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Folder Title:
NATO Speech-Speech Edits [2]

Staff Office-Individual:
Speechwriting-Blinken

Original OA/ID Number:
3381

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## Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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<tr>
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<td>001. speech</td>
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### COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3381

### FOLDER TITLE:
NATO Speech-Speech Edits [2]

### 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]
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[Acknowledgments:] Senator Levin, thank you for your kind words -- but more important, thank you for your leadership in keeping our nation strong and secure in this time of remarkable challenge and change. This state, this President and this nation are in your debt.

I am glad to be in Detroit, a city focused on the future: a city meeting the challenge of change. I come here to talk about a great challenge we all face as we enter the 21st century: making sure America remains the strongest force on earth for peace, freedom, security and prosperity.
From its birth, our nation has stood for an idea: that people have the right to control their own lives and pursue their own dreams. In this century, Americans have done more than stand for these principles -- they have acted on them... and sacrificed for them. America fought two world wars so that freedom could triumph over tyranny. Then, we made the commitments that kept the peace... that helped spread democracy... that brought us great prosperity... and that won the Cold War. Now, the ideas we Americans struggled for -- democracy... freedom of religion... open markets... respect for diversity -- are, more and more, the ideals of humanity.
When I first ran for President four years ago, I said that to build a strong community based on opportunity and responsibility at home. America must lead abroad. That is the lesson of this century. It will be an even more powerful reality in the coming century. A century in which the blocs and barriers that defined the world for previous generations will continue to give way to greater freedom, faster change, and more profound innovation than ever before. A century in which more people than ever before will be able to share in humanity's genius for progress.

As the walls come down around the world, so must the wall in our minds between domestic and foreign policy.
Think about it. Our prosperity -- as individuals, as communities and as a nation -- depends upon our economic policies at home and abroad. Our well-being -- as individuals, as communities and as a nation -- depends upon our environmental policies at home and abroad. Our security -- as individuals, as communities and as a nation -- depends upon our terrorism, crime and drug policies at home and abroad. We reduce the threats to people here in America by reducing threats beyond our borders. We advance our interests at home by advancing the common good around the world.
That is why I resist those who believe that, with the Cold War over, America can choose escapism over engagement. The fact is, America remains the indispensable nation. There are times when America, and only America, can make the difference between war and peace, between freedom and repression, between hope and fear. We cannot be the world's policeman. But where our interests and values demand it, and where we can make a difference, America must act - and lead.

America must lead in two ways. First, by meeting immediate challenges to our interests from rogue regimes... from sudden explosions of ethnic, racial, religious and tribal hatreds... and from short term crises.
Second, by making the long-term investments in security, prosperity, peace and freedom that can prevent these problems from arising in the first place... and that will help us fully seize the opportunities of the 21st century.

We have approached the immediate challenges with strength and flexibility -- working with others when we can, alone when we have to... using diplomacy where possible, force where necessary.

When I took office, the bloodiest war in Europe since World War II raged in Bosnia...
Thanks to U.S.-led NATO airstrikes, American diplomacy and IFOR’s peacekeeping troops, the war is over...
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When I took office, North Korea was moving forward with a dangerous nuclear program that it had been developing for more than a decade. Thanks to our hard-headed diplomacy and the help of Japan, South Korea and China, North Korea has frozen that program under international monitoring.

Two years ago, the collapse of the Mexican peso jeopardized our own economy. Because we stepped in immediately and rallied others to join us, Mexico has rebounded... three-quarters of our loans have been repaid ahead of schedule... and we’re even earning interest on the deal.
In each of these cases, we were able to succeed because we accepted the responsibility to lead. But it is not enough to handle the immediate crises. We also have a duty to set our sights on a more distant horizon. Through our size, strength and wealth -- but also through the power of our example -- America has a unique ability to shape a future of greater security, prosperity, peace and freedom.

These are long term efforts. Often, they take place behind the headlines. But if we pursue them, we can give our children the best possible opportunity to make the most of their God-given potential.
That's why we have worked patiently and pragmatically to reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction and take on the challenge of terrorism... to build an open trading system for the 21st century... and to help secure the gains that peace and freedom are making around the world.

