, and respect for human rights are the best guarantees of national stability. The more we bring China into the world, the more the world will bring freedom to China.

Finally, we must do more to foster the spread of freedom, democracy and human rights around the world. From our founding, as Thomas Paine said, &The cause of America is the cause of mankind. 8 The blossoming of

democracy on every continent at century ,s end was so sudden, and so widespread, that we risk taking it for granted. There is a danger that, i n some countries, confidence in democracy and free markets will be undermined financial turmoil, and by the failure of new institutions to keep up with aspirations. We must help people deepen their democracies so that the historic choice they have made for freedom is never again in doubt.

Last spring, Hillary and I saw an African continent transformed by democracy and economic reform. But we also saw how violence and disease continue to plague the people of Africa and threaten their progress. We must intensify our efforts to strengthen democracy, end conflict, and promote good health. And -- because Africans and Americans can benefit from more trade and investment -- we must finally pass the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act.

And we must continue to strengthen our ties to our neighbors in the Americas, where now every government but one is freely chosen by the people. We must honor our commitment to put the victims of Hurricane Mitch back on the road to recovery. They are our neighbors, and when neighbors are in trouble, good neighbors help out. And we are determined that the people of Cuba, too, should know the blessings of freedom.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Matt Gobush ( CN=Matt Gobush/OU=NSC/O=EOP [ NSC ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:19-JAN-1999 10:42:18.00

SUBJECT: FINAL SOTU Foreign Policy Initiatives

TO: Elizabeth R. Newman ( CN=Elizabeth R. Newman/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Paul J. Weinstein Jr. ( CN=Paul J. Weinstein Jr./OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:  
Cleared by Steinberg. Thanks.

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====  
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:  
WPCK  
2=BAJX|Z|xTimes New Roman (TT)Arial (TT)Courier New (TT)Symbol (TT)C\ P6Q  
J2PQP"d6X@DQ@4a\ P[AP2O?oGMphoenix#Xx6X@DQX@# Iraq

Matthew N. GobushNSC  
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XForeign Policy Initiatives

Bringing Hope to Northern Ireland

President Clintons intensive diplomatic efforts helped achieve the landmark Good Friday Accord last spring, bringing new governing structures and a new era of cooperation to Northern Ireland. By an overwhelming margin, the people of Northern Ireland and Ireland have chosen a peaceful future after a generation of bloodshed. President Clinton reaffirmed his support for full implementation of the agreement, so Northern Ireland can pursue a prosperous, democratic course, free of violence and terror. The U.S. will also continue to support the International Fund for Ireland, which promotes reconciliation through economic regeneration projects targeting disadvantaged Irish border counties and Northern Ireland.

Securing Peace in the Balkans

The U.S. continues to help its European allies in consolidating the peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Through 1999, our priorities will be to accelerate Bosnia's transition to a market economy, increase the momentum on refugee returns, improve the rule of law, reinforce central institutions and press ahead with media and education reform. The NATO-led Stabilization Force, which continues to play a vital role in implementing Dayton, will continue to draw down. This will allow a further reduction in the U.S. troop contribution, which is already one third the size of the U.S. contribution to the previous Implementation Force. The U.S. is also leading efforts to end the repression and a peaceful solution to the Kosovo crisis.

## Promoting Peace in the Middle East

President Clinton believes that the best longterm strategy for Israeli security includes a secure peace with the Palestinians, recognition of their legitimate rights, and a comprehensive, secure peace in the Middle East. The President's efforts at Wye River helped put the peace process back on track after eighteen months of stalemate. At a time when the U.S. is calling on Israel and the Palestinians to meet the commitments they undertook at Wye, the U.S. must meet its responsibilities. The President's supplemental request would bolster Israel's security, strengthen the Palestinian economy and lend a hand to a trusted friend of peace, Jordan.

## Defending Against New Threats to Americas Security

In an era of rapid technological change, Americans are faced with new challenges to our national security from biological and chemical attacks, and attacks on our computer networks. President Clinton has taken the lead in addressing these threats by developing new strategies to combat terrorism, prepare for weapons of mass destruction attacks, and protect our critical infrastructure. To prepare for the threat of biological and chemical weapons, President Clinton has called for an increase in funding for vaccine research and public health surveillance in his FY2000 budget. He has also established a National Domestic Preparedness Office, which will provide an integrated federal program to train and equip those who would first respond to a biological or chemical weapons attack, and develop emergency plans for 120 metropolitan areas nationwide. To protect our computer networks from cyber terrorism, he has called for an initiative to train and hire information technology experts to safeguard government computer networks, and an initiative to integrate systems designed to monitor computer intrusion. The President has also launched new publicprivate information sharing centers to foster better preparation for cyberattacks and a computer security initiative aimed at safeguarding networks from covert installation of destructive computer code.

## Cooperative Threat Reduction Initiative

President Clinton announced an enhanced effort to work with Russia and other former Soviet countries to reduce the risk that materials, technologies, and expertise for weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles will fall into the hands of rogue nations or terrorists and to help former Soviet countries implement existing arms control agreements. The President's five year budget plan calls for a 70% expansion of threat reduction programs. Our initiative emphasizes engaging weapons scientists and institutes in civilian research, promoting nuclear security by dismantling and destroying warheads and dangerous materials, tightening export controls, and accelerating Russian efforts to withdraw troops stationed outside Russia. None of these funds will be available to entities that engage in dangerous missile or nuclear assistance to Iran. The Administration will continue to help Russia to develop an effective export control system that keeps dangerous technologies away from Iran and others. And we will continue to apply penalties against Russian entities that violate international nonproliferation standards.

We will also continue our efforts to restrain North Korea's nuclear and missile programs, halt a nuclear and missile race between India and Pakistan, and press China to play a more constructive role in efforts to contain the spread of mass destruction weapons and missiles. And we will move forward with international

l negotiations on the Presidents proposal to strengthen our ability to determine whether nations are complying with the Biological Weapons Convention.

#### Containing and Opposing Saddam Hussein

President Clinton stressed that we will continue to contain Iraq as long as it poses a threat to its neighbors and continues to conceal its weapons of mass destruction programs. Saddam Husseins actions demonstrate that he does not intend to comply with UN security council resolutions, even in the face of international pressure. We therefore are pursuing a twotrack policy: advancing initiatives aimed at increasing availability of food and medicine for the Iraqi people while actively supporting efforts by Iraqi opposition groups to replace Saddam's regime.

#### Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

The President's call for the Senate to act without delay to give its advice and consent to ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) will help prevent a new arms race and make it more difficult for nonnuclear states to develop these devices of destruction. The CTBT will allow America to maintain a safe and reliable nuclear deterrent while constraining the proliferation of nuclear material and technology to rogue states' weapons programs. CTBT will improve America's ability to detect and deter nuclear explosive testing. CTBT's global network of sensors will strengthen America's ability to monitor nuclear explosive testing across the globe, as well as deter any nation from believing it can conduct a nuclear explosive test undetected by the international community. If the United States fails to ratify before September, we will undercut our own efforts to strengthen the global nonproliferation regime and curb further nuclear arms development, particularly in South Asia.

#### Strengthening Americas Military

President Clinton proposed a sixyear, sustained increase in defense spending to ensure that Americas armed forces are fully prepared to meet the challenges of the next century and remain the worlds besttrained, bestequipped fighting force ! reversing a trend begun a decade ago. The Presidents budget for next year will provide \$12 billion more than we had planned last year for FY2000 to meet readiness and modernization needs. These funds will strengthen recruitment and retention programs; enhance training, unit operations and flight hour programs, and provide additional spare parts. Funds will also be devoted to modernizing weapons programs, by replacing aging equipment with more technologically advanced systems, taking advantage of cutting edge computer technology, and developing defense systems against both theater and strategic ballistic missiles. Finally, the Presidents defense spending proposal will improve pay and benefits for Americas men and women in uniform, ensuring that they enjoy the quality of life they deserve.

#### Strengthening Alliances and Promoting Freedom

President Clinton will convene a NATO Summit in Washington this April to commemorate its first fifty years and to chart a course for the next century. Unprecedented in size and scope, this golden anniversary summit marks a milestone in President Clintons efforts to strengthen the alliance and build a more integrated, democratic and peaceful Europe. It will reaffirm NATOs commitment to building its relationships with Russia and Ukraine and to the continuing evolution of the Partnership for Peace as a pillar of transatlantic security. Fortyfour leaders from both sides of the Atlantic will come to Washington to welcome its newest members ! Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic ! and to forge a new consensus about the need for joint action to face new challenges to our shared security, including regional conflicts and the growing threat posed by the prolifer

eration of weapons of mass destruction. NATO will also develop a new Strategic Concept, the blueprint guiding the Alliances defense planning and policies, and take steps towards ensuring that NATOs door remains open to prospective new members.

#### Payment of United Nations Arrears

President Clinton highlighted the need for congressional action to meet U.S. financial obligations to the United Nations. From critical peacekeeping operations to life sustaining relief and development efforts in Africa, the Middle East, Europe, and around the globe, the United Nations is an essential institution for the promotion of U.S. objectives across a broad spectrum of issues. Our interests abroad from maintaining political stability, to averting human rights and humanitarian catastrophe, to promoting international standards in areas such as aviation safety demand that we meet our international obligations and increase our leverage in international organizations.

#### Hurricane Mitch Response

President Clinton reaffirmed our commitment to assist in the reconstruction of those Central American countries devastated by Hurricane Mitch. Over the past three months, more than 5,000 of our armed forces have provided critical relief and rehabilitation assistance to the people of Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala and El Salvador. This has included the initial response in which U.S. troops rescued many hundreds of Central Americans and delivered food, medical equipment and other essential supplies as well as more recent reconstruction efforts that have included bridge building and road repair. In addition, the U.S. Agency for International Development and the U.S. Department of Agriculture have provided food, medical aid, reconstruction material and other support. The U.S. contribution to the relief effort has totaled \$300 million thus far, and President Clinton intends to increase substantially our aid to longer term reconstruction in the weeks and months to come.

#### Africa Growth and Opportunity Act

The United States has important and growing strategic interests in Africa. Africa supplies over 13% of our oil imports and represents the largest untapped market in the world. Unfortunately, conflict still undermines Africas vast potential and our own strategic interests. That is why we aim to build a stable and prosperous Africa a strong partner for security and peace, and an ally against drug trafficking, international crime, terrorism, the spread of disease and environmental degradation. President Clintons historic trip to the continent last year highlighted the new opportunities for partnership between our nation and the nations of Africa.

In the State of the Union, President Clinton called upon Congress to pass the African Growth and Opportunity Act, an important and groundbreaking piece of legislation which recognizes African countries efforts to institute sound economic policies and reform. The philosophy of this bill is simple: America stands ready to help those African countries undertake difficult reforms to build a better future. Effective aid, combined with strong reforms and increased trade and investment, will break Africas cycle of dependency and create new markets for U.S. exports.===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: "Weinstein, Dena" <dweinste@usia.gov> ( "Weinstein, Dena" <dweinste@usia.gov> )

CREATION DATE/TIME:18-FEB-1999 12:38:37.00

SUBJECT: weekly report

TO: Lisa J. Levin ( CN=Lisa J. Levin/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

February 17, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR: John Podesta

Chief of Staff

FROM: Penn Kemble

Acting Director, United States Information

Agency

SUBJECT: Weekly Report

I. KEY DEPARTMENT NEWS

**KOSOVO ALBANIAN POSITION HARDENING:** A just-completed USIA survey in Kosovo finds that Kosovo Albanians are becoming less inclined to support options short of independence, while more Kosovo Serbs have become willing to compromise on autonomy. Virtually all (99%) Kosovo Albanians endorse independence, and most are unwilling to settle for increased autonomy within Serbia, territorial division of the province or Kosovo's gaining the status of a republic equal to Serbia and Montenegro. In fact, support for republic status has plummeted (from 83% to 32%) since spring 1998. A minority of Kosovo Serbs favor granting increased autonomy to the province, but most oppose any change in Kosovo's status. Neither group looks favorably on the idea of an interim settlement.

**SOUTH KOREANS SUPPORT ENGAGING THE NORTH:** Results from a mid-January USIA survey show that a large majority of South Koreans (76%) continue to support President Kim Dae Jung's "sunshine" policy of engaging North Korea economically and culturally. Against a background of increased private contact, seven-in-ten think that South Korean businesses should increase their trade and investment in the North. Two-thirds (67%) also see their country cooperating at least "fairly closely" with the U.S. in dealing with problems related to the North. However, a majority of the public doubt that the U.S. will protect South Korean interests in negotiations with the North (40% think it will).

**"BALKAN BRINKMANSHIP" AT RAMBOUILLET:** Secretary Albright's visit to Rambouillet to assess negotiations garnered extensive European comment. A Berlin writer judged that "Albright's trip is a sign that the U.S. has taken on the leadership in the peace process." Papers in Britain, Germany, Italy, Russia and Denmark viewed the arrival of the "world's policewoman" as providing a welcome boost to the talks. As a Copenhagen daily put it, "Madeleine Albright proved almost as efficient as a squadron of NATO bombers when she forced the Serbs and Albanians to meet face to face." A few editorials emphasized that, if

an agreement is to be reached, "flexible deadlines and doubt about the will to show military muscle are not the answer."

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT: USIS provided press and media support for The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD). USIS The Hague posted transcripts of speeches (including Mrs. Clinton's keynote address), and arranged daily press conferences and press opportunities for members of the U.S. delegation. Local press coverage of the U.S. contribution to the conference was broad, accurate, and favorable. Daily Washington File reports ensured that USIS posts worldwide had accurate and useful updates on the forum's deliberations.

USIS BRUSSELS COUNTERS NEGATIVE REPORTS IN ITALY: The first anniversary of the Cavalese cable car accident was an emotional event for the relatives and friends of the five Belgian victims. USIS issued a press communique, that fought inaccurate information in the media and showed the U.S. accepts responsibility for the disaster.

PEACE BUILDING IN CYPRUS: USIS Nicosia hosted an audio conference February 10 on the tangible, practical aspects of peace building between Greek and Turkish Cypriots and conflict moderated by mediation specialists from Northern Ireland. At the end of the session, the Cypriots had compiled a list of fifteen practical suggestions for advancing a peaceful settlement.

POTUS TRIP TO MEXICO: USIS Mexico provided media support for Secretary Albright, Attorney General Reno and APNSA Berger and their staffs. USIS provided a blitz of pre-visit coverage, as Ambassador Davidow interviewed on local television and CNN International to get out the President's message.

FOLLOW-UP TO GORE CONFERENCE IN MOROCCAN PRESS: The influential Moroccan daily "L'Economiste" carried a half page article this week entitled "How to Make Public Authorities More Efficient: The American Proposals." The story, a review of Vice President Gore's January conference on "Reinventing Government," relies heavily on USIS-provided information on the conference, including material from the French-language USIA Washington File. USIS Morocco helped facilitate the participation of a Moroccan minister and his team at the conference.

VISIT OF THE MAYOR OF PALERMO: USIA has organized a unique International Visitor Program for Mayor Leoluca Orlando of Palermo, Italy. The Mayor is visiting the U.S. with a successful anti-crime and corruption initiative. The citizens of Palermo spent a decade working toward the elimination of the Mafia, winning the battle through grassroots attention to democracy and civic education. Mr. Orlando will announce the Civitas Palermo World Congress, sponsored in part by USIA, to be held in June, 1999 to focus on his city's success.

## II. PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVES

Y2K PREPARATIONS IN BOLIVIA: USIS La Paz reports that its Y2K Worldnet provided a forum for discussion on Y2K preparedness in the private and public sectors. There is much to be done before the nations' systems are Y2K compliant. Representatives of the Bolivian government's Y2K committee made their first appearance to discuss what has been done and what needs to be addressed.

USIA PUBLICATION SUPPORTS CORRUPTION CONFERENCE: To support the Vice

President's conference on corruption, USIA has produced a new pamphlet featuring practical advice on curbing corruption, "facts and figures" on bribery and corruption, and summaries of anti-bribery and related conventions.

BLACK HISTORY MONTH IN ANKARA: To commemorate Black History Month, USIS Ankara hosted a lecture for members of the Turkish American Studies Association on the history of the banjo. The multimedia lecture suggested the banjo as a paradigm of the African-American experience, beginning with its passage from Africa aboard slave ships to the plantations of the 18th century and mainstream American music.

BLACK HISTORY MONTH IN COPENHAGEN: USIS Copenhagen held the second annual celebration of Black History Month February 12. The program featured three lectures by Fulbright scholars on the black-American experience and the significance of Martin Luther King Jr., as well as a viewing of the Spike Lee film "Four Little Girls." The audience of more than 50 Danish scholars and graduate students spent the day learning about the Black American experience, and had an extensive debate with the three speakers during a question-and-answer period.

### III. DIRECTOR'S SCHEDULE

On February 24 and 26 Acting Director Kemble will attend the Global forum on fighting Crime and Safeguarding Integrity among Justice and Security Offices at the Department of State.

On February 25 he will attend a breakfast hosted by the Vice President in honor of the President of Ghana.

On March 4 he will testify before the House International Relations committee on the future of public diplomacy.

### IV. SUB-CABINET SCHEDULE

The sub-cabinet has no public schedule.

### V. PRESS AND MEDIA INQUIRIES

MIAMI HERALD: USIS Guatemala spoke to the Miami Herald on the outcome of the St. Mary's College criminal case. Three Guatemalans have been sentenced to prison terms of 24 to 28 years each for taking part in the January 1998 rapes and robbery of the Maryland college group.

MIAMI BUSINESS MAGAZINE: USIS San Jose provided background information to Miami Business Magazine for a story on U.S.-Central American trade in the aftermath of Hurricane Mitch.

USA TODAY: USIS Quito responded to a request from USA Today for an interview on Ecuador's economic problems as part of a series on the economy in Latin America.

EDITOR SOUNDS ALARM ON ECUADOR'S ECONOMIC SITUATION: USIS Quito hosted a lunch for the editorial board of Ecuador's daily, El Comercio, to discuss Ecuador's economic crisis. After the lunch USIS senior officers discussed the investment climate in particular. The result was a front page article on the need for leadership and creative answers.

DEPUTY SECRETARY TALBOTT INTERVIEW: A USIS-arranged interview with

Deputy Secretary Talbott for Germany's Die Zeit newspaper provided an optimal venue for underscoring key points concerning transatlantic defense and security issues.

USIS PLACES IRAQ OP-ED: USIS Copenhagen and USIS Malta placed National Security Advisor Sandy Berger's op-ed, "Oil-For-Food: The Opposite Of Sanctions" in the daily Aktuelt and the Sunday Times, respectively. The op-ed was a highly visible explanation of U.S. policies vis-a-vis Iraq, at a time when the international press increasingly questions the long-term viability of the U.S. approach to Iraq.

VI. FOIA REQUESTS

None of note.

VII. USIA GRANTS

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has frozen all USIA grants. Senator Helms has been particularly concerned with a grant involving China, and has frozen all grants in retaliation. USIA is working to remedy this situation.