We are making the future more secure by lifting the danger of weapons of mass destruction. It has taken hard negotiations and persistent diplomacy. But consider the results. Today, not a single Russian missile targets America. We are cutting our nuclear arsenals by 2/3rds and working to keep the remaining weapons safe and secure...
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While we can defeat terrorists, it will be a long time before we defeat terrorism. But if we remain determined and strong, we will prevail.

We are building greater prosperity at home by opening markets abroad. Decades from now, people will look back on this period and see the most far reaching changes in the world trading system in generations. The more than 200 trade agreements we’ve negotiated have led to more than a million new jobs and helped make America the world’s number one exporter again. You know that here in Detroit. You lead the nation with the fastest recent growth in export trade. And today, America is once again the number one automobile producer in the world.
Now -- issue by issue, agreement by agreement -- we must extend the reach of free and fair trade even further. Next month, I will travel to Asia for the fourth annual summit of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum -- because Asia’s future is America’s future. As a Pacific power, we have a responsibility to work for stability and security in Asia -- and an opportunity to benefit from that region’s remarkable economic growth.

And we are advancing the cause of peace and freedom around the world. This mission is rooted in America’s ideals and interests.
When people live free and at peace, they are less likely to make war or abuse the rights of their fellow citizens -- and more likely to be good trading partners and partners in the struggle against terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking or environmental decay. From the Middle East to Northern Ireland... from Cuba to Burma... from Burundi to South Africa, those taking risks for peace and freedom know that the United States stands by their side.

Nowhere are America’s interests more engaged than in Europe. When Europe is at peace, our security is strengthened. When Europe prospers, so does America.
And we have a special bond, because our nation was formed from the hopes and dreams of those who came to our shores from across the Atlantic -- seeking religious freedom... fleeing persecution... looking for a better life. From the Pilgrims of 1620 to the Hungarian freedom fighters of 1956 whose struggle we commemorate tomorrow, they gave America the strength of diversity.

Remarkable generations of Americans invested in Europe’s peace and freedom with their sacrifice. They fought two world wars. Then they had the vision to create NATO and the Marshall Plan. The vigor of those institutions, the force of democracy and the determination of people to be free produced victory in the Cold War.
Now that freedom has been won, it is this generation’s responsibility to make sure that it never be lost again. President Reagan gave strength to those working to bring down the Iron Curtain. President Bush helped unify Germany. Now, for the very first time since nation states appeared in Europe, we have an opportunity to build a peaceful, undivided and democratic continent. A continent where democracy and free markets know no boundaries... but where nations can be assured that their borders will always be secure and their sovereignty and independence respected.
In January 1994, during my first trip to Europe as President, I laid out a strategy for European integration -- political integration around democracies, economic integration around free markets, and security integration around military cooperation. I urged our enduring allies and new friends to build the bonds among our nations necessary for this time -- through the European Union, NATO and other institutional sinews of a new Europe. And I challenged all our people to summon the will and the resources to make this vision real.
The United States and Europe are answering the challenge. With our help, the forces of reform in Europe’s newly free nations have laid the foundations of democracy -- political parties, free elections, an independent media, civilian control of the military. We have helped them develop successful market economies -- and now we are moving from aid to trade and investment.

Look at what we already have achieved together. In the seven years since the fall of the Berlin Wall, two-thirds of Russia’s economy has moved from the heavy grip of the state into private hands. Poland now has one of the West’s highest rates of growth -- you’re as likely to read about Poland on the business page as on the front page.
The private sector produces half the national income of an independent Ukraine. From the Czech Republic to Hungary to Estonia, the same forces of freedom and free markets are creating bustling prosperity and hope for the future.

The bedrock of our common security remains NATO. When President Truman signed the North Atlantic Treaty forty-seven years ago, he expressed the goal of its founders plainly but powerfully: "to preserve their present peaceful situation and to protect it in the future."

All of us here today are the beneficiaries of NATO’s extraordinary success in doing just that.
NATO defended the West by deterring aggression. But even more: through NATO, Western Europe became a source of stability instead of hostility... France and Germany moved from conflict to cooperation... democracy took permanent root in countries where fascism once ruled. I came to office convinced that NATO can do for Europe’s East what it did for Europe’s West: prevent a return to local rivalries... strengthen democracy against future threats... and create the conditions for market economies to flourish.

That's why the United States has taken the lead in a three part effort to build a new NATO for a new era:
First, by adapting NATO with new capabilities for new missions. Second, by opening its doors to Europe’s emerging democracies. And third, by building a strong, cooperative relationship between NATO and Russia.

To adapt NATO, we have acted to take on missions beyond the territory of its members -- in cooperation with non-member states. We are shifting our emphasis to smaller, more flexible forces prepared to provide for our defense... but also trained and equipped for peacekeeping. We are setting up mobile headquarters to run these new missions more effectively and efficiently.
And we are giving our European allies a larger role within the Alliance while preserving NATO's vital core -- its integrated military structure. The United States will continue to take the lead in NATO -- especially in the Southern Region, where the most immediate threats to peace exist. But we welcome our allies' willingness to shoulder a greater share of the burden.

Bosnia has been the first major test for the new NATO. At first, NATO could only act jointly with the United Nations. But once NATO took charge lead, its air power, together with our diplomatic leadership, pushed the Bosnian Serbs from the battlefield to the bargaining table.
The NATO-led Implementation Force has restored security to Bosnia... and it has given the Bosnian people a chance to build a lasting peace.

For NATO to fulfill the promise of peace and democracy in Europe, it is not enough to take on new missions. NATO must also take in new members -- including from among its former adversaries. It must reach out to all the new democracies in Central Europe, the Baltics and the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union.

At the first NATO Summit I attended in January 1994, I proposed that NATO enlarge -- steadily, deliberately, openly. Our allies agreed.
Together, we created the Partnership for Peace as a path to full NATO membership for some... and a strong, lasting link to the Alliance for all.

Our strategy is paying off. The prospect of membership in or partnership with NATO has given Europe’s new democracies a strong incentive to continue reform and improve relations with their neighbors. Through the Partnership for Peace, prospective new members are gaining the practical experience they need to join NATO. Thirteen Partner nations are serving alongside NATO troops and helping secure the peace in Bosnia.
There are Polish and Czech combat battalions...

Hungarian and Romanian engineering troops... soldiers from Ukraine and the Baltic states... forces from Sweden and Finland... and a full Russian brigade. Just seven years ago, these soldiers served on opposite sides of the Iron Curtain. Today, their teamwork with our troops is erasing the lines that once divided Europe.

We have kept NATO enlargement on track. Now, it is time to take the next, historic step forward. Last month, I called for a Summit in the spring or early summer of 1997 to name the first group of future NATO members and invite them to begin accession talks.
Today, I want to state America’s goal: By 1999 -- NATO’s 50th anniversary and ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall -- the first group of countries we invite to join should be full-fledged members of NATO.

I pledge also that NATO’s doors will not close behind its first new members. NATO will remain open to all of Europe’s emerging democracies who are ready to shoulder the responsibilities of membership. No nation will be automatically excluded. No country outside NATO will have a veto. And we will work to deepen our cooperation with all the Partnership for Peace countries.

(A gray zone of insecurity must not reemerge in Europe.)
As we go forward, I want the American people to understand that our plan is not free of cost. Peace and security cannot be had on the cheap. And enlargement will mean extending the most solemn security guaranty to our new allies -- a commitment to treat an attack on one as an attack on all.

But mark my words: if we fail to seize this historic opportunity to build a new NATO in a new Europe... if we allow the Iron Curtain to be replaced by a veil of indifference... we will pay a much higher price later. America will be stronger and safer if the democratic family grows... if we bring into our ranks partners willing to share the risks and responsibilities of freedom.
By overwhelming majorities this summer, both houses of Congress passed the NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act. I greatly appreciate this bi-partisan support for our efforts to forge a broader alliance of security, of prosperity and -- as the First Lady said in Prague last Fourth of July -- an alliance of values with Europe. I look forward to working with Congress to ratify the accession of new members... to provide the resources to meet this commitment... and to secure the support of the American people.