VIII. CLIMATE CHANGE

Nothing to report.

IX. WEEKEND CONTACT

Dena Brownlow Weinstein  
Pager: 1-800-607-3398  
Home: 202-723-5597

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Katharine Button ( CN=Katharine Button/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:15-MAR-1999 17:26:54.00

SUBJECT: Vital Voices language

TO: June Shih ( CN=June Shih/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

"A year ago, the President and I met with women from Northern Ireland about the role women were playing in the peace process, and the role women needed to continue to play in the life of the new Northern Ireland.

Six months later, in September, the Vital Voices Belfast Initiative was launched in Belfast, thanks in large part to the efforts of my good friend Mo Mowlam, First Minister David Trimble, and Deputy First Minister Seamus Mallon. At the conference, I was privileged to announce over \$2 million in public/private partnerships that were to ensure the continued political, social and economic participation of the women of Northern Ireland in building their country's future.

In the six months following the conference, I have been gratified by the positive activity that has emerged as a result. Many corporate partners have contributed to the ongoing initiative, providing training in business and leadership, internships, and sharing of best practices.

There are still many needs that need to be filled: supporting economic sustainability for community organizations, the expansion of child care services, assistance to women in business, and leadership and advocacy skills."

Let me know if you need anything else.

Thanks - Katy

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: June Shih ( CN=June Shih/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:17-MAR-1999 12:50:52.00

SUBJECT: hrc remarks revised

TO: Katharine Button ( CN=Katharine Button/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

fyi: i'm still working to clear language with butler.

----- Forwarded by June Shih/WHO/EOP on 03/17/99 12:51 PM

June Shih 03/17/99 12:49:21 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject:hrc remarks revised

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
REMARKS AT ST. PATRICK ,S DAY RECEPTION  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
MARCH 17, 1999

Welcome to the White House. I ,d like to welcome our special guests from Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. And I want to welcome all the Irish-Americans gathered here today. They say there are five times -- some say 10 times -- as many people of Irish descent in America as there are in Ireland. Today, I believe they ,re all in this pavillion.

Today, all 275 million Americans are Irish today, for as the old saying goes -- and as I ,m sure you ,ve heard it at least a thousand times today -- &Everybody is Irish on St. Patrick ,s Day. 8 No matter how thick or thin the Irish blood in our veins, all Americans feel kinship with Ireland. One Brooklyn newspaper said it best at the turn of the last century: &The Irish [immigrants] have bound us so closely to that little isle whence they came that we can no longer look upon Ireland as a foreign country...It has become a part of us. 8

One hundred years later, Ireland is still a part of us, a part of our family. And that is why so many American hopes and prayers are bound to the peace process in Northern Ireland. That is why for my husband, for Sen. Mitchell, whom we will honor in a few minutes, for the Americans here today and across this country, the task of forging of a lasting peace for the families of Ulster -- has become a personal one.

I have traveled to Northern Ireland three times in the last four years and each time, I have had the privilege of listening to some of the most vital voices of the peace process -- the women of Ulster. For decades during the Troubles, they reached across the sectarian divide to work for peace. At community centers and at kitchen tables over tea, Protestant and Catholic women came together to recognize and talk about their shared hopes and dreams -- good jobs and good schools for their

children. Streets you could walk down safely. A future you could believe in. The Peace Agreement is in no small part due to their persistence and insistence that love of family must run deeper than calls to hatred.

The struggle for peace continues in the new Northern Ireland. And just as women were builders of peace, now they must help fulfill the promise of peace. I believe we can help them in this task by working to ensure all women can participate in the economic and political life of their land. For the peace to be lasting, then we must address the root causes of violence: Chronic unemployment, limited education, and poverty. That is why, last September, in Belfast ,s Waterfront Hall, I was proud to help launch the Vital Voices Belfast Initiative with my good friend Mo Mowlam, First Minister David Trimble and Deputy First Minister Seamus Mallon. This \$2 million public and private partnership will help expand child care services, offer business, leadership, and advocacy training for women, and support community organizations.

I want to thank all of you here today who have made valuable contributions to this Vital Voices initiative. I ask for your continued support -- and encourage more of you to recognize the essential role women can play in building a new Northern Ireland that is busy starting businesses, creating jobs, going to college -- a land full of opportunity for all people.

So, on this St. Patrick ,s Day in America, I want to leave you -- and send to the women and daughters of Northern Ireland -- the words of Eavan Boland: &This is dawn/Believe me/This is your season. 8

Message Sent

To: \_\_\_\_\_

Katharine Button/WHO/EOP  
Christine N. Macy/WHO/EOP  
Lawrence E. Butler/NSC/EOP  
David Halperin/NSC/EOP  
Sharon K. Gill/WHO/EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Raymond H. Payne ( CN=Raymond H. Payne/OU=NSC/O=EOP [ NSC ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:18-MAR-1999 08:03:24.00

SUBJECT: Press Conference Question

TO: Julia M. Payne ( CN=Julia M. Payne/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I am not sure, but this may be yours.

----- Forwarded by Raymond H. Payne/NSC/EOP on 03/18/99

08:02 AM -----

Philip J. Crowley

03/18/99 07:56:04 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Joseph P. Lockhart/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

Subject: Press Conference Question

Mark Little of RTE asked if there might be an opportunity to ask an Ireland question at tomorrow's press conference, probably along the lines of do you think the parties have narrowed their differences after meeting with you this week. Mark is preparing to leave Washington and return to Ireland this summer after a few years on the WH beat. He has repeatedly asked for a POTUS interview which we have told him consistently is a long shot. This would be a nice gesture and also give the President a chance to highlight his commitment to the Irish peace process, one of his leading accomplishments during the past year.

PJ

Message Copied

To: \_\_\_\_\_

Barry J. Toiv/WHO/EOP@EOP

Jennifer M. Palmieri/WHO/EOP@EOP

Raymond H. Payne/NSC/EOP@EOP

Nanda Chitre/WHO/EOP@EOP

Heather M. Riley/WHO/EOP@EOP

Elizabeth R. Newman/WHO/EOP@EOP

David C. Leavy/NSC/EOP@EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Barry J. Toiv ( CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:18-MAR-1999 10:38:22.00

SUBJECT: Press Conference Question

TO: Heather M. Riley ( CN=Heather M. Riley/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I assume you're making sure Joe gets this.

----- Forwarded by Barry J. Toiv/WHO/EOP on 03/18/99

10:38 AM -----

Philip J. Crowley

03/18/99 07:56:04 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Joseph P. Lockhart/WHO/EOP

cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

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Message Copied

To:

Barry J. Toiv/WHO/EOP

Jennifer M. Palmieri/WHO/EOP

Raymond H. Payne/NSC/EOP

Nanda Chitre/WHO/EOP

Heather M. Riley/WHO/EOP

Elizabeth R. Newman/WHO/EOP

David C. Leavy/NSC/EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Mindy E. Myers ( CN=Mindy E. Myers/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-MAY-1999 16:10:41.00

SUBJECT: Rep. Walsh

TO: Lisa M. Kountoupes ( CN=Lisa M. Kountoupes/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

He looked at the letter and assigned Chuck to it. You don't need to worry about it. Txs.

----- Forwarded by Mindy E. Myers/WHO/EOP on 05/07/99  
04:10 PM -----

Mindy E. Myers

05/07/99 04:10:01 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Charles M. Brain/WHO/EOP@EOP, Martha Foley/WHO/EOP@EOP, Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP@EOP  
cc: Erica R. Morris/WHO/EOP@EOP, Dario J. Gomez/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Subject: Rep. Walsh

I faxed around a letter that Rep. Walsh sent to the POTUS on 4/12 regarding the implementation of the Irish Peace Process Cultural Program Act of 1998. Rep. Walsh's office would like to schedule a mtg (Larry or Jack or whomever we deem the appropriate people) to discuss the issue. He spoke with the POTUS about it during the Speaker's lunch and has been working w/ Gearan and other Irish folks on it. He is apparently trying to get money in the Supp for this. John (Walsh's staffer) mentioned that he talked to Dyer about it, who indicated that the WH would probably need to weigh in.

Chuck - As the Irishman on staff, Larry asked if you could look into this. Txs.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Christine N. Macy ( CN=Christine N. Macy/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:10-MAY-1999 13:29:02.00

SUBJECT: HRC remarks in Ireland

TO: Lawrence E. Butler ( CN=Lawrence E. Butler/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [ NSC ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Hi. Could you please give me and Laura 2-3 bullets on how the First Lady should talk about the peace process going on in Ireland today. She will need clear language about it wherever she goes -- so I'm hopeful you can give us that language in some form today. Many thanks. Christy (62935).

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Mindy E. Myers ( CN=Mindy E. Myers/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:20-MAY-1999 15:42:14.00

SUBJECT: Rep. Walsh

TO: Jade L Riley ( CN=Jade L Riley/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Mindy E. Myers/WHO/EOP on 05/20/99  
03:42 PM -----

Mindy E. Myers

05/20/99 02:00:49 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Charles M. Brain/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc: Martha Foley/WHO/EOP@EOP, Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP@EOP, Jade L Riley/WHO/EOP@EOP

Subject: Rep. Walsh

Rep. Walsh's office has called again. Chuck - Can you talk to his office?

Thx.

----- Forwarded by Mindy E. Myers/WHO/EOP on 05/20/99  
02:00 PM -----

Mindy E. Myers

05/13/99 01:55:30 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Charles M. Brain/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc: Martha Foley/WHO/EOP@EOP, Dario J. Gomez/WHO/EOP@EOP

Subject: Rep. Walsh

I just wanted to check in and see if you've talked to John in Walsh's office. I know that we're running the traps on this, but I think that we need to touch base with him. This morning he indicated that Rep. Walsh was quite upset and may do a press release. Thx.

----- Forwarded by Mindy E. Myers/WHO/EOP on 05/13/99  
01:54 PM -----

Mindy E. Myers

05/11/99 05:20:28 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Charles M. Brain/WHO/EOP@EOP  
cc: Dario J. Gomez/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Subject: Rep. Walsh

Any word on this?

----- Forwarded by Mindy E. Myers/WHO/EOP on 05/11/99  
05:20 PM -----

Mindy E. Myers

05/07/99 04:10:01 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Charles M. Brain/WHO/EOP@EOP, Martha Foley/WHO/EOP@EOP, Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP@EOP  
cc: Erica R. Morris/WHO/EOP@EOP, Dario J. Gomez/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Subject: Rep. Walsh

I faxed around a letter that Rep. Walsh sent to the POTUS on 4/12 regarding the implementation of the Irish Peace Process Cultural Program Act of 1998. Rep. Walsh's office would like to schedule a mtg (Larry or Jack or whomever we deem the appropriate people) to discuss the issue. He spoke with the POTUS about it during the Speaker's lunch and has been working w/ Gearan and other Irish folks on it. He is apparently trying to get money in the Supp for this. John (Walsh's staffer) mentioned that he talked to Dyer about it, who indicated that the WH would probably need to weigh in.

Chuck - As the Irishman on staff, Larry asked if you could look into this. Txs.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Brenda I. Hilliard ( CN=Brenda I. Hilliard/OU=NSC/O=EOP [ NSC ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:28-JUN-1999 10:28:23.00

SUBJECT: Re: OBASANJO PHONE CALL

TO: Charles J. Payson ( CN=Charles J. Payson/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Cathy L. Millison ( CN=Cathy L. Millison/OU=NSC/O=EOP @ EOP [ NSC ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Glyn T. Davies ( CN=Glyn T. Davies/OU=NSC/O=EOP @ EOP [ NSC ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I'll pass the word re time for the Obasanji phone call. I'll check on your reference on possible phone call re Irish Peace. thanks.

Charles J. Payson  
06/28/99 08:43:56 AM  
Record Type: Record

To: Brenda I. Hilliard/NSC/EOP  
cc:  
bcc:  
Subject: Re: OBASANJO PHONE CALL

Stephanie said that this would have to come out of Sandy's time tomorrow since we are already doing an interview with the BBC. She also asked if this is going to be the only call or is there going to be a call re: the Irish Peace Process-- and if so, which call will take precedence. Let us know. Thanks.

BRENDA I.  
HILLIARD  
06/28/99 07:59:47 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Charles J. Payson/WHO/EOP@EOP, Anne Whitworth/WHO/EOP@EOP  
cc: Heather L. Davis/WHO/EOP@EOP, Rachel A. Redington/WHO/EOP@EOP,  
Stephanie S. Streett/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Subject:OBASANJO PHONE CALL

HAPPY MONDAY TO ALL.

As a reminder, we have a schedule proposal in for the President to talk with the new President of Nigeria, President Obasanjo either today or no later than tomorrow, if possible. Realizing that today is quite full,

would appreciate getting a timeblock for tomorrow this morning so we could check the availability of President Obasanjo. FYI, the time difference is +5 hours.

Thanks.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Laura Efurd ( CN=Laura Efurd/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 8-JUL-1999 11:23:41.00

SUBJECT: Sr. Staff

TO: Mary E. Cahill ( CN=Mary E. Cahill/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Kelley L. O'Dell ( CN=Kelley L. O'Dell/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: allen.kent@mail.va.gov/inet ( allen.kent@mail.va.gov/inet [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Maureen T. Shea ( CN=Maureen T. Shea/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Christine A. Stanek ( CN=Christine A. Stanek/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sondra L. Seba ( CN=Sondra L. Seba/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Robin Leeds ( CN=Robin Leeds/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jennifer M. Luray ( CN=Jennifer M. Luray/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jonathan M. Young ( CN=Jonathan M. Young/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jackson T. Dunn ( CN=Jackson T. Dunn/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jena V. Roscoe ( CN=Jena V. Roscoe/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Barbara D. Woolley ( CN=Barbara D. Woolley/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Richard Socarides ( CN=Richard Socarides/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Deborah B. Mohile ( CN=Deborah B. Mohile/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Robert B. Johnson ( CN=Robert B. Johnson/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Sch -- President in California today. 9:30 CA time will to a walkthrough at a youth training academy and a discussion of Youth Opportunities. Later CEO meeting, some interviews. Tommorrow PBOR event and Raido Address taping. Sat -- World cup game -- hasn't decided whether he will stay the night in CA.

NSC -- N. Ireland incident -- Members of Congress expressed uncensored views on peace process. Will be working on this today. Expectations very high for peace process in the Middle East.

OSTP -- Article in Nature magazine on Global Warming confirms theories that warming is bad for the environment. Study with mice on Alzheimers could lead to vaccine. Also, of note is another study with mice that grows blood cell in culture.

FLOTUS -- In NY, listening events on Health Care and Seniors.

VPOTUS -- Back to work today, meetings at the house in the morning, leave for Seattle this afternoon. Tomorrow in Seattle Journalist Convention, WTO event and outreach meetings.

IGA -- Domestic Policy agency briefing today. Jack Lew and other to do the briefing.

John P. -- Asked about progress of Aids report. Jack Lew said tried to get done this week, but looks like it will be later.

Com -- holding series of meetings on message events for next week.



THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 15, 1999

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Northern Ireland Peace Process

I share the regret which the people of Ireland and Northern Ireland feel at the setback in the peace process. They have voted overwhelmingly for peace. They want a permanent end to violence and to the potential for violence. The cry for a peaceful, inclusive, democratic society in Northern Ireland has never been stronger.

Real progress has been made on all sides toward fulfilling the solemn commitments spelled out in the Good Friday Agreement. It is incumbent on all parties to carry out their obligations under that accord. I am convinced that it is possible to achieve full implementation of this historic Agreement in all its aspects by next spring, as contemplated by its terms.

The British and Irish governments intend to conduct over the next few weeks an interim review of the implementation of the Agreement aimed at overcoming the hurdles in the peace process. For the future of all the people of Northern Ireland who want an enduring peace and a normal life, I call upon all those involved to find the way to get the peace process back on track. I am ready to assist Prime Minister Blair, Prime Minister Ahern and the parties in any way I can to achieve this goal.

# # #

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Dario J. Gomez ( CN=Dario J. Gomez/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:19-JUL-1999 12:32:53.00

SUBJECT: meeting w/ Rep. Walsh

TO: Martha Foley ( CN=Martha Foley/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Charles M. Brain ( CN=Charles M. Brain/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Rep. Walsh's office would like to meet this Thursday to discuss the Irish Peace Process funding for FY 2000. Could you Thursday afternoon say 2:00 pm?

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Joshua J. Ackil ( CN=Joshua J. Ackil/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-JUL-1999 14:31:27.00

SUBJECT: Please review for Weekly (No Defense Approp info yet)

TO: Charles M. Brain ( CN=Charles M. Brain/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

House of Representatives

Tax Cut: On Thursday, the House passed H.R. 2488, the Financial Freedom Act by the vote of 223-208. Six Democrats [Condit (CA), Danner (MO), Hall (TX), Goode (VA), Bishop (GA), and Lucas (KY)] joined Republicans to provide the bill ,s margin of victory, while four Republicans [Quinn (NY), Ganske (IA), Morella (MD), and Castle (DE)] joined Democrats in opposition. A Democratic substitute, offered by Congressman Rangle (D-NY), was defeated (173-258) which would have dramatically scaled back the \$792 billion original Ways and Means Committee tax cut to \$250 billion. A combination of 38 liberal and conservative Democrats voted against the substitute, while only one Republican voted in favor of the Substitute. A highpoint of the day occurred when all Democrats joined together to vote in favor of a Blue Dog motion to recommit, which emphasized debt reduction.

Teacher Quality: The House passed (239-185) H.R. 1995, the Teacher Empowerment Act. The bill would consolidate three Federal education programs (Goals 2000, Eisenhower Professional development, and your class size reduction program) into a single block grant with no committed resources for class size reduction. Despite collaboration between House Republicans and a few Democrats on the House Education and Workforce Committee, the bill fell 40 votes short of the number needed to override your threatened veto. Rep. Martinez (D-CA) offered a substitute to the Republican bill which maintained a dedicated funding stream for class size, along with additional resources for teacher quality and professional development. The Martinez substitute nearly passed (207-217). These votes forecast strong political leverage for the class size program during the inevitable appropriations fight this fall.

State Department Authorization: On Wednesday, the House passed (voice vote) H.R. 2415, the State Department Authorization bill. The \$2.4 billion bill contains a \$1.4 billion boost for embassy security around the world, more than \$1 billion than the Administration request. The bill contains no U.N. arrears numbers and no Mexico City language. Surprisingly, the House passed (221-198) an amendment offered by Congressman Campbell (R-CA), which provides for continued funding of UNFPA, as long as it reduces by the amount UNFPA spends in China. An amendment offered by Congressman Gilman (R-NY) passed (305-120), which restricts all nuclear cooperation with North Korea until you certify that North Korea 1) is in compliance with all international agreements regarding nuclear proliferation; and 2) has terminated its nuclear weapons program, including all efforts to acquire, develop, test, produce, or deploy such weapons.