NATO enlargement is not directed against anyone. It will advance the security of everyone -- NATO's old members, new members and non-members alike. I know that some in Russia still look at NATO through a Cold War prism.
I ask them to look again. We are building a new NATO just as they are building a new Russia. By reducing rivalry and fear, by strengthening peace and cooperation, NATO will promote greater stability in Europe -- and Russia will be among the beneficiaries.

Indeed, Russia has the best chance in its history to help build a peaceful, undivided Europe -- and to define its greatness in terms of the future, not the past. Russia can best seize that chance if it forges a new relationship with NATO as enlargement moves forward. The United States has suggested that Russia and NATO work out a formal agreement on cooperation.
We should set up a mechanism for regular NATO-Russia meetings at all levels. And we should consult on European security issues so that whenever possible, NATO and Russia can act jointly to meet the challenges of a new era.

In Bosnia, Russia and NATO are already partners for peace. We should set our sights on becoming full partners in bringing Europe together. Together, we can help turn the main battleground for the bloodiest century in history into a continent whose people remain secure, prosperous free and at peace.
These past four years, it has been one of the greatest privileges of my life to represent America around the world -- from the halls of the Kremlin to the hillsides of Port au Prince... from deserts of Jordan to the Tokyo Harbor... from the Charles Bridge in Prague to Riga’s Freedom Square. I have heard the voices and shaken the hands of Presidents and Prime Ministers and, just as important, people on the streets. Wherever I go, whomever I talk to, the message to me is the same: American leadership is welcome. American leadership matters. America must lead.
I wish every American could see our country as so much of the world sees us. Our friends rely on our engagement. Our adversaries respect our strength. As we enter the 21st century, we must all make a commitment to remain true to this legacy of leadership. America is the indispensable nation. That is our burden and our opportunity. That is America’s future.

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Nowhere are America's interests more engaged than in Europe. When Europe is at peace, our security is strengthened. When Europe prospers, so does America. Remarkable generations of Americans invested in Europe's peace and freedom with their sacrifice. They fought two world wars. Then they had the vision to create NATO and the Marshall Plan. The strength of those institutions, the force of democracy and the determination of people to be free produced victory in the Cold War.

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NATO defended the West against aggression. But even more: through NATO, Western Europe became a source of stability instead of hostility... France and Germany moved from conflict to cooperation... democracy took permanent root in countries where fascism once ruled. I came to office convinced that NATO can do for Europe's East what it did for Europe's West: prevent a return to local rivalries... strengthen democracy against future threats... and create the conditions for market economies to flourish. That's why the United States has taken the lead in adapting NATO to the demands of a new era: opening its doors to Europe's new democracies... and building a strong, cooperative relationship between NATO and Russia.

To adapt NATO to new demands, we have acted to take on missions beyond the territory of its members -- in cooperation with non-member states. We are shifting our emphasis to smaller, more flexible forces prepared to provide for our defense... but also trained and equipped for peacekeeping. We set up mobile headquarters to run these new missions more effectively and efficiently. And we are giving our European allies a larger role within the Alliance while preserving NATO's vital core -- its integrated military command. The United States will continue to take the lead in NATO -- especially in the Southern Region, where the most immediate threats to peace exist. But we welcome our allies' willingness to shoulder a greater share of the burden.

Bosnia has been the first major test for the new NATO. At the outset of the war, NATO could only act jointly with the United Nations. But once we gave NATO the lead, its air power, together with our diplomatic initiative, pushed the Bosnian Serbs from the battlefield to
the bargaining table. The NATO-led Implementation Force has restored security to Bosnia... and it has given the Bosnian people a chance to build a lasting peace.

For NATO to fulfill the promise of lasting peace and democracy in Europe, it is not enough to take on new missions. NATO must also take in new members, including from among its former adversaries. It must reach out to all the new democracies in Central Europe, the Baltics and the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union.