Defense Appropriations:

### The Week Ahead

House Schedule: On Monday, the House will convene to consider four bills under Suspension of the Rules as well as complete the consideration of H.R. 1074, the Regulatory Right-to-Know Act of 1999. The floor schedule for Tuesday includes H.J. Res. 57, Disapproving the Extension of Normal Trade Relations to the Products of the People's Republic of China, and H.R.\_\_\_\_, the Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act for FY 2000. On Wednesday, the House will be in pro-forma session and will not conduct legislative business to accommodate funeral services for Congressman George Brown. The House will go back into session on Thursday to consider the District of Columbia Appropriations Act for FY 2000, and the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act of FY 2000. The House will complete all legislative activity for the week on Friday at 2:00pm.

### House Notes

On Thursday, Chuck Brain and Martha Foley met with Congressman Walsh (R-NY) to discuss funding for the implementation of the Irish Peace Process Cultural and Training Program Act of 1998. As you may remember, this act creates a three-year program with 4,000 non-immigrant visas available each year targeting young men and women from both communities in Northern Ireland and the border counties of Ireland. According to the Congressman, he discussed this issue with you during the Speaker's St. Patrick's Day Lunch. They conveyed to the Congressman their willingness to assist with this matter.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Charles E. Kieffer ( CN=Charles E. Kieffer/OU=OMB/O=EOP [ OMB ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:26-JUL-1999 20:37:17.00

SUBJECT: Irish Peace Process Cultural Exchange program

TO: Rodney G. Bent ( CN=Rodney G. Bent/OU=OMB/O=EOP@EOP [ OMB ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Robert D. Kyle ( CN=Robert D. Kyle/OU=OMB/O=EOP@EOP [ OMB ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Martha Foley ( CN=Martha Foley/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Robert L. Nabors ( CN=Robert L. Nabors/OU=OMB/O=EOP@EOP [ OMB ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Sylvia M. Mathews ( CN=Sylvia M. Mathews/OU=OMB/O=EOP@EOP [ OMB ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Charles M. Brain ( CN=Charles M. Brain/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Adrienne C. Erbach ( CN=Adrienne C. Erbach/OU=OMB/O=EOP@EOP [ OMB ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Jacob J. Lew ( CN=Jacob J. Lew/OU=OMB/O=EOP@EOP [ OMB ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

In June, Jack sent a letter to Rep. Walsh indicating our support for this program. The President signed the authorization in the Fall of 1998. We have worked out funding for FY 1999 and in our letter we promised to work on FY 2000 and future year funding.

VA/HUD Chairman Walsh has been pressing for us to send up a request. If we are working on the last budget amendment package, should this be in the package? Rodney - Is it \$4 million?

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Charles M. Brain ( CN=Charles M. Brain/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:27-JUL-1999 07:44:49.00

SUBJECT: Re: Irish Peace Process Cultural Exchange program

TO: Charles E. Kieffer ( CN=Charles E. Kieffer/OU=OMB/O=EOP@EOP [ OMB ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: robert l. nabors ( CN=robert l. nabors/OU=omb/O=eop@eop [ OMB ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: sylvia m. mathews ( CN=sylvia m. mathews/OU=omb/O=eop@eop [ OMB ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: rodney g. bent ( CN=rodney g. bent/OU=omb/O=eop@eop [ OMB ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: martha foley ( CN=martha foley/OU=who/O=eop@eop [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: adrienne c. erbach ( CN=adrienne c. erbach/OU=omb/O=eop@eop [ OMB ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: jacob j. lew ( CN=jacob j. lew/OU=omb/O=eop@eop [ OMB ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: robert d. kyle ( CN=robert d. kyle/OU=omb/O=eop@eop [ OMB ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

If we're sending up a budget amendment package, I'd urge that we put this in, given the President's support for the peace process.



# NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS GUIDANCE

August 2, 1999

## EUROPE / RUSSIA

### **Kosovo**

**Replacing Milosevic  
Clearing the Danube**

### **Northern Ireland (updated)**

## ASIA

### **China Embassy Settlement**

### **China/Taiwan relations**

**Chinese Seizure of a Taiwan Freighter (new)**

## NE/SA

### **India – Iraq credit**

### **Middle East Peace Process / Barak Target Dates (new)**

## INTERAMERICAN

### **Colombia / Security of Human Rights Workers (new)**

## MULTILATERAL

### **UNGA / POTUS Speaking Date (new)**

**KOSOVO**  
**August 2, 1999**

**In assisting ethnic Serbs out of Kosovo with Blackhawk escorts, has KFOR colluded in "reverse ethnic cleansing"?**

No.

It is unfortunate that Serbs still feel a need to leave Kosovo.

However, it is our goal to promote an ethnically mixed Kosovo.

KFOR is working hard to provide protection for all the citizens of Kosovo.

**Why do you want to punish the people of Serbia and not give money to help Serbs recover?**

Important to be clear that we do not oppose humanitarian aid to Serbia. Will also make sure no one starves or freezes this winter.

Our quarrel is not with Serbian people but Milosevic who could siphon off any economic/reconstruction funds to bolster his power base.

In past have seen Milosevic pad his coffers with money intended for reconstruction, and we will not allow a dictator to use our money to prepare for his own retirement or for new wars of ethnic cleansing.

Would welcome Serbia in plan to bring the rest region into the European mainstream. The vision of a Europe undivided, democratic, and peaceful which the President has repeatedly articulated must eventually include Serbia.

Unfortunately, this simply cannot happen with Milosevic in power.

### **REPLACING MILOSEVIC**

*Context: The NYT has an article on Dragoslav Avramovic.*

**Do you think that the opposition groups are capable of replacing Milosevic's? What are you doing to help them?**

As Serbs come to grips with what occurred in Kosovo believe more will express desire for end to international isolation.

Even former members of Milosevic's inner circle such as General Perisic, along with more and

more of the people of Serbia as a whole, realize that twelve years of Milosevic's rule have transformed Yugoslavia from the most prosperous country in Eastern Europe into a pauper and a pariah.

The United States and its European Allies fully support the democratic opposition of Serbia.

We are taking many steps to encourage democratization in Serbia including continuing to support of independent media, labor and student groups, and of course all those who are calling for change.

Will not support economic aid to Serbia until Milosevic is removed from power.

Will continue to isolate him, make clear to Serbs the cost of keeping an indicted war criminal with a \$5 million bounty on his head.

It is up to the people of Serbia to choose their leaders.

### **CLEARING THE DANUBE**

*CONTEXT: In the aftermath of NATO's air campaign, the Danube is impassable near Novi Sad where several bridges were dropped. SEE leaders may ask for international assistance to clear the Danube to help their economies. However, Belgrade is unlikely to cooperate with such efforts unless they are part of an international effort to rebuild the bridges. (See WP story of today.)*

**Since NATO bombing blocked the Danube, shouldn't NATO clear the river and rebuild the bridges?**

The Danube is an important international waterway and trade route for Southeast Europe.

It should be cleared, and the responsibility for clearing it lies with Milosevic.

However, he has linked clearance to reconstruction. And, as you know, we believe that Serbia should not receive funds for reconstruction while it is headed by Milosevic.

He is responsible for the ruin of his country and the Serb people are drawing the proper conclusions about the future of his regime.

**IF PRESSED: Would the US be opposed to the clearing of the Danube?**

The U.S. would not be opposed to the clearing of the Danube international waterway through the efforts of, for example, the Danube Commission, as long as the undertaking does not benefit the Milosevic regime by allowing it to claim credits, extract hard currency or receive other quid pro quo's.

**Northern Ireland  
August 2, 1999**

**CONTEXT:** *The July 21-27 edition of the New York-based Irish Voice carries a story by editor Niall O'Dowd entitled "New Move on Deportees Seen." The story says "the Clinton Administration is seeking a way to end the limbo status of the Irish deportees, former IRA operatives said to number 10 in all, who have settled in this country and who have been unable to get their status legalized. Proposals now coming from the White House envisage a law which will give the U.S. President the opportunity to 'help American foreign policy' by granting him a limited number of visas every year to deal with such cases as the Irish ones, according to sources close to the issue." The article goes on to suggest that the proposed legislation might be entitled the Mandela Peace and Reconciliation Act, reflecting the idea that it would address not just Irish people but others caught in this limbo status. The issue could flare: some will call it a boost for peace; others may label it coddling terrorists.*

**Points to Make:**

In the wake of the July 1997 IRA cease-fire and continued progress in the Northern Ireland peace process, the Secretary of State recommended to the Attorney General in September 1997 that deportation proceedings against a small number of Irish nationals who had engaged in activity on behalf of the IRA be suspended.

The intent of this action was and remains to contribute to the peace process. The Secretary noted in her recommendation that the U.S. does not "approve or condone any act of terrorism in which they may have been involved."

The Administration is committed to maintaining the suspension order; these individuals are in no danger of being deported.

**The two likely issues on the radar screen are:**

(1) continued (even intensifying) speculation that the Provisional IRA is linked to the gun-running episode uncovered last week by the FBI, resulting in several arrests in Florida and in Ireland, as well as to the murder of a 22-year old Belfast man on Friday -- all of which could carry implications for the IRA cease-fire and Sinn Fein's continued participation in the peace process; and

(2) possible questions concerning the notion of new legislation to deal with Irish deportees.

**[If pressed: Don't FBI arrests last week, and IRA's refusal thus far to decommission arms, show that IRA is still active?]**

We are keeping this matter under review.

**CHINA EMBASSY SETTLEMENT  
July 30, 1999**

**Any comment on the conclusion of talks on payment to the Chinese for the accidental bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade?**

President has from the start felt that we should provide humanitarian payments to the families of those killed and to those who were injured. It is the right thing to do.

Therefore, pleased to confirm that we made progress in three days of talks, including agreement on payments totaling \$4.5 million to those injured and the families of those killed.

Also discussed property issues. Will continue discussions in August on two tracks, covering damage to the Chinese Embassy as well as damage done to U.S. diplomatic facilities in China.

View result of this week's talks as a positive development in U.S.-China relations. These are serious issues that we have addressed in a sober and professional tone with the humanitarian aim of easing the suffering of the affected Chinese.

**What is your evaluation of Beijing's rejection of Taiwan's latest statement on cross-Strait relations?**

Have seen the reports. Up to Chinese on both sides of the Strait to interpret their own interests and objectives in cross-Strait dialogue.

Our position remains firm support for "one China" policy, abiding interest in peaceful resolution of differences, and promotion of direct dialogue between Chinese on both sides of the Strait.

**Does the U.S. endorse Koo Chen-fu's statement?**

Not our place to evaluate or endorse. Taipei's statement, not ours.

Our priorities are reducing tension, maintaining security, and fostering prosperity in the region, for which we feel a productive and serious dialogue between the two sides is an important component.

**Did the U.S. pressure Taiwan to make this statement?**

No. The statement made by Straits Exchange Foundation Chairman Koo Chen-fu was Taiwan's own statement both in conception and implementation.

We neither endorse nor take responsibility for the substance of the statement.

Our position is that Taipei and Beijing should discuss serious cross-Strait issues through established channels.

**What is next now that Beijing has rejected the statement?**

Beijing has communicated its views to Taipei through established cross-Strait channels. We hope that further communication in that channel will help clarify and resolve differences between Taipei and Beijing.

**CHINESE SEIZURE OF A TAIWAN FREIGHTER**

***CONTEXT: On July 31, China seized and brought into port a freighter chartered by Taiwan to bring supplies to its garrison on Matsu Island near the coast of China's Fujian Province. No violence was involved. China claims it seized the freighter on suspicion of smuggling activities. Taiwan has indicated this action is totally unrelated to the current political tensions across the Taiwan Strait.***

**Any comment on reports that the Chinese have seized a freighter chartered by the Taiwan Ministry of Defense?**

Have seen the reports. Understand that this is being handled as a routine maritime dispute, including direct communication between Taiwan Straits Exchange Foundation and the PRC's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait.

**INDIA: REPORTED CREDIT TO IRAQ**  
**July 30, 1999**

*CONTEXT: News agencies have reported that India had agreed to provide credits to Iraq for purchase of buses. Indian officials have denied this, saying that the proposed transaction is within the guidelines established by the UN sanctions regime. We have raised this issue in New Delhi and New York with the Indians, and will continue to do so.*

**What is the administration's view on the reported \$25 million credit given to Iraq by India?**

We have been told by the Indian government that it would not do anything to violate UN sanctions on Iraq.

We understand that the head of the Indian delegation to Iraq has denied making the statements attributed to him in Baghdad.

The Indian Ministry of External Affairs has said that any Indian commercial dealings with Iraq would take place within the established framework of the relevant UN resolutions and the UN Sanctions Committee.

We welcome the Indian government's reiteration of adherence to the UN sanctions.

**MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS / BARAK TARGET DATES**  
**August 2, 1999**

***CONTEXT: Israeli PM Barak has announces a target date if October 1 for resumption of Israeli withdrawals.***

We welcome steps to implement Wye.

The parties are engaged in discussions for moving the process forward.

## COLOMBIA: SECURITY OF HUMAN RIGHTS WORKERS

August 2, 1999

The human rights stance of the government and military has improved, but human rights workers are more vulnerable than ever to the guerrillas and paramilitaries.

A key element of our Colombia policy is strict adherence to Leahy and other human-rights-related provisions governing our security assistance.

We are also actively promoting and assisting the development of a national human rights policy, working with the Colombian Vice President's Office, as well as providing human rights-related training and assistance to the Colombian military and the human rights ombudsman, and assistance to human rights NGOs working in Colombia.

Our support for the Colombian peace process is in part premised on the idea that a negotiated settlement is ultimately the best guarantee for human rights.

### **FYI: Our draft Colombia strategy calls for us to:**

Create an interagency working group to monitor human rights issues associated with our security assistance, including strict adherence to Leahy and other human rights provisions.

Enhance collection of human rights information by the Embassy and Intelligence Community.

Increase human rights-related training and assistance to the Colombian military, the human rights ombudsman, and the Colombian Vice President's Office, which is developing a national human rights strategy.

Support increased protection for key governmental and non-governmental human rights monitors.

**UNGA: POTUS SPEAKING DATE**  
**August 2, 1999**

***CONTEXT: Basically, we are getting questions on the President's decision not to speak on the first day of the UNGA because of Yom Kippur.***

**Is this true? Is there precedent for a president not speaking on the first day of UNGA as is traditional?**

Yes, the President decided not to speak on the first day of the UNGA because of Yom Kippur.

Yes, there is precedent: In 1996, when the UNGA general debate also opened on Yom Kippur, the President spoke on day 2.

**KOSOVO**  
**August 2, 1999**

***CONTEXT: Early today SFOR arrested Radomir Kovac, an ICTY indictee, in Bosnia. German Defense Minister Rudolf Scharping said in Bonn that German and French SFOR soldiers had played "a decisive role" in the arrest. Kovac, wanted for crimes against humanity, war crimes, and grave breaches of the Geneva conventions, was apprehended at 0300 local time.***

**Any information on Kovac's arrest?**

Radomir Kovac was indicted by the ICTY on June 26, 1996 for crimes against humanity, violations of the laws and customs of war, and grave breaches of the Geneva conventions.

The indictment charges Kovac was involved in the Bosnian Serb attack on the town of Foca. As a paramilitary leader and a subcommander of the military police, he is charged with the unlawful arrest, detention, rape and enslavement of civilians. Kovac is personally charged with rape. The indictment also alleges that Kovac sold women into slavery to other Bosnian Serb soldiers.

**Who apprehended him?**

SFOR forces were **responsible** for detaining him. We refer to SFOR for further information.

SFOR has now been **involved** in the arrest, detention, or transfer to the Hague of 30 persons indicted for **war crimes**.

**DRAFT PENDING BERGER/STEINBERG CLEARANCE**

*CONTEXT: China has apparently conducted the long anticipated test flight of its Dongfeng (East Wind) 31 intercontinental ballistic missile. The DF-31 is an improvement in the Chinese strategic inventory, providing China with its first solid fuel, road mobile long-range missile capability. The reported range of the single warhead missile is 2,000-8,000 km (1,200-4,800 miles).*

**Does the launch of the DF-31 pose a new threat to the United States?**

The launch of the DF-31 will not alter the strategic threat China has posed since the early 1980s to the United States. Moreover, we do not expect the DF-31 to be deployed for several years. We are concerned, of course, and will continue to observe developments in this area closely.

**Was this directed against Taiwan?**

This test has been long in the making. We do not have reason to believe that Beijing is considering using military means to resolve its differences with Taipei. Our continuing priority is to see Chinese on both sides of the Strait resolve their differences peacefully through cross-Strait dialogue.

**What is the nature of the Chinese missile threat?**

China has had the capability to reach the U.S. with long-range nuclear equipped ICBMs since they were first deployed in the early 1980s.

The number of such missiles is less than two dozen, and we believe they are deployed as a "retaliatory force", consistent with China's declared nuclear policy of "no first use".

Note that while a significant portion of China's ICBM inventory may be "assigned" targets in the U.S., these ICBMs are not kept on "nuclear alert" or maintained in a "ready to launch" posture.

We do not view China as an adversary. But one of the reasons we maintain our strategic nuclear deterrent is to hedge against the possibility, however remote, that it could turn hostile.

China has always understood that if it were, for whatever reason, to consider conducting such an attack, the U.S. nuclear response would be swift and overwhelmingly destructive.

**Did the unauthorized transfers of technology by U.S. companies to China in connection**

**with satellite launches help China develop the DF-31?**

This Administration, like previous Administrations, has not authorized the transfer of any technology to assist China's ballistic missile program.

However, we share the concern outlined in the recent report by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) -- entitled the "Report on Impacts to U.S. National Security of Advanced Satellite Technology Exports to the People's Republic of China (PRC)" -- that unauthorized assistance and transfers of technology relevant to space launch vehicles and ballistic missiles may have occurred during certain space launch failure analyses. The Department of Justice is investigating these allegations to determine if any violations of U.S. export control regulations have occurred.

We agreed with the Committee's findings that there is no evidence that these unauthorized technology transfers have been incorporated into China's currently deployed ICBM force, which was developed and deployed before U.S. satellites were approved for export to China.

Like the Committee, we are concerned that unauthorized assistance and transfers of space launch vehicle and satellite technology could assist China in the development of future ballistic missiles.

We also agreed with the Committee that China's indigenous work and improvements derived from non-U.S. foreign sources make it difficult to detect with precision to what extent technology transfers from U.S. sources may have helped China, if at all. Assistance from non-U.S. foreign sources probably is more important for the Chinese ballistic missile development program than the technical knowledge gained during U.S. satellite launches.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: LEAVY\_D@A1@CD@LNGTWY ( LEAVY\_D@A1@CD@LNGTWY [ UNKNOWN ] ) (NSC)

CREATION DATE/TIME: 3-AUG-1999 15:54:11.00

SUBJECT: for john

TO: Michele Ballantyne@eop ( Michele Ballantyne@eop [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====  
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

From: LEAVY\_D@A1@CD@LNGTWY  
\*To: BALLENTINE\_M@A1@CD@LNGTWY  
Date: 8/3/99 3:23pm  
Subject: Podesta  
For John:

Key priorities for next 18 months:

Now that we have stopped the conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo, we must make sure that we integrate SouthEast Europe into the rest of the continent by deepening democracy and free markets in this vital region.