At the first NATO Summit I attended in January 1994, I proposed that NATO enlarge -- steadily, deliberately, openly. Our allies agreed. Together, we created the Partnership for Peace as a path to full NATO membership for some... and a strong, lasting link to the Alliance for others.

Our strategy is paying off. The prospect of membership in or partnership with NATO has given Europe’s new democracies a strong incentive to continue reform and improve relations with their neighbors. Through the Partnership for Peace, prospective new members are gaining the practical experience they need to join NATO. Thirteen Partner nations are serving alongside NATO troops and helping secure the peace in Bosnia. There are Polish and Czech combat battalions... Hungarian and Romanian engineering troops... soldiers from Ukraine and the Baltic states... and a full Russian brigade. Just seven years ago, these soldiers served on opposite sides of the Iron Curtain. Today, their teamwork with our troops is erasing the lines that once divided Europe.

We have kept NATO enlargement on track. Now, it is time to take the next, historic step forward. Last month, I called for a Summit in the spring or early summer of 1997 to name the
first group of future NATO members and invite them to begin accession talks. Today, I want to state America's goal: By 1999 -- NATO's 50th anniversary and ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall -- the first group of countries we invite to join should be full-fledged members of NATO.

To those not part of this first group, I pledge that NATO's doors will not close behind its first new members. NATO will remain open to all of Europe's emerging democracies who are ready to shoulder the responsibilities of membership. No nation will be automatically excluded. No country outside NATO will have a veto. And we will work to deepen our cooperation with all the Partnership for Peace countries. A gray zone of insecurity must not reemerge in Europe.

As we go forward, I want the American people to understand that our plan is not free of cost. It will mean extending the most solemn security guaranty to our new allies -- a commitment to treat an attack on one as an attack on all. Peace and security cannot be had on the cheap. But mark my words: if we fail to seize this historic opportunity to build a new NATO for a new Europe... if we allow the Iron Curtain to be replaced by a veil of indifference... we will pay a much higher price later. America will be stronger, safer and better-off if the democratic family grows... if we bring into our ranks partners willing to share the responsibilities of freedom.

By overwhelming majorities this summer, both houses of Congress passed the NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act. I greatly appreciate this bi-partisan support for my determination to forge a broader alliance of security, prosperity and -- as the First Lady said in Prague last Fourth of July -- an alliance of values with Europe. I look forward to working with Congress to ratify
the accession of new members... to provide the resources to meet this commitment... and to secure the support of the American people.

NATO enlargement is not directed against anyone and it will advance the security of everyone -- NATO's old members, new members and non-members alike. I know that some in Russia still look at NATO through a Cold War prism. I ask them to look again. By reducing rivalry and fear, by strengthening peace and cooperation, NATO will promote greater stability in Europe -- and Russia will be among the beneficiaries.

Indeed, Russia has the best chance in its history to help build a peaceful, undivided Europe -- and to define its greatness in terms of the future, not the past. Russia can best seize that chance if it forges a new relationship with NATO as enlargement moves forward. The United States has suggested that Russia and NATO work out a formal agreement on cooperation. We should set up a mechanism for regular NATO-Russia meetings at all levels. And we should consult on European security issues so that whenever possible, NATO and Russia can act jointly to meet the challenges that arise in the future.

In Bosnia, Russia and NATO are already partners for peace. We should set our sights on becoming full partners in bringing Europe together. Together, we can help turn the main battleground for the bloodiest century in history into a continent whose people remain secure, prosperous and free.
These past four years, it has been one of the greatest privileges of my life to represent America around the world -- from the halls of the Kremlin to the streets of Port au Prince... from the deserts of Jordan to the streets of Prague and Riga... I have heard the voices and shaken the hands of Prime Ministers and just as important, people on the streets. Wherever I go, whomever I talk to, the message to me is the same: American leadership is welcome. American leadership matters. America must lead.

I wish every American could see our country as so much of the world sees us. Our friends rely upon our engagement. Our adversaries respect our strength. As we enter the 21st century, we must all make a commitment to remain true to this legacy of leadership. America is the indispensable nation. That is our burden and our opportunity. That is America's future.