There are real opportunities to move the peace process forward in regional areas such as the Middle East, India-Pakistan, Northern Ireland and Cyprus.

The President will move his arms control agenda forward by pushing for ratification of the CTBT and beginning negotiations on Start III with Russia.

We will also be engaged in continuing to open new markets overseas by pushing for a new GATT round this fall and working to bring China into the WTO.

The Administration will also continue to confront new threats to our national security like cyberterrorism and chemical and biological weapons.

And will continue to make progress in engaging the great powers China and Russia in areas where we agree such as regional stability, economic engagement, and non-proliferation and areas where we have disagreement such as human rights.

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Daniel E. O'Brien ( CN=Daniel E. O'Brien/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:14-SEP-1999 10:26:14.00

SUBJECT: Meeting with Ivan Doherty of NDI

TO: Mary E. Cahill ( CN=Mary E. Cahill/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Mary Beth,

As I briefly mentioned last week, I thought it might be of interest to invite Ivan Doherty of NDI to meet with us after you return from Ireland. Through his work as NDI's Director of Political Party Programs, I worked with him regularly on training while I was at the DNC. Prior to his joining NDI, Ivan had a successful career in the Fine Gael Party.

There are two general themes I think we could pursue: 1, developments surrounding the peace process; and, 2, highlights of NDI initiatives. Also, I know Ivan is interested in learning more about the role of the OPL. If you think a meeting of about 45 minutes would be worthwhile, please let me know and I'll work with Joe in setting it up. Thanks.

bio

Ivan Doherty joined NDI in September 1997 as Director of Political Party Programs and is the Institute's principal in-house expert for political party development. Doherty has an extensive background in political party development and international relations, having worked for more than 15 years with Ireland's Fine Gael party. Starting in local campaign organizing, Doherty has held numerous senior positions with the party, including Assistant National Director of Organization, Deputy General Secretary and served as General Secretary from 1990 to 1994. On the party's entry into Government in 1994, Doherty was appointed Government Program Manager. His extensive international experience includes serving as senior advisor to the European People's Party parliamentary grouping in the European Parliament, participating in NDI's programs in Albania, Bosnia, Croatia, and Hungary, and Irish trade promotion missions to countries around the world.



Irish Working Group Meeting

Mr. Kingsley Aikins  
Executive Director, American Ireland Fund

Mr. Thomas F. Conaghan  
President, Federation of Irish American Societies

Mr. Thomas R. Donahue

Mr. John P. Dunfey  
Chairman, New England Citizens Circle

Mr. Francis Durkan  
Chairman, Americans for a New Irish Agenda

James J. Gallagher  
Vice President, Irish American Unity Conference

Patrick Goggins  
Chairman, Irish Forum

Kathryn Higgins  
Deputy Secretary, Department of Labor

Sheila Hines  
Executive Director, Irish Cultural Institute

Joseph Jamison  
Director, Irish American Labor Coalition

James King  
Former Director of OPM, Trinity College

Richard Lawlor  
Irish American Unity Congress

Dr. Robert C. Linnon  
National President, Irish American Unity Foundation

James M. Lyons  
United States Observer, International Fund for Ireland

Kevin McCabe  
Chief of Staff, Office of New York City Council Speaker Peter Vallone

Gerald W. McEntee  
International President, AFSCME

Denis P. Mulcahy  
National Chairman, Project Children

Rita Mullan  
Washington Representative, Americans for a New Irish Agenda

Niall O'Dowd  
Founding Publisher, Irish Voice and Irish America Magazine

Paul Quinn  
Bingham Dana

Tom Quinn  
O'Connor & Hannan

Joseph Roche  
Political Education Chairman, Ancient Order of Hibernians

Judge Andrew Somers  
President, Irish American Unity Conference

Dick Stanton  
President, Illinois Division, Irish American Unity Conference

John J. Sweeney  
President, AFL-CIO

Trina Vargo  
President, US-Ireland Alliance

Edward J. Wallace  
National President, Ancient Order of Hibernians

Brian O'Dwyer  
Chairman, Emerald Isle Immigration Center

Bruce Morrison  
Director, Federal Housing Finance Board

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Daniel E. O'Brien ( CN=Daniel E. O'Brien/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 5-OCT-1999 13:46:37.00

SUBJECT: Ireland Peace Process

TO: Joseph D. Ratner ( CN=Joseph D. Ratner/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I just forwarded an e-mail to Mary Beth with an article on the peace process before remembering that it's best to send them through you. Could you bring it to her attention. Thanks.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Daniel E. O'Brien ( CN=Daniel E. O'Brien/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 5-OCT-1999 13:46:37.00

SUBJECT: MITCHELL SAYS PEACE PROCESS MIGHT NOT PROCEED

TO: Mary E. Cahill ( CN=Mary E. Cahill/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Mary Beth, thought you'd be interested...

----- Forwarded by Daniel E. O'Brien/WHO/EOP on 10/05/99  
01:42 PM -----

news@iaais.org

10/05/99 12:22:20 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Daniel E. O'Brien/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: MITCHELL SAYS PEACE PROCESS MIGHT NOT PROCEED

MITCHELL SAYS PEACE PROCESS MIGHT NOT PROCEED

10/05/99 12:06 EST

Retired US Senator George Mitchell has admitted that the Northern Ireland peace process is under great stress and has said there is a real threat that it might not proceed. Speaking at a conference of bankers in Dublin this morning, Mr Mitchell said the result of such a failure would be entirely unpredictable. He said there was no credible alternative to the Good Friday Agreement, and if it was not implemented, the people of Northern Ireland would face a highly uncertain future.

Before going back to Belfast, the former senator said the talks process would be intensified next week and he hoped there would be some progress. Former Deputy First Minister, Seamus Mallon, said Mr Mitchell was accurate in his assessment that the peace process was still under stress.

The Ulster Unionist MP Jeffrey Donaldson argued today that politicians must consider other alternatives to the Good Friday Agreement which exclude Sinn F?in. Accusing those who say there is no alternative to the Agreement of being defeatist, the Lagan Valley MP told a fringe meeting at the British Conservative Party conference in Blackpool that a political settlement in the North did not have to include Sinn F?in.

"There are many alternatives which can be pursued and many models for democratic government which can be explored if the current initiative fails. If what the doomsday merchants really mean is that there is no alternative to a solution which must have the imprimatur of Messrs Adams and McGuinness and the IRA Army Council, then we are in a sorry state indeed."

Mr Donaldson urged all unionists to resist Sinn F?in's participation in an executive. "If republicans fail to end their terrorist violence and to decommission their illegal weapons, then all democrats must ensure that they are not permitted to have their hands on the levers of power in Northern Ireland," he said.

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Gabhain O Cinneide to Daniel E. O'Brien at 16:01:07.00. Subject: Re: Meeting and IAIS Newswire. (partial) (1 page)	10/06/1999	b(6)

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
Automated Records Management System [Email]  
WHO ([Northern Ireland Peace Process])  
OA/Box Number: 500000

### FOLDER TITLE:

[10/30/1998 - 10/31/1999]

2006-1990-F  
ab1118

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Gabhain O Cinneide <gkennedy@iaais.org> ( Gabhain O Cinneide <gkennedy@iaais.

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-OCT-1999 16:01:07.00

SUBJECT: Re: Meeting and IAIS Newswire

TO: Daniel E. O'Brien ( CN=Daniel E. O'Brien/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Dan:

Good to hear the news is helpful. The recent rumblings from the north are not encouraging. If you have the time, I've pasted an article by a very moderate columnist from today's Irish News below. He encapsulates the mood of Irish-America, I think. It is a very dangerous time insofar as keeping republicanism from breaking into factions.

(b)(6)

All the best

Gavan

<http://www.irishnews.com/>

Opinion

Unionists create their own worst nightmares

Brian Feeney on Wednesday

IS 17 months the magic length of time??

?

Is that the time it takes for stresses and strains within the IRA literally to explode, or for splinters that come off the IRA to get well enough organised to explode something??

?

A year of delay followed by five months planning seems par for the course.?

?

It was 17 months from the 1994 ceasefire to the blast at Canary Wharf & though the decision to mount a campaign in England had been taken after a year of political procrastination.?

?

All the indications are that the year of political footering after Good Friday 1998 encouraged the splinters that broke off the IRA in 1997 to glue into Oglagh na hEireann, who the gardai think are now ready to let fly.?

?

The last five years bear an uncanny resemblance to the Middle East peace process.?

?

Once upon a time long ago there was Yasser Arafat and the PLO. The Israelis wouldn't have anything to do with them. Arafat was a terrorist, he didn't represent anyone, least of all the Palestinians:

they would never deal with him until violence ceased etc., etc. Ring any bells??

?

He was going nowhere. Groups left the PLO and split into an alphabet soup of PFLP, PFLP(GC), Black September. They reckoned Arafat was too old, too mild and, of course, about to ð?sell outð??.?

?

Brilliant, thought the Israelis. The united Palestinian movement has split so theyð?ll be weaker and we wonð?t have to deal with them. Except that the leaders of the new factions made Arafat look like a moderate.?

?

Then came the Hizbollah. They made the factions look moderate and Arafat look like an international statesman. The Israelis did a deal with him.?

?

They then elected one of their worst prime ministers, Binyamin Netanyahu, who reneged on the deal in a way youð?re familiar with. He voiced support for the Oslo deals while his actions undermined them. He delayed and cheated with the meaning of the words of the accord.?

?

Then came the Hamas suicide bombers who decided Hizbollah had gone soft.?

?

The good part of all this is that the Israelis then elected Ehud Barak with a mandate to go for a deal with Arafat.?

?

Just do it, the electorate told him. All very well except that every time he makes a concession Hamas explodes a bomb to embarrass both him and Arafat.?

?

Now you could fill in the initials of CIRA and RIRA to play the role of Hizbollah and Hamas here. ?

?

You could fill in the names of the politicians too.?

?

John Major created the Continuity IRA just as surely as Netanyahu created Hamas and David Trimble created Oglagh na hEireann.?

?

The problem is who do you slot in for Ehud Barak??

?

Unlike Israel we have no alternative unionist party anxious to deal with Sinn Fein and sadly it seems a majority in the UUP donð?t see why they should.?

?

Gerry Adams tried to warn them at the start of the Mitchell review that he and Martin McGuinness are the best chance unionists have.?

?

No point: unionists wonð?t admit the part they played in creating Sinn Fein in the 1970s by refusing to do a deal with the SDLP.?

?

If they refuse to cut a deal with Sinn Fein, what will emerge in 10 yearsð? time and after what cost??

?

In case unionists donð?t know, the IRA has already split.?

?

Oglagh na hEireann regards Sinn Fein as traitors to the Irish people. Its members have engaged in punch-ups with Sinn Fein supporters.?

?

What's intolerable is that, despite all the security information they're privy to, unionists won't accept the new organisation is beyond Sinn Fein control. That's an excuse to avoid dealing with Adams and Sinn Fein and it's Adams and SF the way they are not the way the unionists would like them. If they don't there's nobody.?

It's hard to believe unionists don't realise that the longer they exclude Sinn Fein the stronger they make republican rejectionists.?

It's hard to believe no unionist has the wit to see that, if Sinn Fein can't show politics works, then more and more young people join the ranks of the nutters who can't see beyond the dust and debris from the last bomb.?

As usual Trimble is letting his jailers in his party lock him in. Some say Trimble can't attempt a Houdini until his one-day party conference is over. But how often have you heard that??

It's always the next meeting of the UUP Grand Central Fruit and Nut Zimmer Frame Convention that prevents him doing anything and then they meet and then he does nothing.?

There's about a fortnight after the Zimmer Frames assemble next Saturday and Senator Mitchell goes home to watch baseball.?

By all accounts Ogligh na hEireann are busting a gut (which is better than busting somebody else's) to get off a spectacular to embarrass Sinn Fein in case there's a deal. A bomb would have an amazing double effect.?

They detonate a bomb to say: Look, here's us striking a blow for Ireland while you're selling it out.??

What do the unionists say??

This proves we can't make a deal because of continuing republican violence which the IRA is secretly controlling so there has to be decommissioning.??

Can you believe it? ?

Yet unionists won't accept that they can do anything to end republican violence, never mind provoke it.

> Gabhain,  
 > Having access to the media coverage coming over the newswire is extremely  
 > helpful. Thanks a million for your help - maybe we can get together the  
 > week after next if you have time. Thanks again.  
 >  
 >  
 >  
 >

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Erica S. Lepping ( CN=Erica S. Lepping/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 8-OCT-1999 16:57:36.00

SUBJECT: FYI...

TO: Sean P. O'Shea ( CN=Sean P. O'Shea/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

^Clinton compares Northern Ireland peace process to barflies

OTTAWA (AP) President Clinton said today that efforts to bring peace to Northern Ireland have faltered because the two sides are ``like a couple of drunks'' who can't leave the bar.

The president made the remark in discussing religious and ethnic differences behind troubles in the Middle East, Rwanda and elsewhere.

Clinton said that he and Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien have ``tried to stop people from killing each other in Bosnia, in Kosovo, because of religious and ethnic differences.''

``I spent an enormous amount of time trying to help the people in the land of my forebears in Northern Ireland get over 600 years of religious fights,'' Clinton said. ``And every time they make an agreement to do it, they're like a couple of drunks walking out of the bar for the last time. When they get to the swinging door, they turn right around and go back in and say `I just can't quite get there.'''

The audience laughed. Clinton spoke at the dedication of a new American Embassy.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Gabhain O Cinneide <gkennedy@iaais.org> ( Gabhain O Cinneide <gkennedy@iaais.

CREATION DATE/TIME:31-OCT-1999 20:43:28.00

SUBJECT: Forget the weapons and learn to trust Sinn Fein

TO: Daniel E. O'Brien ( CN=Daniel E. O'Brien/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Dan:

This article was in today's Sunday Times from London. I think it it offers tremendous insight considering its source.

Gavan

Sunday Times 31/10-99

Michael Oatley, a former MI6 officer who held secret talks with the IRA, says decommissioning doesn't matter: Sinn Fein is serious about peace

Forget the weapons and learn to trust Sinn Fein

From the beginning the peace process has been crippled by the question of decommissioning terrorist weapons. It stopped the process in its tracks under the last Conservative government and still threatens to destroy it. Yet the issue has never been presented in a balanced way to the British electorate. Among others, the editors of The Times and The Daily Telegraph, together with a powerful element on the right wing of the Conservative party, are determined to portray the deadlock on decommissioning as proof that Sinn Fein is cynically insincere about its level of commitment to political action.

This tactic might be described as the picador approach to introducing a terrorist organisation to the attractions of the political arena. No doubt, if sufficient barbs are thrust into its flanks, the animal will eventually, with reluctance, charge. The picadors can then claim the beast was always a ravening monster.

There are lots of guns in Ireland, and in the hands of both communities in the North. The question is not whether an organisation has, or can, obtain weapons. It is whether it will choose violent or political action. After a 25-year armed campaign, the leadership of Sinn Fein, headed by Martin McGuinness and Gerry Adams, decided to give politics a chance. It did not do so because of doubts about its ability to continue the campaign or to recruit volunteers to pursue it (the security forces have never doubted it, either).

McGuinness and Adams recognised that the political atmosphere in Ireland and on the British mainland had changed through the development of the European Union, and saw a new way to attract serious attention to their cause. They also realised that the security forces remained capable of containing their efforts and that relatively modest progress towards the development of all-Irish institutions might better serve their cause than the previous all-or-nothing approach.

The decision was taken with trepidation by intelligent, ideologically committed individuals who had spent their adult lives in pursuit of what they regarded as a just war. They did not abandon their armed campaign because they needed a rest or thought it had become irrelevant. On the contrary, it was clear to them that it had put Irish constitutional issues higher up the political agenda than at any time since 1920.

The suggestion of a ceasefire was furiously opposed within the IRA. Many feared that a move to political action would destroy its strength. Nobody was more conscious of this possibility than McGuinness and Adams, who had seen the damage done to the IRA by the 1975 ceasefire and had inherited the leadership of the movement as a result of it. But they decided to take a risk.

I was a witness to their decision. For many years, circumstances have allowed me an occasionally intimate view of political developments within the republican movement. I became aware of the leadership's broadening attitudes, re-examination of the effectiveness and justification of the armed campaign and willingness to enter into dialogue with people who could offer fresh perspectives. I also know how difficult it was to maintain the confidence and discipline of a scattered and partly secret membership during lengthy negotiations with three governments.

The prime minister has said that he accepts the sincerity of the two principal spokesmen. From longer experience, I have no doubt at all of their commitment to finding a political way forwards. I should be surprised if most participants in the Mitchell review did not share this view by now. The republicans believed that they were making a historic gesture by unilaterally declaring a ceasefire, and thought their good faith would be recognised. But it was not. The Major government's response was an example of picadorism at its most provocative. It questioned the sincerity of the ceasefire and insisted on a tougher declaration. This put the pro-politics element of the Sinn Fein leadership under pressure and revived the threat of violence. When this was finally dealt with, the government found a new excuse to avoid the pursuit of peace: decommissioning.

Impasse.

And this is now again the issue. "If you are sincere, hand in your weapons. Otherwise we will renege on the Good Friday agreement," the unionists argue. "We are sincere, but our people do not feel ready to hand in their weapons until they see some change in circumstances," the Sinn Fein leadership ripostes. "They do not altogether trust you, or even us. They need evidence of your sincerity and, if you are tearing up the agreement, perhaps they are right. Nobody said decommissioning should be a precondition; it was to have been a consequence of the agreement."

There is an explanation for the reluctance of the IRA to commence decommissioning. Weapons and caches are widely dispersed under the control of local cells. Volunteers are not sheep. All joined to pursue an armed campaign for agreed objectives, which have now been modified. Discipline in the face of such changes has been remarkable. Leaders can but lead; confidence in new policies takes time to spread. Members of the republican movement are determined it shall not be destroyed by false promises.

The picadors are having an effect. Most British voters are quite

uninformed on the subject. Decommissioning is projected as the central issue in the peace process. It is not. The true issue is politics or violence. A majority of people in Northern Ireland voted in favour of the Good Friday agreement. Many in the Ulster Unionist party now seek to withdraw from it and are setting new conditions for their co-operation, while blaming Sinn Fein. Under the Conservatives, this small political party was able to exercise a veto on government action. Any attempt to do so now should be seen for what it is and the political cost should be fully understood by those on the mainland who will be asked to underwrite it. The damage it does to unionism's future prospects is evident.

Michael Oatley is a former MI6 controller for the Middle East and counter-terrorism, and for Europe. He established a secret dialogue with the IRA leadership that led to the 1975 ceasefire and, 16 years later, produced the first moves in the peace process